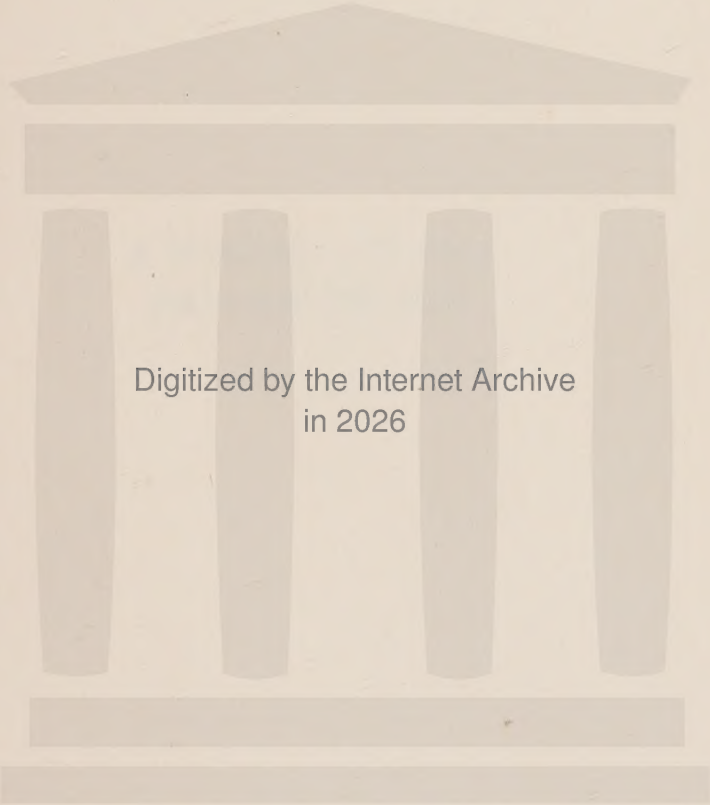




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A HISTORY OF THE
BRITISH PEOPLE

A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

BY
EDWARD MANNING HUTCHINSON
REVISED BY HENRY DE VRIES

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TO
MARY AND KENNETH AND ELLEN

PREFACE

It is generally the origin of the new that we seek in the past. We want to know how the new thoughts and new forms of life, which in later times revealed themselves in all their fullness, developed. We examine every period chiefly for the promise it conceals of that which follows, especially of that which helps to control the life of today. Yet in this search for the seeds of new life we sometimes forget that in the life of man, as in that of a forest, birth and death are forever taking place side by side and almost unnoticed. Old forms of civilization die at the same time and on the same soil wherein the new finds the nourishment by which it grows. Feudalism, useful as it was in its day, had to disappear before men could live together as a nation. Nowhere else is the chronicle of this birth and death to be found in greater variety and fullness than in literature. There we may see the world of the body, the intellect, and the soul; there we are given glimpses of the lowest depths and the loftiest heights; there are to be seen the broad influences to which millions of men have been subjected in common, the general outlook on life, and the prevailing types of sentiment. Literature obtains its subject-matter from life. It is informed and colored by the life to which it gives expression. In its turn it helps to change life. Dickens, for instance, gave "a greater impulse than any other man of his generation to that righteous hatred of caste-feeling and class-cruelty which more and more distinguishes modern society" from every preceding period. It is for these reasons that so much space in this story of a people, in this attempt to narrate their essential thoughts and deeds, has been devoted to literature.

Yet this unusual attention to literature has not made impossible a fairly full treatment of political development. Nowhere else in the world has the progress of constitutional government, of the spirit and the institutions of democracy, been so important as in the British Isles; and so an attempt has been made to record and explain every essential step in that long march from the days of the Witenagemot to the last extension of the suffrage and the curtailment of the veto power of the House of Lords.

A knowledge of their political development, however, were it unaccompanied by a study of other conditions, would still leave us with only an inadequate understanding of the life of the British people. We must know something of the economic and social conditions of life in the country and in the towns. The changes in agricultural conditions have therefore been traced from the time of the Saxon settlements, through the medieval period and the agrarian revolution of the eighteenth century, down to the last parliamentary enactment pertaining to land and the conditions of its tenure. Still more, if we are to have a living and comprehensive picture of life in those islands, must we learn something of that great industrial revolution which, measured by its consequences, is one of the great overruling facts of the modern world. The most outstanding of these consequences, all through the subsequent years, have been indicated down to the accession to office of the Labor Ministry.

Of one other thing it seems well here to speak. The history of thought and the development of science have been sketched, from John Scotus Erigena to Herbert Spencer, and from Roger Bacon to Charles Darwin; and in dealing with these intellectual aspects of human activity an effort has been made to show how they have affected life, especially how they have enriched and made progressive and more humane the life of our own time. Two things stand out in this last study. We have in our possession at last, such has been the progress of scientific method, the conditions of secure and effective thinking; and more and more as the years go by, despite the outbreaks of war and their attendant periods of discouragement, humanitarian ideals are molding society. The latter of these two facts will be found illustrated in the many pages devoted to altruistic thought and deeds, from the translations of continental books that Alfred the Great made for the benefit of his people to the putting into operation of the National Insurance Act. All of these things speak eloquently of social idealism; and history, if it is not to be innocuous, if it is to have a vital part in the education of our youth, must always be concerned with social idealism. What is education? Is it only a system of study? Is it only rule and measure, method and process? Or is it also the freeing of a man's hand, the invigorating of his will, and the firing of his soul, for the great adventure of life? This book has been written in the belief that the only education that counts is that which vitalizes and inspires.

A dual system of dates has been used in the book. For Kings

and Popes and other rulers the dates of their reigns and pontificates are given, while for all others the dates are those of birth and death.

I wish to give my hearty thanks to all who have helped me with the book: to Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, who, after reading several of the earlier chapters and many pages in later ones, made a number of suggestions and sent a generous word of encouragement; to Professor James F. Baldwin, of Vassar College, whose admirable scholarship saved me from many slips; to Professor Winfred T. Root, of the University of Wisconsin, who indicated several very desirable changes; and, finally, to Professor Dana C. Munro, of Princeton University, whose careful and thoughtful reading discovered many opportunities for amendment.

E. M. H.

Stanford University,
California.

May 16, 1924.

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A HISTORY
OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE



A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES

AT no distant date in geological history the British Isles were attached to the neighboring continent, a fact that accounts for the unusual shallowness of their surrounding seas. And ever since their separation their story has been closely connected with that of the mainland of which they once formed a part. If one should turn a terrestrial globe so as to make those islands the point nearest to the eye, it would be seen that they are situated almost in the geometrical center of all the land on the face of the earth. Yet this central geographical position has not always served to put the British Isles in the midst of civilization, even in the midst of western civilization. It did not do so until long after Columbus discovered America. For more than two thousand years of written history they were on the confines of civilization. Beyond them, so men thought, were only the impenetrable ice-fields of the north and in the west the trackless and untraversed ocean. Britain was the last important territorial acquisition of the Roman Empire in its time of strength and was the first to be relinquished in the period of its decay. But after the discoveries of Columbus, in addition to being the center of the land hemisphere of the planet, England gradually became the center of Occidental civilization. Its modern history is in large measure the story of its adaptation, step by step, to its ever-widening social environment. For it is a general rule that nations, as well as individuals, grow by contact with the outside world. Thus in the course of its history it has possessed the geographical and social qualities of insularity and universality. The quality of insularity, dominant before the days of Columbus, enabled the inhabitants to live comparatively undisturbed. Invasions were less frequent than those to which the continental countries were subjected, and they were far more gradual in character. This comparative relief from

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General
Situation
of the
Islands

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the fear of invasion lessened the number of men and the amount of material required for defense and permitted the devotion of a greater energy to the affairs of civilization. Yet the insularity was not so pronounced as to forbid the influence of continental civilization. The island was not so remote as to hear no rumors of what was going on in the greater world across the narrow sea. It was "insulated yet not isolated."

Coast-line,
Rivers,
and
Canals of
England

Politically the islands have had four main divisions, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; and these political groups correspond to pronounced geographical differences. We shall therefore divide our description of the geography of the islands into four parts in conformity with the four natural sections. First, then, we have to deal with the geography of England. The English coast-line is so deeply and so frequently indented with the mouths of rivers and with bays that no part of the interior is more than seventy miles from tidal water. Projections as well as indentations serve to fret the coast-line, particularly on the west; yet on the south and east there are long stretches in which the shore is uninflected. The formation of the coast varies very greatly. Where the hills approach the sea the land terminates abruptly in majestic cliffs; whereas in the places where the plains extend to the sea the shore is made up of low and shifting banks of shingle or of sand. The numerous rivers of England enabled ocean-going vessels to penetrate far into the interior in early times, and even today, when there is a great difference between deep-sea vessels and inland water-craft, they permit coast-wise traffic to such an extent that it may truthfully be said that no part of the country is more than two hours' journey by railway from the sea. The estuaries of the more important rivers, especially those of the Thames, the Mersey, the Tyne, the Humber, and the Severn, are among the most important waterways in the world. All of these rivers are connected with one another by canals which have a total length of some four thousand miles. Thus, roughly speaking, the part of England that lies between London and Hull, on the east side, and between Bristol and Manchester, on the west, is covered with a veritable web of waterways. But this interlacing canal system, which converges upon the London market, is by no means as efficient as it might be. Most of it was built in the pre-railway period and its panic-stricken proprietors were able by means of opposing the proposed railway charters in Parliament to compel the railway companies, as the price of securing acts, to purchase canal shares, so that today the railways own about one-third of the canal mileage. As a consequence of this proprietorship and of the well-established fact that railway transportation, even of low-class

freight, possesses many advantages over transportation in canal barges, the canals have been very largely sacrificed to the railways. Some have become derelict, and others are maintained only in an imperfect condition. They lack uniformity in width and depth, in the size of locks, and in the headway under bridges. With the single exception of the Manchester Ship Canal, which revived the commerce of that great manufacturing city, virtually nothing has been done to improve them in the last ninety years; and whether it would be profitable to make extensive alterations in the systems is a disputed question. Rivers and canals, as means of transportation, have been largely supplanted in recent times in the British Isles, as elsewhere, by railways; and no other country is better served with railways than the United Kingdom. And for sea-going service, British shipping is by far the greatest mercantile marine in the world.

The total area of England is 50,874 square miles; and as regards its general character it falls into three distinct regions, the south-east, the center, and the north and west. The first of these natural districts can be roughly indicated by a concave line beginning at the mouth of the Exe, passing through Coventry, and ending at the mouth of the Tees. South and east of this line the land is made of rock so recent in its formation and so soft in its character that it has been able to offer only a slight resistance to the erosion of wind and weather. It is an undulating and level country. It is undulating where its more resistant parts have survived the process of weathering in the form of ridges of limestone and chalk; and it is level where the comparatively long and leisurely rivers flowing from the uplands have distributed their alluvium. The chalk and limestone plateaus of this region are very thinly populated. They are grass-covered districts, with patches of beechwood, devoted principally to the pasturing of sheep. The lower lands are very fertile and are therefore used for agriculture. If a line be drawn from Durham, skirting the Pennine Range and ending at the Lake District, and another beginning at Chester, striking the Severn at Shrewsbury and then following the river to Bristol, one would roughly inclose the central region of England, a great plain from whose surface rise here and there a few outcroppings of the mountains of the region of which we have still to speak. On the confines of this plain, and in several places within its borders, lie the rich coal fields which have added so much to the wealth and power of England. Its textile, metal, pottery, and leather industries have given it a dense population. Its flat surface and low level have facilitated the construction of railways and canals, and the railway junction at Crewe is one of the greatest centers of transportation

The
Natural
Divisions
of
England

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in the world. The immediate neighborhood of the mines and the factories has been greatly disfigured with the refuse of the furnace and a pall of smoke; but the central plain as a whole is a smiling land, leafy with woods and flowering hedges and rich in pasture, given to a gentle mellowness and made companionable by the long subjection of the earth to the hand of man. With its cattle-grazing, its sheep and horse-rearing, it is the very heart of rural England, pictured for us in the novels of George Eliot. There are still many little towns in central and southern England untouched by the fever of modern life, lost amid their tilth and pasture, their ancient sanctuaries guarded by noble trees. The restfulness of the rural scenery is striking in its contrast to the energetic activity of the great manufacturing towns with their congested populations, rows of grimy houses, fiery furnaces, belching chimneys, and great heaps of cinder and of slag. The third region is comprised of the mountainous districts,—the Pennine Chain and the Lake District in the north, and in the south-west the Cornwall-Devon peninsula. These two districts taken as a whole are, of course, thinly populated, and depend chiefly upon their mineral products and manufactures. Aside from these things it is to the raising of live-stock rather than to agriculture that their farming lands are devoted. The Lake District possesses in the unusual beauty of its scenery an additional resource. Every year many visitors come to see its lakes and mountains. The tin mines of Cornwall, in the second of these two districts, were worked in the earliest historic times of England and they, together with the important fisheries, support a population unusually dense for a highland district.

The Climate of England

Because of the fact that the normal direction of the wind is from the south-west across a vast area of relatively warm water which accumulates in the north-east of the Atlantic, the climate of England is much milder than one would naturally expect to find it in so northern a latitude. It is also a very equable climate, varying only twenty-one degrees between mean temperatures of the coldest and the hottest months, and yet it has a seasonal range sufficient to make it stimulating at all times. The westerly wind has the effect of warming the air in winter and of cooling it in summer. The strength of this prevailing wind is sufficient to carry the oceanic influence into the heart of the country, so that all parts of the islands share in the advantages it bestows; yet in winter the temperature falls steadily from west to east and in summer it rises steadily in the same direction. A great amount of vapor arises from the warm water of the Atlantic and is carried by the wind to the British Isles, where, as it comes into contact with the colder land, it falls in rain. Much of this is intercepted by the mountain

ranges and precipitated on the western coasts, which thus form a belt of rainy country; but not a little is conveyed to the low-lying lands of the east. Oftentimes, therefore, the skies are low, the soft cloud stooping as though it would walk the earth. Yet as a rule the rains are not heavy. Jeremy Taylor described the average English rainfall correctly when he spoke of "a soft slap of affectionate rain." The clouds are usually disburdened by a gently falling moisture, and as a consequence the meadows are immortal and the country has a perpetual aspect of freshness and peace. The climate of England seems to be one of the most suitable for the development of civilization that is to be found on the planet.

There were once great forested areas in England, vast lowland stretches thickly set with oak and wide spaces of the downs densely covered with beech; but now they have almost entirely disappeared. Only here and there, such as the New Forest in Hampshire, the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, and Epping Forest near London, do the deep forests of old linger in well defined woodland areas. More meager remains are preserved as nesting places for game birds, principally pheasants. The extraordinarily rich appearance of central England is due to the high and luxuriant hedges that divide the little fields, and still more to the frequent trees. The well-known and true remark that in central England one always seems to be coming to a great woodland yet never reaches it is due to the fact that there are endless series and lines of hedgerow elms, a tree brought to the island by the Normans, and numerous patriarchal oaks now isolated and regnant in the midst of their fields. In early times, too, in the south-east, but principally in the east, there were great fens, or marshes; and most of the valleys were impassable morasses, or covered with impenetrable forest tangle. These desolated wildernesses of shallow waters and reedy holms, inhabited only by noisy water-fowl, have all been drained. The flat open lands of parts of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Lincoln, known as Fenland, have been changed into fertile fields kept from their former conditions by an extensive system of dykes and ditches. The soil is black, and great quantities of root crops, such as beets and turnips, are grown for fattening cattle. In addition these eastern counties grow wheat and barley and have great fisheries. The chief fishing ground is the Dogger Bank, from which the catch is brought to Grimsby, Yarmouth, and Lowestoft. The villages of this district sit astride ridges. They are pleasantly wooded, and each has an ancient church.

The chief industries of England are commerce, manufactures, mining, farming, and fishing. Commerce is based upon the manufactures, the mining, and the fishing; and its predominating char-

Physical
Appear-
ance of
England

Industries
of England

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acteristic is the large importation of food-stuffs and raw materials and the large exportation of manufactures. And manufacture, which is very wide and varied and shows marked capacity for still further expansion, is based upon the mining, the farming, and the importation of raw materials. Only in the last two hundred years has coal been worked in England on a large scale, but now it is the most important of all the minerals found in the island. Its production requires the services of a million men. It is found in fields some three thousand miles in extent; and from its first extensive utilization is dated the great Industrial Revolution which has profoundly and irrevocably altered the conditions of human society. The other important minerals, stated in the order of their value, are iron, clay and shale, sandstone, limestone, igneous rocks, salt, and tin; and of these the first is greatly preponderant. The coal fields are to be found chiefly where the mountainous region merges into the central plain, and above all other places on the eastern flank of the Pennines. Yet the vast field of anthracite coal in South Wales, so accessible to ships and favorably situated for export to foreign lands, is one of the greatest economic assets of the islands. Iron is found not far from the coal deposits. Some of the lesser deposits of iron have been worked out, and in some of the richer districts the ore is becoming increasingly difficult to pursue. Consequently the importation of iron ore, chiefly from Spain, is increasing. The great metal-working industries are mainly carried on in as close proximity as possible to the coal fields and the deposits of iron ore. The district most distinctly committed to this industry is that known as the "Black Country" of which the chief town is Birmingham; but metal manufacture is also carried on to a considerable extent in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The manufacture of porcelain and pottery, although widespread, is carried on principally in a district in north Staffordshire known as "The Potteries." The second broad class of industry in England is textile manufacture, of which the three main divisions are cotton, wool, and linen, and which in its entirety in the islands requires the service of one and a quarter million workers. The cotton industry, which constitutes more than one-half of the entire textile manufacture, belongs almost exclusively to south Lancashire, and Manchester is its principal town. The manufacture of cotton is so largely confined to Lancashire because much of the raw cotton comes from America to Liverpool. There is also another reason. A moist atmosphere is needed for spinning the better kinds of cotton. The fibre becomes brittle and breaks when the air of the mill is too dry. The western slope of the Pennine Hills is moist with the wet winds that blow from the Atlantic.

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The woolen industry is located chiefly in Yorkshire; while nowhere in England is linen manufactured as extensively as it is in Ireland. The silk industry is carried on in Staffordshire and Cheshire; and hosiery and lace manufactures are to be found in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire.

A considerable part of the area of England, though not as much as might be, is devoted to agriculture, which is extremely diversified. Wheat, barley, and oats constitute almost exclusively the grain crops. Fruit is grown to a rather large extent in central and southern England, especially in Kent; and it is in Kent that hops are principally grown. Market-gardening is found profitable in the neighborhood of the great towns; and the Channel and Scilly Isles furnish flowers as well as vegetables for London. Live-stock is raised in the Midlands, and in Somersetshire and those parts of the mountainous region affording hill-pasture. No other country in the world has attained such a high degree of perfection in the improvement of breeds of live-stock as England. The newer countries, such as the United States, Australasia, and Argentina, have been filled with British stock, and the export trade in pedigree animals is still extensive. The density of sheep in the British Isles is far greater than that in any other country. In the United Kingdom agriculture is still the chief occupation, both as regards the annual value of the product and the number of people employed; and yet in some respects it is the most unorganized and backward of all the industries, a matter of grave concern for the economic, and indeed the social, welfare of the people. When we come to the study of England in our own time we shall see that the shrinkage of the area of tillage, and the decline in the number and condition of the laboring population of the country districts, form a very disquieting feature of contemporary British life.

English
Agricul-
ture

The British seas abound in fish. Fishing stations are found at intervals on all the English coasts; they are more numerous in the east than elsewhere, and most important of them all is Grimsby, at the mouth of the Humber. By far the most valuable of the fish is the herring; but important, too, are the haddock, cod, plaice, and hake. The total annual value of the fish landed in the islands is sixty million dollars.

Fisheries

The structure and position of England have both helped to determine its political history. The civilizing influences of the continent found no great obstacle of sundering sea or mountain barrier to hinder their entrance into the island. The same conditions invited Anglo-Saxon invaders before whose oncoming the earlier inhabitants, the Celts, fled to the mountains of the north and west. When the English were settled in their new home the com-

Geography
and
History

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paratively level character of the country and its greater agricultural resources enabled them in due time to form a single government and to fuse their various peoples into one. When these conditions had been attained it was inevitable that England should eventually annex the countries that share with her the possession of the islands and that she should form the chief unit in the resulting United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. We have now to see something of the geographical features of the other units of the Kingdom.

Wales

The second of the principal divisions of the British Isles is the Principality of Wales, whose area is 7,466 square miles. It projects from England into the western sea, nearly three-fourths of its entire circuit being sea-coast, and it is virtually all mountainous. Most of it is a rugged tableland. It was the final retreat of many of the Celts who fell back from the lowlands of England before the invaders from the continent. A great part of the coast is rugged and dangerous, consisting of steep and forbidding cliffs that receive grimly the rudest buffetings of the Atlantic; but there are frequent harbors easily and safely entered. The Severn is one of the longest rivers in the British Isles, but most of the other rivers of Wales are short and rapid and are useful only to furnish power and supply cities with water. The country is divided into three mountainous regions,—North, Mid, and South Wales. Mid Wales is chiefly a pastoral country and is very thinly populated. The raising of crops, even in the most favored districts, is far behind that of England; and, as is the case in Ireland, the wages of the agricultural laborers are deplorably low. Cattle are raised in the rich pastures of the valleys; higher up one finds numerous flocks of the small mountain sheep, the flesh of which furnishes the highly-prized Welsh mutton, and the upland tracts also afford good pasturage for horses and ponies. The greater part of the population of Wales is to be found in the industrial district that is made up of the northern part of Glamorganshire and the south-eastern corner of Carmarthenshire. The rainfall of Wales is, of course, heavier than that of the greater part of England. North Wales contains the largest slate quarries in the world, and it also possesses valuable copper and lead mines. The great South Wales coal field, in which is found the best steam and anthracite coal in the world, is one of the largest in the British Isles. This coal is sent to many parts of the world, chiefly through the ports of Barry, Newport, and Cardiff. Copper, tin, and lead are also mined in this district; and iron and copper ore brought from foreign countries are smelted with Welsh coal at Swansea. The deep-sea fisheries of Wales are important; and in the rivers

are to be found salmon and trout. Civilization in this mountain fastness, cut off by England from contact with the continent, depending entirely upon its fisheries and its pasture, long remained in a very backward condition; but the discovery of the rich and extensive deposits of coal and iron in the northern and southern parts of the country have brought about a great social change in recent years. Wales has no capital. A physical map of the country will tell us why. The roads do not gather to any great center. In the time before railways it was difficult to cross the ridges of bleak hills to go from north to south, or from south to north; it was far easier to go along one of the river valleys to the east into England.

The separate existence of Scotland was due in part to the great length of the island of Great Britain, which made political unity a difficult thing to attain in times when transportation and communication were slow and arduous, and in part to the pronounced differences between the regions north of the Cheviot Hills and those south of them. The area of this northern half of the island is 30,405 square miles; but its coast-line is much more extensive than one would expect to find in a country of this size, because of the many projections and indentations. So numerous are the arms of the sea, and so far do some of them penetrate inland, that few places are more than forty miles from salt water. A striking contrast is presented by the eastern and western coasts. On the east are to be found several broad arms of the sea, the Firth of Forth, the Firth of Tay, and Moray Firth; and with these exceptions the seaboard is comparatively unbroken. The shores of these large estuaries are generally low, and they are cultivated almost to the tide-water; but between these inlets the land sometimes ends precipitously. The western coast, on the other hand, owing to deeper erosion and to the sinking of the land, is inflected with a great many long narrow arms of the sea; the land rises sharply from the sea, often in the form of sheer and noble cliffs that sometimes attain the height of a thousand feet, and all along the coast, stretching to "utmost Kilda's lonely isle," are chains and groups of islands, a half-dozen of them being of considerable size. The principal rivers are the Forth, Tay, and Clyde; the last, because of the industries at its mouth and its sea-borne commerce, is one of the most important rivers in the world. Scotland is composed of three distinct geographical regions,—the Highlands, which may be said to end on the south with a line drawn from Dumbarton to Stonehaven; the Central Plain, better known as the Lowlands, whose southern limit may be indicated by a line running from Girvan to Dunbar; and the Southern Uplands. The Highlands constitute a lofty region, comprising more than half of Scotland, frequently

Scotland

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broken with deep valleys, lakes, and long arms of the sea, and containing, especially in the north-east, extensive remains of the ancient forests of pine. And with the Highlands may well be studied several groups of islands. The largest of these groups is The Hebrides, both Inner and Outer, which, despite the smoke pennons of the tourist steamer, remain aloof, in almost mystic solitude, from the mainland. There are over a hundred of the Shetland Islands, but only about thirty of them are inhabited. They are dreary and desolate, but picturesque. Their promontories tower high above the stormy sea and their summits are often lost in the mist. The islands are like stepping stones between Norway and Scotland; it was there the Norsemen who came to Britain first landed; and the inhabitants are descendants not of the Celtic Highlanders, but of the Norsemen. The Orkney Islands, unlike the Shetlands, are low. They are separated from the mainland by the stormy Pentland Firth. The Lowlands consist principally of the three valleys of the Tay, the Forth, and the Clyde, with their kindly, gentle slopes. The Southern Uplands are formed by a rolling table-land, averaging about a thousand feet in height, remarkably level, and traversed by many valleys that separate the country into detached moors. This level upland plain is unusually verdant, and therefore it supports numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Only a little more than one-fourth of the area of Scotland is cultivated, while a much larger portion is tilled and plowed in England. This is due very largely to the mountainous character of the country. Oats form the staple grain crop, and barley is next in importance. The production of crops is steadily declining, but the number of live-stock has been constantly rising. Great tracts of land are inclosed as game preserves. Coal and iron, usually found not far from each other, add much to the wealth and prosperity of Scotland. Nearly all the coal in the country lies beneath the Central Lowland, not in the Highlands nor in the Southern Uplands. Thus it has come about that the best agriculture and the chief factory towns are in the same part of Scotland, while they are in different parts of England. The iron, steel, textile, liquor, paper, and ship-building industries are all important, and foreign commerce is very large. All of these industries find their center in Glasgow. That city makes woven goods like Manchester, manufactures steel like Birmingham, and is a port like Liverpool. It is second in size only to London. The rainfall is far greater on "the moist marge of each cold Hebride isle" and along the western mountains of the mainland than it is in the lowland east, and this has led to the raising of sheep and cattle in the west and to the cultivation of the



soil in the east. Almost a million acres are devoted to forests, about half being natural woods and half modern plantations. The soil of the arable portions of Scotland is less fertile than that of England and the climate is more inclement. These facts, together with the greater distance from the continent, delayed the progress of civilization until modern methods of transportation and communication were able to overcome the disadvantages of comparative isolation. But, on the other hand, these difficulties contributed to produce powers of endurance and to form habits of thrift that have given to the Scottish people their distinctive character and have enabled them to make much of the discovery of coal and iron in their country and the increased knowledge of the uses to which these may be put.

The unity of the physical structure of Ireland, whose area is 32,586 square miles, is in striking contrast to that of the larger island we have just described. It is shaped like a saucer. A mountain rim, seldom rising into peaks and never extending very far inland, almost encircles a great central plain. The western coast is cliff-bound, fretted with inlets of the sea, and fringed with numerous small islands. The southern coast is much lower than the western; that of the east is less inflected than the other; while that of the north is for the most part abrupt, with here and there wooded hills and stretches of sand. In the central plain, which is broken by many lakes, are to be found bogs, from which peat is dug for fuel, intermingled with stretches of firm ground. Peat is dead moss heaped layer upon layer and turned brown. Rivers flow from the plain to each of the four coasts. The province of Connaught is in large part a region grim and austere to the verge of desolation, treeless, bald, and naked, with now and then a sort of haggard beauty like that of Ishmael and Hagar, where a congested and impoverished population gains a bare sustenance from the sea and from the scattered patches that have been reclaimed from mountain and from bog. But Munster, with its green fields and feeding flocks, looks like a great farm. To the moisture-laden wind from the Atlantic no high and intercepting mountain ridge is presented. As a consequence the skies are burdened with clouds and there is a superabundance of rain. These tearful skies result in a climate often somber and sometimes gloomy. Much of the land in Ireland is very fertile and capable of easy cultivation, but the excessive rainfall in wet seasons is unfavorable to grain and in consequence the acreage devoted to cereal crops has declined one-half since the middle of the nineteenth century. Even green crops, such as potatoes, beets, and turnips, have declined, though to a slightly lesser extent, in the same period;

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and the cultivation of flax, which is virtually confined to Ulster, has also fallen off. Grass crops, on the other hand, have increased in acreage, and so has the land devoted to pasturage. This change has been brought about principally for three reasons,—dearth of labor due to emigration, better financial returns from live-stock, and the natural richness of the Irish pastures. It should be noted, also, that by temperament the Irishman is more inclined to be a keeper of flocks and herds than a tiller of the soil. The low clouds that drift across the tender fields produce the greenest and the lushest grass to be found anywhere in the world. The island is a land of green grass and moss, almost from end to end, and at all seasons of the year. Since 1850 the number of sheep and cattle raised in Ireland has almost doubled. Coal is found in each of the four provinces, but the output is very limited. Iron is mined in the county of Antrim, but not in any considerable quantity. The only textile manufacture that flourishes is that of linen, of which Belfast is the most important center. The flax plant, from the fibre of which linen is made, is grown in this part of Ireland, and nowhere else in the British Isles. The Irish factories, however, require much more flax than is raised in the island, and raw flax is therefore imported in large quantities. Ship-building is carried on at Belfast; and distilling and brewing give employment to many people, especially in Dublin. The deep-sea and coast fisheries are also important. The separation of Ireland from the continent by the larger island that intervenes greatly delayed the progress of civilizing influences from that direction, and has left the ancient inhabitants less disturbed than were those of England. The unusual similarity of the physical conditions in all parts of Ireland, so different from the striking variety to be found in the larger island, has helped to produce a social uniformity not to be found in England. One result of the predominantly agricultural character of Ireland is that it trades chiefly, not with foreign lands across the ocean, but with Great Britain. The large supplies of food she raises are needed by the great manufacturing towns of England and Scotland. There are only six towns in the island larger than little market towns. Arranged in order of size they are Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Londonderry, Limerick, and Waterford. And, though there are many fine harbors on the west coast, five of these towns are on the coast opposite to England and Scotland. Limerick is a large town only because it lies at the mouth of the Shannon.

Common
Character-
istics of
the Main
Divisions
of the
Islands

We have seen that each of the political units of these islands, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, has its own distinguishing geographical characteristics. But we have also seen that they pos-

sess in common certain fundamental characteristics of structure and position. The fact that they all belong to the same group of islands separated from the continent by a narrow sea has greatly influenced all their inhabitants, though it has affected some earlier and more completely than others, in their progress from barbarism to civilization, for the intervening sea has been wide enough to forbid continual invasion and disturbance from abroad and yet narrow enough to encourage trade and to afford access to civilizing influences. Their common membership in the same group of islands has enabled each of them to play its part in the maritime activity that has been so marked a feature of their history. Their rich natural resources have made it possible for them, especially since the opening of the nineteenth century, to maintain a large population in a comparatively small area. And, finally, all these results have combined to produce another—the unequaled colonial activity of the British and the consequent expansion of a small insular kingdom into a great imperial power.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

J. R. Green's *Short Geography of the British Isles* is written with all its author's literary charm and is still in many respects the best description of the islands for our purpose. H. R. Mill's *International Geography* contains an excellent description of the islands, in its twelfth chapter.

Other useful books: G. G. Chisholm, *Handbook of Commercial Geography*. Cunningham and McArthur, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, Chapter 2. H. B. George, *The Relations of Geography to History*, Chapter 10. A. R. Laws and P. Lance, *Geography of the British Isles*. L. W. Lyde, *The Continent of Europe*, Chapter 16. H. C. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, especially Chapters 1, 2, 11, and 14.

A. Geikie's *Landscape in History* has some helpful information in its fourth chapter. W. H. Hudson's *Afoot in England* is both delightful and instructive; and his *Shepherd's Life* describes the district of the North Wiltshire Downs.

CHAPTER II

BRITAIN BEFORE THE ANGLO-SAXONS

CHAP. II

Testimony
of Geology
Concerning
the An-
tiquity of
Human
Life

WHAT we know of prehistoric life on our planet is ascertained principally by various sciences. This record is by no means a perfect one. It contains many lacunæ that probably will never be filled. Yet it is only from this record that the story of early life on the earth can be learned. But although the continuity in the succession of organic remains found in the rocks and the soils is frequently broken we are by no means justified in coming to the conclusion that the progress of plant and animal life was ever interrupted. There is, on the contrary, good reason to believe that the existence of life has been continuous, and, in the main, progressive. The chief divisions of the geological record, highly artificial in their character, and each extending over a vast unmeasured period of time, are the Archæan, formerly called the lifeless period, but whose rocks in recent years have yielded slight evidences of life; the Palæozoic, or period of ancient life; the Mesozoic, or period of middle life; the Cainozoic, or period of recent life; and the Quaternary period. It was in the last of these five periods that the surface of the globe attained its present aspect; and it was once thought that only in this period has human life existed on our planet. But it is now held that man lived in the preceding Cainozoic, or Tertiary, period. Yet so slight and so rude are the relics of man from that remote time that it is difficult to decide whether they are the remains of tools or weapons; and we know little more of their makers than that they must have led a social or communal life, and that their brains enabled them to win the day against the great beasts who shared the earth with them. Despite the fact that the Quaternary period and that part of the Tertiary period in which man lived cover an enormous stretch of time, the first appearance of man, of man as *man* walking erect, in comparison with the geological history of the globe, and, indeed, in comparison with plant life and with other animal life, is quite recent. Yet when considered by itself it is one of vast antiquity. It is a very conservative statement to say that not less than a hundred thousand years may be regarded as the minimum time for the first appearance of man as *man*, as a being who

had assumed some of the characteristics that distinguish man from other animals, on the earth. What was the maximum date of his first appearance as man, what tenebrous immensity of time has elapsed since that event, no one can say. It is quite probable that the age of man as *man* in the world requires for its measurement not one hundred thousand years but many times that amount. It is not uncommon to date the time when species that can fairly be called human first began to appear on the planet at about two million years ago, of which the brief period of a few thousand years which we call historical is only an insignificant fraction. For life in general on our planet, so conservative scientists assure us, at least one hundred million years, a stretch of time of which the human mind can form no adequate comprehension, must be allowed.

This much of man's story before the time of documentary history we learn from geology. For our knowledge of the character of the civilization before the period of written history begins we must go to some of the other sciences, principally to archæology, which, because they help us to bridge the abyss of the years, are auxiliary to history. With their aid we shall be able to lift the hem of the veil and see something of the life of men who have been dust for uncounted centuries. Archæologists have divided the pre-documentary history of man into three ages,—those of Stone, Bronze, and Iron. But one must not think that each of these three ages ended everywhere suddenly and simultaneously to let the succeeding age begin. Each of them began and ended very gradually at different times in different parts of the world according to the local conditions of civilization. In recent times, for example, the Mexicans and Peruvians were still in the Age of Bronze; while even today the natives of the interior of New Guinea are living in the Age of Stone. These three ages, therefore, are entirely devoid of any universal chronological significance. Yet in a single country they may be safely used to designate three distinct periods in the development of civilization. Much has been learned of the standard of civilization attained by prehistoric man from a study of the implements he has left behind him. The earliest of these implements are of stone. The Stone Age is divided into two parts, the Palæolithic, or the Old Stone Age, and the Neolithic, or the New Stone Age. The chief archæological difference between these two periods is usually stated to be that in the first the stone implements of man were rough, while in the second, after many thousands of years had been spent in learning to improve them, they were polished and perforated. But this distinction is certainly loose and probably inaccurate; for we

Testimony
of Various
Sciences
as to the
Character
of Pre-
historic
Civiliza-
tion

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Palæo-
lithic
man in
Britain

now know that Palæolithic man made a practice of polishing his implements of bone, and there is no good reason to suppose he did not occasionally polish those of stone. We know, furthermore, that Neolithic man polished only such implements as would be improved by the process, and merely chipped those which, like the arrow-point, would not be improved by grinding.

Palæolithic man probably came to Britain when he was able to walk all the way by land from what is now continental Europe. His physical remains are so scanty that it is improbable anthropology, the science that has to do with them, will ever be able to tell us much about the race or races of men who lived in western Europe at this time. Archæology tells us that for thousands of years he had no better habitations than the natural caves which he found along the courses of the rivers or along the rocky coasts of the sea, that he was a hunter and, so the delicate drawings and carvings on the walls of his caves tell us, something of an artist, but that he had no knowledge of pottery until almost the close of the period, and that he knew no metal but gold. Countless ages must have passed in the slow and painful evolution of humanity before even this measure of achievement was made possible; long periods of time only dimly conjecturable to us today. When we catch our last glimpse of Palæolithic man we see him living in a cold climate, scattered over a large area, surrounded by a number of animals, horses, buffaloes, reindeer, the mammoth, the ibex, and the antelope, upon which he preyed for food and with whose skins he protected himself from the cold of the glacial climate. Where did this early race go; and who, if any, are its modern representatives? The answers to these questions are many. None is convincing.

Neolithic
Man in
Britain

Something of a hiatus seems to have occurred, at least in Britain, at the end of the Palæolithic period. By some authorities, this intervening age has been called the Mesolithic period; by others its existence has been denied. It is at the end of this dim and dubious time that we come upon Neolithic man. We find him living in an environment quite different from that of his Palæolithic predecessor. The configuration of the British Isles had come to be virtually the same as it is now. The severely cold climatic conditions had been greatly modified; the old fauna had completely disappeared, and so, too, had the arctic livery of the hills and valleys, and in their stead were animals and plants we now associate with the temperate zone, when it is in a state of nature, and the insects that today fill the English countryside with the noise of their business. The vistas of time have been opened up for us by the spade of the archæologist and

the critical imagination of the anthropologist. Neolithic man is by no means so dim and shadowy a figure as his Palæolithic predecessor. He has never been dispossessed by any great climatic change or by any hostile invasion from outside. His records have been found in the tumuli and barrows and camps that are strewn all over the islands; and so today, although his lips remain silent and will ever thus remain, we are able to predicate of him that he generally lived in villages composed of huts half under ground whose wattled walls and thatched roofs could not endure as did the lower and more solid parts, that he worshiped the sun, studied the heavens, believed in a life after death, buried the dead instead of cremating them as formerly had been the custom, knew the use of fire, and had domesticated the dog, the ox, the sheep, and the pig. Some of these innovations in the life of man, so it is thought, were not due exclusively to causes operating in the British Isles. They seem to indicate that British Neolithic man was not the descendant of predecessors who had lived in the same place, but that he was an immigrant who came into central and northern Europe long ages after Palæolithic man with his characteristic climate and fauna had passed away. But since his time the British Isles have remained continually one of the dwelling places of man. Stonehenge, the circular group of huge standing stones on Salisbury Plain in England, near which no metal tools have been found, is perhaps the remains of a temple dedicated to the worship of the sun and erected near the end of the Neolithic period, somewhere about three thousand years ago; though some scholars assign it to the end of the succeeding age and make its erection fall almost within historic times. The Neolithic period stretched out over unnumbered centuries of time; yet its duration is short when compared to the immeasurable length of the Palæolithic age.

It seems quite certain that in every country the use of stone preceded that of metal. Stone requires no special treatment before being adapted to man's use, while the utilization of every metal demands considerable knowledge, and sometimes it requires a certain degree of reasoning power. The transition from the use of stone to that of bronze in western Europe seems to have been due not to the peaceful advance of civilization, but rather to the oncoming of a new race, the Mediterraneans, from the south-east of Europe, which to some extent fused with their Neolithic contemporaries whenever they came into contact with them. At the present time, the great bulk of the population of the continent and its islands falls into three distinct sub-species of man. First is the Nordic, or Baltic. The members

Racial
Stocks of
the Bronze
Age in
Britain

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of this race are very tall, and they have long skulls, fair skins, blond or brown hair, and light colored eyes. They inhabit the countries bordering on the Baltic and North Seas. Among all the species or races of men only they have blond hair and light colored eyes. They are the white men *par excellence*. They are most distinctly European of all the sub-divisions of the Caucasian race, for it is within the confines of that continent that their physical characteristics and their civilization have been developed. The second of these subspecies is the Mediterranean, or Iberian. The members of this race, also, have long skulls, but the absolute size of their skulls is less than that of the Nordics. They are short in stature, their skin is more or less swarthy, their eyes and hair are dark, their bony framework is comparatively light, and their muscular development is relatively feeble. They are unmistakably a southern type with oriental affinities. They occupy all the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and extend through France into the most northerly of the British Isles. It is to this race that the British people owe whatever brunette characters they possess. The third subspecies is known as the Alpine. Its members have round skulls. They are of medium height and strong in build, a sturdy stock, in whom persist characteristics distinctly Asiatic. Their hair and eyes were originally dark, and still tend strongly in that direction, but, owing to the great infusion of Nordic blood, many light colored eyes are now found among them. They occupy the mountainous territory lying between that of the Nordics and that of the Mediterraneans. These three subspecies are subdivisions of one of the primary groups of man, a group which, for the lack of a better name, may be called Caucasian. A fundamental fact concerning the population of the British Isles is the absence of the round skulls of the Alpines. The United Kingdom is the only important state in which round skulls play no part; and it is the only country of any rank in which the population consists approximately of equal numbers of Nordics and Mediterraneans. To this fact, doubtless, may be ascribed some of the distinguishing characteristics of the British people.

The
"Celts"

At this point it is necessary for us to consider the "Celts." There has never been any such race as the Celtic race since history first began to be written. Long ago, how long we do not know, there was a people who used the Celtic language. Whether or no it was their own language, we cannot say. They formed the western vanguard of the Nordic race. They spread all over the central and western parts of Europe, and perhaps they became merged in the peoples whom they found there and in those who

followed them. The Celtic language in several forms exists today. The people of Brittany, who with their round skulls belong to the Alpine race, use it. The little dark Welshmen, who belong to the Mediterranean race, use it. And the tall Scottish Highlanders, who with their blond hair and light eyes belong to the Nordic race, use it. Clearly, then, we cannot speak of a Celtic race. When, hereafter, we speak of any one of the so-called "Celtic peoples," we shall mean only a people who used a Celtic tongue and who lived in the atmosphere of Celtic culture.

The Age of Bronze may have begun in the East some five thousand years before the Christian era. But so slowly were the rudiments of civilization diffused among primitive men that the new age can be dated only from about 2500 B. C. in central and south-western Europe, and not until somewhere about 1800 B. C. in Britain and Scandinavia.

Our first definite knowledge of the races who have lived in Britain begins with the invasion in the latter part of the Bronze Age, somewhere about the year 600 B. C., or perhaps two hundred years earlier, of that group of the Nordics whom we call the Goidels, or Gaels, and whose speech was Celtic. They seem to have come from the Baltic basin through the Low Countries into France. Some of them went south into Spain and others crossed the Maritime Alps into Italy. In the coastal countries they mingled with the Mediterraneans, and in the center of the continent they intermarried with the Alpines, and thus their Nordic characteristics were modified and their culture became more or less Asiatic. From the continent these Goidels, or Gaels, made their way into the British Isles, settling principally, it would seem, in Ireland and in the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland. The inhabitants whom the Gaels found in the western islands were Mediterraneans who had doubtless intermingled with the descendants of the Neolithic population, and, because of the comparative fewness of their numbers, the blond newcomers soon lost their physical characteristics by marrying with the dark-haired people whose lands they conquered. But the dark Mediterraneans adopted the Gaelic forms of the Celtic speech spoken by the blond invaders. The Gaels themselves became a dark-complexioned people; and no such peoples were ever described as Celts by the ancient writers. The word "Celt," to the early chroniclers, always connoted great stature, light hair, and blue or grey eyes. The languages of the Gaels (Erse in western Ireland, Manx in the Isle of Man, and Gaelic in the Scottish islands and mountains) are clearly distinguishable from the two Celtic languages of Wales and Cornwall.

The
"Celts"
in
Britain

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Civiliza-
tion of the
Bronze
Age

These Gaelic newcomers, or rather the men who descended jointly from them and from the previous inhabitants of the lands in which they settled, were skilled in the manufacture of pottery and of simple forms of bronze implements. They made common use of bone and jet, employed amber for personal decoration far more sparingly, valued very highly the gold they possessed in considerable abundance, cultivated wheat, barley, and oats, practised the art of weaving, and probably engaged in commerce with the peoples of what are now France, Germany, and Scandinavia. It is not easy to understand how the transition from stone to bronze came about. It seems probable that the Bronze Age began with the use of copper. It is true that the weapons and implements of pure copper that have been found are extremely rare, but this may be accounted for by the supposition that when the far more useful properties of bronze were known the copper implements were melted into better ones of the newly-discovered alloy, composed of nine parts of copper and one part of tin, which has a texture and strength suitable for weapons and tools. How was bronze discovered? And by whom and where? One thing that lends color to the thought that the new metal was first used in Asia is that all the bronze objects recovered in various parts of Europe are identical in pattern and size and the designs are distinctly Oriental. In the early centuries of the Bronze Age the principal metal implements were axes, knives that could be used as daggers, and some small tools or ornaments; larger implements, such as swords, spears, and shields, were seemingly altogether unknown. The Neolithic period, we saw, was immeasurably shorter than the Palæolithic, and yet it made greater improvements in the arts of life. The Age of Bronze, in its turn, was far shorter than the Neolithic period, and yet it accomplished an even greater advance in civilization than did its predecessor.

Later
Invasions
of Celtic-
Speaking
Peoples

The third period into which the archæologists divide the prehistoric time of man is that of the Iron Age. This age, in Europe, may be deemed to have begun in the last years of pre-documentary history. In Africa, particularly in Egypt, and in Asia the age probably began four thousand years before the Christian era; and in the British Islands iron was doubtless generally used long before the invasion of Cæsar. Roughly speaking, the Age of Iron may be said to have begun about 1500 B. C. in central Europe and something more than a thousand years later in the British Isles. It was in the Iron Age that the second and third invasions of Celtic-speaking peoples took place. The second of these invasions, that of the Brythons, probably took

place some two hundred years after the coming of the Goidels. The Brythons crossed into the islands where the seas are narrowest and penetrated as far north as the Forth and Clyde and as far west as the Irish Sea. It is from them the Celtic languages and peoples of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany have descended. The final wave of Celtic-speaking men, the Belgæ, reached England somewhere about one hundred and fifty years before the time of Christ and overflowed all the valley of the Thames and the country that lies between the valley and the sea. Just as is the case with their racial predecessors, we do not know how these Nordic newcomers came by their Celtic tongue, nor to how great an extent they intermingled with the Neolithic-Mediterranean-Gaelic peoples whom they found living in the islands; but it is reasonable to suppose that, coming not as mere conquerors but as seekers of a new home, they absorbed rather than obliterated the people whom they found in the new land. By the time of Julius Cæsar all the inhabitants of the two principal islands, with the possible exception of some tribes (among them the Picts) in the far north, were Gaels and Celts in speech and customs and culture.

These newcomers, then, were Nordic in blood and not Celtic. But their civilization was Celtic. And to the extent that they intermingled with the Mediterraneans their blood as well as their culture became partly Asiatic, and so they were widely and sharply differentiated from the subsequent Nordic invaders of the islands, the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes, and Normans. Politically the Celts in England were divided into many tribes that often went to war with one another. They dwelt principally on the uplands and the lower slopes of the downs, because there the dense forests that filled the land were thinnest, and round their dwellings were walls of earth or stone. Here and there, however, were to be found little villages built on piles driven into the marshes. In the south of England something like town life was beginning; and there, too, might have been found a gold coinage and a currency of iron bars. The art of these tribes originated in the far-off ancestral lands of Asia, and was more immediately connected with the culture of their continental cousins. It treated foliage and sometimes animal life in a fantastic and flamboyant manner, utilized geometrical lines, principally graceful curves, and, as it developed, attained much beauty of detail and design. And these island Celts had their own collection of songs and stories. The Gaelic and Celtic literature that has come down to us is of course in great part the product of a much later day, and yet the main characteristics that

Celtic
Civiliza-
tion

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distinguish it from the sagas of the Teutonic and Norse peoples must have existed long ago. Celtic literature is always steeped in an atmosphere of remoteness, and has a pervading sense of the unreality of the world; it is permeated with a vague yet poignant love of some distant and shadowy land that answers to every desire of the heart. Then, too, it is always filled with rich and exquisite decorative detail, so that more than any other literature in the world it resembles the softly blended colors and graceful lines of some old tapestry. The Celts worshiped many gods, whose names and attributes varied greatly from tribe to tribe. Their most important article of faith was that of the transmigration of souls; and the chief functionaries of their religious rites were the Druids, a word that perhaps means "the wise and learned ones." To this priesthood admission was eagerly sought, but it was gained only by a prolonged preparation which consisted for the most part in memorizing a secret lore of sacred songs, prayers, and rules of divination and magic. They were thought to be gifted with magical powers; they claimed power to foretell the future; and at times they offered human sacrifices to the gods. Especially in social matters they exercised great influence among the princes and the common people. Between the insular Celts and those of the continent there was frequent commerce and communication.

The
Roman
Invasion

In the fourth, third, and second centuries before Christ some travelers and merchants from various Mediterranean cities visited the British Isles and carried back with them news of the land and its inhabitants. In the year 55 B. C., and again in the following year, Julius Cæsar, the Roman governor of Gaul, crossed the Channel and engaged in conflicts with the native tribes. The first expedition was a failure, and the second resulted in no permanent gain. Civil war then occupied the attention of the Romans, and so a century passed away before they attempted once more to include within their Empire the distant islands of the western sea. In the meantime Gaul was assimilating not a little of the Roman civilization, and traders from there often came into Britain, bringing with them ideas and things pertaining to Roman life; while British travelers and traders who crossed the narrow seas saw with their own eyes the varied life of the Romanized cities being built in many parts of Gaul. This inflowing of ideas and of implements did much to accelerate the progress of civilization in Britain, so that when the next Roman attempt at conquest was made the wealth of the island had greatly increased, and grain and cattle were exported to the continent. Then, too, many of the smaller tribes had been incorporated into larger ones. This

was especially true of the great state ruled over for more than a generation by Cunobelinus, whose name lives for us in Shakespeare's tragedy of *Cymbeline*. But still the Celts possessed little more than a loose tribal organization, and so, at least in the most habitable part of Britain, they fell an easy prey to the Romans. The Roman conquest of Britain was undertaken in the year 43 under the Emperor Claudius. The most obstinate resistance encountered by the Romans was that made by Caractacus, a son of Cunobelinus, who was finally secured and taken to Italy where he probably ended his days as a pensioner. Looking at the splendid palaces of Rome, so Dion, a Greek historian, tells us, the gallant Celtic prince exclaimed, "And yet the owners of all this must needs covet our poor huts in Britain." There were many uprisings of the half-subjugated natives, the most serious being that of the Iceni under Queen Boadicea. Yet the lowlands of the south, the east, and the midlands were conquered with comparative ease; though for the subjugation of the tribes dwelling in the uplands of Devon, Cornwall, Wales, and the north of England, more than a century and a half was required. At times the invading armies penetrated as far north as the Highlands of Scotland; but eventually the northern wilderness was abandoned and the rampart of Antoninus Pius, which, from the Clyde to the Forth, still runs over the lonely fells of the narrow isthmus, was accepted by the Romans as the outermost edge and buckler of their Empire in the distant west.

It was only the lowlands of England that became really Romanized, and that process had begun while the uplands were being conquered. Towns sprang up in many places, some where the Roman garrisons were stationed, and others where the necessities of the new commerce called them into existence or where long ago the Celtic tribes had established market centers. These towns were at first peopled very largely with Roman citizens, discharged soldiers and Italian merchants who had ventured afar. The imperial government encouraged their growth by bestowing upon them franchise and constitution. Many of them were laid out in the Roman manner with forum, baths, pagan temples, perhaps occasionally Christian churches, though there are but few traces of Christianity in Britain at this time, and other public buildings, whose interior walls were frescoed or lined with marble. They were protected by walls of stone, brick, and concrete, beyond which the more prosperous of them overflowed. The administration of all that part of the province in which peace prevailed was subject to the governor of all Britain, but a very large share of it was actually exercised by the municipal authorities who directed

Roman
Civiliza-
tion in
Britain

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the life not only of their respective towns but of considerable surrounding areas. London became a most important center of commerce, and from it radiated the main groups of roads, which linked the various settlements together. Along these roads, which, throughout the civilized lowlands, furnished means of communication unequaled until the railways of the nineteenth century, light and knowledge found their way and over them the wheels of commerce rattled incessantly. In the uplands of the west and north were military roads connecting the various garrisons that lent security to the lowlands. The civilization of the towns was not confined to the Romans. It was gladly accepted by many of the Britons, who gradually ceased to consider themselves as the involuntary subjects of a far-off ruler and who, instead, deemed themselves to be, not less than those who dwelt by the banks of the Tiber, members of the Roman state. All the towns attained a considerable degree of prosperity, yet none became as important as any of the principal cities of the continent. In the third century country-houses, with their white porticos and red-tiled roofs, abounded in the more thickly settled districts of the civilized area, and were to be found here and there where the population was thinner. About these great homes clustered the huts of the men who cultivated the soil. In the next century the wealth and civilization of the province probably reached their greatest height. The country depended chiefly upon its agricultural products, wheat and wool being exported; but lead and iron were mined in a number of districts. By this time the town population and the educated among the country-folk spoke Latin, and Britain regarded itself as a Roman land, inhabited by Romans and distinct from the outer barbarians. The civilization which had thus spread over so large a part of the island was similar in character to that of the other provinces of the Empire in the west; but it was on a much smaller scale, and owing to the sunless woods and trackless marshes it was unevenly distributed.

**Departure
of the
Romans**

Two groups of causes brought about the decline of the Roman power in western Europe, the internal disorders of the Empire and the external attacks of the barbarians. It was principally the latter that caused the Romans to withdraw their legions from Britain. The province itself had already been threatened by the barbarians. When, therefore, with the imperial edict of 410 which bade the Britons "defend themselves," the three hundred and sixty-seven years of the Roman occupation of the island came to an end, the Romano-British inhabitants were thrown upon their own resources. All during the time of the Roman occupation the Nordic elements in the British Isles were in a minority,

The predominant strain was Mediterranean. The ethnic complexion of the islands had not been much affected by the Roman conquerors. The legions that had been stationed in the islands had been made up of the varied racial stocks of the Empire. From this time on, for nearly six hundred years, floods of pure Nordics were to pour into the islands. The Mediterranean substratum had been able to absorb to a large extent the Celtic-speaking Nordics. Upon this primitive dark population successive layers of blond peoples were to be imposed. But today, after a long period of submergence, this ancient blood is beginning seriously to reassert itself. The blond Nordics are a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers, explorers, rulers, organizers, aristocrats. The little dark man seems best fitted to survive under the conditions of factory work and city life. All their previous life had left the people of the islands unprepared to meet the new invaders. Living under the direction of a distant Emperor they had lost the local independence they once possessed; and, having forgotten how to govern, they had also forgotten how to fight. Then, too, the Roman soldiers had been accustomed to face their enemies in the west and north. There it was that most of the fortresses lay. But the pirate boats of their new enemies were harrying the coasts of the east and the south. It would seem as if the Romano-Britons, after a brief period of brave resistance in which large numbers were killed and others enslaved, lost heart and fled from the comfortable lowlands to the high valleys and the wild moors of the west and north, leaving their hearths deserted and their fires extinct. Many of their cities ceased forever to be the dwelling places of men. Gray ruins mark the sites today of those few of them which have been uncovered to learn the story of their long forgotten life; but over most of them, still covered with the drifted dust, the lark sings in the air and poppies splash with red the waving fields of wheat. In Cornwall, in Wales, in Cumberland, and beyond the rampart of Antoninus Pius, the exiles found new homes and lost much of the Roman veneer, while the Celtic element, lingering still in those lonely places, never perhaps quite extinct even in the lowlands of England, rose to the surface, and, reinforced by accessions from Ireland, absorbed the remnants of the Roman civilization. Celtic speech once more held sway, and, as we shall see later on, Celtic literature emerged from its isolation and made for itself an important place in the history of mediæval life. So did the borrowed life come to an end not long after the last legions streamed back to Rome. And yet doubtless not all of it disappeared in the vanished past; some part of it, if only the roads and the bridges, in themselves civilizing

CHAP. II factors of no mean importance, survived and served to mitigate the barbarity of the new invaders from the continent.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

Now that we have begun the actual history of the islands it may be well to mention two general bibliographies of the subject. H. L. Cannon's *Reading References for English History* covers the entire subject with the exception of our last two chapters; to Charles Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History*, which comes down to 1485, is one of the most scholarly of all bibliographies; and to Judith B. Williams's *A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History*. Attention should also be called here to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, because of its articles on persons and institutions; and to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Lists of references are added to the articles in both these publications.

Thomas Hodgkin's *Political History of England* comes down to 1066 and is the first of a series of twelve volumes by various authors. In this series will be found quite extensive bibliographies. Charles Oman's *England Before the Norman Conquest* is the first of a series of seven volumes by different writers. H. D. Traill's *Social England* is a coöperative work, in six illustrated volumes, dealing with a wide range of subjects and containing a list of references at the end of each chapter. W. Z. Ripley's *Races of Europe* is the standard work on its subject. H. J. Fleure's *The Races of England and Wales* contains much useful and suggestive information.

H. M. Chadwick's *Origins of the English Nation* embodies the best recent studies. Harold Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*. Donald A. Mackenzie, *Ancient Man in Britain*. T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain*; and also his *Cæsar's Invasions*. J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*.

F. J. Haverfield's *The Romanization of Roman Britain* is interesting and scholarly; and his *Roman Britain* is an admirable little book. E. Conybeare's *Roman Britain* is readable and reliable. C. I. Elton's *Origins of English History* relates to this and to the next chapter. H. M. Searth, *Roman Britain*. James H. Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, Volume I, Chapter 7. T. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

(410-1066)

THE hundred and fifty years that followed immediately the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Britain is a period of darkness. We are not sure as to the true reason for the coming of the new peoples, Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Jutes, from what is now north-western Germany, but it seems probable that at first these newcomers, who first appeared in considerable numbers in the second half of the fifth century and the first half of the sixth, were invited by the Romano-Britons to give aid against the Picts of Caledonia and the Scots of Ireland who for some time had been making devastating raids into the very heart of the island, and that only afterwards did these dubious allies become ferocious enemies and take for themselves the land they were invited to defend. In this dark time frequent warfare was carried on between the natives and the invaders, and between the invaders themselves. Gradually there came to be several kingdoms,—Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, which were peopled by Angles; the kingdoms of the East Saxons, the West Saxons, and the South Saxons; and Kent, the kingdom settled by the Jutes, who also peopled the Isle of Wight and the mainland opposite. These were not permanent divisions. They changed with the fortunes of war; but the history of those changes is of little importance to later ages. We do not know how far these Teutonic invaders intermingled with the Romano-British population and how far they exterminated the natives or drove them into the western and northern hills, but it seems reasonable to believe there was a considerable fusion of the two races. Each of these seven or more states seems to have been governed in much the same way as the others. In each we find one family from which, with a few exceptions, was chosen a King, whose title and power were sometimes shared with others, and who was aided by the advice of a council or court which he was apparently at liberty to disregard whenever he deemed it expedient to do so. In each we find administrative districts, or shires, in charge of reeves,

CHAP. III

Early
Teutonic
Civiliza-
tion in
England

CHAP. III who lived in villages that were the commercial as well as the political centers of their respective districts, who collected the dues that varied greatly from one class of society to another, and who in general represented the King in their shires. The newcomers were far less versatile than the Romano-British whom they displaced and absorbed, and they were lower in the scale of civilization; but they were brave, hardy, truthful, and chaste. Permeating the social life of the time were the two fundamental principles of kinship and personal allegiance. It was to some chief or lord that the majority of men, having given their allegiance to him, looked for protection from injury or for redress of grievances; while a man's kin were jointly responsible for his crime and also shared in the payment, the wergild, made when he was killed. Should one desire to take part in the public life of the kingdom it was necessary to become a thegn of some prince, and to serve him in time of peace as well as war. In return the lord provided for the necessary wants of the thegns, bestowed rewards, a share of the loot of some raid it might well be, upon them from time to time, and enabled them to marry by granting lands to them which, at their death, were often conferred upon their sons. Society was sharply divided into nobles and non-nobles; and within each of these classes were to be found minor divisions. Many services, both in peace and in war, were required of the landholders; and the chief duties of the peasantry were doubtless to support themselves, to help to cultivate the lands which the lords kept for their own use, and to repair the roads, bridges, and fortifications. War was probably carried on principally by the nobles, while the common-folk acted as camp-followers, builders, and carters. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the mass of the people, and it was no doubt conducted very largely in a coöperative manner. Plowing and carting teams were probably shared by two or more households. The holdings of land, as in later times, very likely consisted of strips scattered here and there and redistributed every year by lot or in some other way. The peasantry lived in villages in the midst of the common lands where the cows and sheep were pastured; while farther away were the cultivated strips, and still farther the woods in which the pigs were kept. There was often a village mill, in addition to the querns; bee-hives were numerous; and, in addition to the grain crops, fruits and vegetables, many of them first made known to the invaders in the new land and all of them far inferior to those we have now, were cultivated. The conduct of village affairs, both internal and external, probably rested with the lord or with his steward. Town life

TEUTONIC SETTLEMENTS

Scale of Miles

0 50 100



had been unknown to the English in their homes beyond the sea. They were long suspicious of the silent, grass-grown, goblin-haunted places where the old life they had displaced once held sway. But some of the Roman towns, such as London, Canterbury, York, and Lincoln, began to reappear at some time within the first two hundred years after the collapse of the Roman power. Their houses were only one story high. They were built of wood and wattle, their high-pitched roofs were thatched with hay or reeds, or, far more rarely, covered with tiles, and their windows were probably nothing more than openings in the walls. The outer and heavier clothes were made of wool and fur, and for the lighter ones linen was used. Slaves were exported to the continent, where they brought higher prices than at home, and with them probably some grain and cattle, while luxuries, such as silk, jewelry, and silver and glass vessels, were imported. Hunting, with dogs and hawks, was the principal outdoor amusement of the nobles; while indoors they played at dice and listened to the chanting of poets accompanied by the harp. Writing was confined to the Runic alphabet until Christianity brought back with it that of the Romans. The religion of the Anglo-Saxons was a nature religion. It consisted very largely of a deification of the forces of nature. Chief of their gods was Woden, deemed to have special skill in poetry and magic, to whose palace in the skies, Valhalla, the souls of those slain in battle winged their way to spend the days in fighting and the nights in feasting. From this greatest of the gods most of the royal families traced their descent. Freya, goddess of peace and fruitfulness, whose good will every tiller of the soil invoked, was his wife; and Thunor, or Thor, the god of thunder and of rain and the wind, was one of his sons. Below these and other leading deities, nearer to the understanding of the humbler folk, were many gods of localities, deities of the woods and the fields, and numerous heroes, giants, dwarfs, witches, valkyries, and other superhuman beings whose memories still linger in many a legend of the countryside and in the fragments of a literature now largely lost. And running through all this heathen lore was a leavening belief in a future life that did much to soften the rude and often brutal conditions of the time and brought consolation where otherwise there would have been despair.

In the meantime what had been going on in the lands we now call Ireland, Wales, and Scotland? We have seen that somewhere about 600 or 500 B. C. a race of people called the Goidels found their way into Ireland. It seems they conquered the entire island and intermarried with the peoples they found living

Celtic
Civiliza-
tion in
Ireland

CHAP. III there. Later on, Brythonic and Belgic Celts followed them thither; and Picts from Scotland established themselves in the north-west. Other immigrations, notably that of the Milesians, an Asiatic race, increased the conglomerate character of the inhabitants. Something like a central monarchy, with a Milesian dynasty, had its capital at Tara; and under this paramount power were a number of subordinate kingdoms that varied greatly in number and size from time to time. A distinguishing characteristic of the heathen religion of Ireland was the belief in fairies, who still linger in the green woods and fields of the island. In 432 Patrick (389?-461), who was perhaps born somewhere near the river Severn, landed in Ireland to begin the work of converting it to Christianity. It was not the first time he had set foot on the island; nor was he the first to take to its shores the message of the new religion. Carried away from his home by a band of Irish robbers, he had been a captive there in his youth for six years. So he was well acquainted with the language of the people with whom he had to deal. And he knew that because of the semi-feudal condition of society it would be necessary for him to gain the good will of the chieftains. Though Patrick was not the first one to carry Christianity to Ireland, he was the first to spread it extensively among the people, to provide it adequately with churches and schools, and to give it something like systematic form. After his death the organization of the Church in Ireland became closely associated with the tribal system. On the continent the ecclesiastical organization had followed that of the civil government. Bishops, who corresponded to governors and who lived in the capitals of secular districts, directed the religious life of their respective dioceses. But in Ireland there was no such secular organization; and there were no cities that bishops who might desire to inaugurate a system similar to that on the continent could use as capitals. It came about, therefore, that each tribe had its own bishop; and inasmuch as it was not necessary to provide each bishop with a diocese they became very numerous. Monasticism became widely prevalent, and bishops, although they possessed superior religious functions, were to be found in the convents living under the abbots. Findian of Clonard (470?-548) had much to do with the development of Irish monasticism. His famous convent of Clonard is said to have been attended by some three thousand students at the same time. Twelve of his disciples, known as the twelve apostles of Ireland, founded similar monastic schools in other parts of the island, and these institutions made Ireland the greatest center of secular as well as religious instruction in all western Europe. These monas-

teries gave birth to a most remarkable missionary activity. In 563 Columba founded the monastery of Iona, a little island on the west coast of Scotland, whence missionaries went to labor among the heathen of the mainland. From this same lighthouse of Christianity amid the sea of heathenism went forth the sweet and gentle Aidan to plant another at Lindisfarne, and to win for himself an undying name in the story of the conversion of the English race. It has been well said that "Augustine was the apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the apostle of England." In 590 Columbanus, another Irish monk, with twelve companions, set out to preach the Gospel on the continent. He was the first of the long line of Celtic monks who have left their footprints in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy. So fiery was the zeal with which they labored that for a time it seemed as if it were Celtic rather than Roman Christianity that was to leave its stamp upon the western half of Europe. Owing to Ireland's isolation from the Mediterranean lands many differences in the usages of worship appeared when the Irish missionaries came into contact with those from Rome. The chief points of difference were the calculation of Easter and the form of the tonsure. The political history of Ireland during the four centuries immediately succeeding the arrival of Patrick is almost devoid of important events. The establishment of the Milesians of Tara as suzerains of the whole island seems to have brought about the cessation of all political development. There is little more than a record of warfare between the various tribes which the Milesian suzerain was usually impotent to control. The culture and the missionary activity of the Irish monks do not seem to have raised the general standard of life, and it is very questionable whether there was any distinct advance in civilization in Ireland from the latter part of the fourth century until the country came under the control of the English.

By the year 78 the Romans had succeeded in conquering Wales. Christianity found its way into the districts that came more fully under the Roman power; and the labor of the Roman priests was augmented in the three centuries that followed its proclamation as the religion of the Empire by the ardent activity of the Celtic monks. After the fall of the Roman power in the West, the Celts in Wales were cut off from those in Cornwall and those in Strathclyde; and their eastern frontier was fixed by a great earthen rampart and ditch known as Offa's Dyke, which ran from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye. It was not until the ninth century that the Welsh, attacked from the sea by the Danes and from the land by the Saxons, found a prince strong enough

Wales

CHAP. III to curb the turbulent chieftains of his wild land and to repel Danish pirate and Saxon robber. The name of Roderick the Great (844-877) is one over which the Cymric annalists loved to linger.

Scotland

Into the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland, as we have seen, Goidels, or Gaels, found their way; while Brythonic Celts went to live in the Lowlands. The question as to who were the Picts who lived in the north has not been settled. The Roman occupation of Britain affected Scotland only very slightly. When the Romans withdrew the country was contested for by a number of warlike tribes. In the seventh century it had come to be made up of four separate kingdoms. First, there was Bernicia, the northern half of Northumbria, an English-speaking kingdom, which extended from the Humber to the Forth and which had for its capital Bamborough. Second, there was the Welsh, or Brythonic, kingdom of Strathclyde, sometimes called Cumbria or Cambria, whose capital was Alclyde, or Dumbarton. Third, there was Dalriada, which corresponded very nearly to the modern county of Argyle, the kingdom of the Scots, who had come from Ireland, whose name was to be given to the entire country, and whose capital was Dunadd. And, fourth, to the north of Lochaber and Forth, there was the kingdom of the Picts. Between these four principalities was a neutral territory whose inhabitants were drawn from all four of them, but least of all from the Scots; and down in Galloway was a settlement known as the country of the Niduarian Picts. Such, in brief, were the states that had come into existence as results of the almost unbroken warfare of the preceding centuries. The Scots, it would seem, were Christians when they lived in their former home in the north of Ireland. In 563, three years after they had been defeated by the Picts, one of the most famous of the Scottish saints from Ireland, Columba, the Apostle of the Picts, founded his mission on the storm-beaten isle of Iona, situated between the Scottish and the Pictish kingdoms, and began his work of converting the conquerors. About the same time Kentigern, a Welsh missionary, restored the Christianity of Strathclyde, for that kingdom had reverted very largely to heathenism. The English district of Bernicia, or Lothian, as later on it came to be called, occupied the most fertile region of Scotland and its population was far more civilized than that of the other kingdoms; but for almost a hundred and fifty years after this it remained heathen. Christianity, owing to the preaching of Paulinus, an Italian priest who had come to Kent with Augustine, obtained a temporary footing in this corner of Scotland, but it was submerged

beneath a reflux wave of heathenism when Northumbria, of which we know Bernicia was a part, was defeated by Mercia. At last Oswald, who had embraced Christianity when he was a refugee at Iona, came to the Northumbrian throne, and under his auspices Aidan, the apostle of the north, succeeded in winning that kingdom permanently to the Christian fold. The people of Bernicia were distinctly English in language and institutions, yet they were devoted to the ruling families of the north and west of Scotland rather than to those of England, and so all through the succeeding medieval centuries their history is a part of the northern kingdom.

Let us now retrace our steps to see what had been going on in England. At the end of the sixth century the most important English King was Ethelbert of Kent who had won some sort of supremacy over all the other rulers in the more southern of the English states. His wife, Bertha, daughter of the Frankish King who ruled at Paris, was a Christian, and with her had come to England a bishop of her own faith and quite a number of other Christians, so that when Augustine and his band of monks landed in Kent, sent thither by the saintly and sagacious Gregory the Great, the way was already prepared for the reestablishment of the communication between Britain and Rome that had been broken for almost two hundred years. The new missionary, who became the first Archbishop of Canterbury, should not be confused with the great Augustine who is one of the Fathers of the Church. He was a zealous monk who labored for the restoration of Christianity in England some seven years without any very great success. The most important events in which he took part were the two conferences with the Celtic bishops of Wales. The Christians in Wales, as was the case with those in Ireland, completely separated from Rome by the wedge of Anglo-Saxon heathenism, had lived their own life for the past two hundred years. The real difference between the island Christians and those of continental Europe did not consist of the superficial discrepancy in their dates for the celebration of Easter, or in the mode of tonsure, but rather in the desire of the Celts to maintain their religious autonomy and in that of the Romans to bring all Christians within the jurisdiction of the Pope. Augustine was tactless and uncompromising, even arrogant, and so the Welsh went their way with bitterness in their hearts. For a brief time the English mission, through the agency of Paulinus, extended its influence far to the north; but, as we have seen, Northumbria was conquered by the heathen Mercia and almost all traces of the new religion were swept from the kingdom. Oswald, who

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delivered Northumbria from her enemies, was very active in behalf of Christianity. It was but natural that he should favor the traditions of the Celtic priesthood. Aidan, his chief missionary, in accordance with the Celtic custom of avoiding cities, established a second Iona in the island-peninsula of Lindisfarne, now known as Holy Island, and won his way by his gentle character and kindly deeds. To him, more than to anyone else, is due the fact that the Celtic mission in the north was far more successful than the Roman mission in the south. At last, in 664, at the famous Synod of Whitby, these two divisions of Christianity met face to face for a final settlement. It was a momentous occasion, for it was in reality a battle for the spiritual leadership of western Christendom. At the end of the discussion between the priests of the two traditions, Oswy, who was then King of Northumbria, declared in favor of the Roman usages. Thus were the British Isles, by the defeat of the representatives of the Celtic Church, eventually committed to union with the great Christian community of the continent, with its greater possibilities of development, with its wider vision, with its richer and more varied life, and with its more effective organization; and thus did Latin become once more one of the tongues of the islands, in time the language of their worship and of their governmental correspondence. The Celtic religious ideal was one of deep devotion, and it was animated by an unsurpassed spiritual intensity, but it was preëminently ascetic and therefore unsuited to the general life of the world; and its organization, with its non-territorial episcopacy, was only that of the abbot and his subordinates, an organization that had failed to exercise any power as a factor in the unification of the people among whom it had prevailed. From the day of Oswy's decision the Celtic usages began to dwindle in England, and in little more than a century they died out even in Celtic lands.

Ecclesiastical Organization in England

We have now to see how the English ecclesiastical organization was so improved as to become a powerful force in the unifying of the English peoples. This improvement was effected chiefly by a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, who from 668 to 690 was the Archbishop of Canterbury. This learned, saintly, and practical prelate realized that some of the seven existing dioceses, which roughly corresponded to the old kingdoms, were far too large to permit of proper episcopal supervision, so he divided them into fifteen bishoprics, all of them subject to the control of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He also did much to develop the parochial system which aimed to provide every inhabited locality with a priest and a church, though several centuries were to

elapse before the wandering missionary was everywhere displaced by the settled priest and a complete system of parishes was established. More than a generation after his death the Archbishopric of York (if we do not deem Paulinus to have been an archbishop) was established and to its care were confided the bishoprics of the north. The first general meeting of the Church in England had been held at Hertford in 673, before Theodore's work of reorganization had been completed; and after that time many such synods were held in which, acting under the direction of the Primate, rules for the regulation of conduct and worship were adopted. Thus England achieved ecclesiastical unity long before she attained political unity. A well articulated system, reaching from the religious capital of the English to the remotest parish, had been established, and by means of it the spiritual ministrations of the Church could be directed in an orderly manner, channels were provided for the outflowing of secular culture, and the various English peoples were gradually accustomed to think of themselves as being essentially one and were thus inspired with broader aims; for this ordered hierarchy and this national legislation spoke eloquently to the English peoples of the desirability of a similar organization for their civil affairs.

In every diocese were to be found many monasteries, each governed by its own abbot, but each subject in some respects to the jurisdiction of the bishop within whose diocese it was situated; and many more of them, destined to play a large part in the story of England, were erected later on from time to time. It was in the monasteries that the regular clergy lived, monks and nuns who lived under some *regula*, or rule, and whose work, unlike that of the secular clergy, was carried on within the convent precincts, and not performed in the *sæculum*, in the outside world, among the mass of the people. In western Europe most of the monasteries followed the wise and moderate rule of Benedict, which required the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, which sought to provide suitable work for every inmate of the convent, which was very democratic in spirit, and which enjoined moderation in all things. At first many if not most of the monks came from the continent. They were, of course, familiar with Latin; they were accustomed to keep accounts in a systematic way; and under their influence the laws of the various kingdoms were gradually committed to writing. Acquainted as they were with the far greater kingdoms of the mainland, they naturally thought the petty English states should be welded together; and they doubtless lost few opportunities to point out to the more vigorous Kings how this could be done. In the long centuries

Monastic
Life in
England

CHAP. III that were to elapse before the cities became centers of learning and the invention of printing rendered unnecessary the laborious work of copying books, the monasteries, seldom the homes of new thought, were almost the sole custodians of the learning of the past. As yet their subdivision of labor was not as minute and exact as it came to be in subsequent times, nor was the routine of their life so placid and serene. The wild times that England was to see before her Kings had power to repel the invader and to enforce law and order throughout the land made it necessary for the monks to be fighters as well as scholars; but already within their convent walls, as nowhere else in those days, learning found a harbor of refuge, while the hospitality they dispensed did much to soften the harsh incidence of the outside world. In the betterment of life that took place in England in the eighth century the secular and the regular clergy played the leading part. The monks became the best farmers and the most indulgent landlords. From distant lands they and the secular priests sometimes obtained gold and silver and jewels for their altars and their shrines, incense for the celebration of the mass, silks and other shimmering fabrics for their vestments; and so it is not too much to say that their needs first set afoot the great commerce of modern England. Something, too, of manufacture was carried on by the monks, especially after men skilled in weaving, in metal-working, and making of glass, and in carving stone, were imported from the continent. Here and there abbeys and churches were built of stone, their windows filled with glass, and in their towers were hung the consecrated bells that summoned the faithful to prayer and marked the passing of the hours and the days. Thus was the monastic life many-sided, material and intellectual as well as spiritual, and so it made for the development of a wide variety of personal character and individual ability. It is little wonder, therefore, that the monasteries became the cradles of English literature.

Literature
in Heathen
England

Of course English literature did not begin at this time. No one can say just how far back we must go to find its beginnings. The earliest existing manuscript goes only to the seventh century, and very few go beyond the eleventh. Yet we know that the Angles and Saxons must have brought many songs and stories with them from the wild lands of the north whence they came. The earliest poems of our English forefathers that have come down to us are the narratives of seafarers filled with a passion of joy in the struggle of man with the sea and its storms, and a love of its rock-bound shores, its majestic sweep, its melancholy moods. Chief of these, and oldest of the Teutonic epics that

have survived to our own time, is the poem *Beowulf*. Like all the early literature of the Teutonic peoples this epic, which is the most explicit expression we have of the spirit and conditions of early Teutonic society, contrasts vividly with similar Celtic poems. There is no longer the aerialness, the atmosphere of twilight and of distance, the ever-present sense of the unreality of the world, and the decorative detail of the Celtic legends. There is, instead, realistic emotional intensity, an atmosphere of "star-lit nights and storm-swept days," concern with human passions and human deeds, and, in place of a lapidary art, a simple and direct treatment which gives to its human figures a heroic magnificence never achieved by the Celts. The poem is a tale of brave deeds nobly done. It is filled with a spirit of daring adventure, with deeds done in a self-reliant age. It resounds with the noise of feasting and banter, with stirring deeds of the past, of voyages in long and narrow ships across the lonely seas, of gross appetites and restless passions, with the wild notes of the war song, with mournful memories of the homeland beyond the sea, and in it may also be found the mist-exhalations of the northern moorlands and the mysterious voices of wind and sea.

When we pass from the literature of the heathen period to that of Christianized England the first figure we meet is that of Cædmon, who, so Bede tells us, lived and wrote in the abbey built on the cliffs of Whitby. The work of this Yorkshire peasant, this earliest verse of Christian England, is notable for its strength rather than its beauty, for swift and vivid phrase rather than conscious art. Yet mingled with all this is something of the wide vision of the new religion; and in due time was the early literature of England to give witness to the growing civilization. The monasteries, as we have seen, were homes of learning. When Theodore of Tarsus came to England he brought with him a monk named Hadrian who had an excellent knowledge of Greek as well as of Latin. A cathedral school was started at Canterbury, which for more than a century was a center of Greek learning and did much to make that tongue well known in England when it was rarely to be met with elsewhere in western Europe; and other important schools were those at Wearmouth and York. At York, later on, was educated Alcuin (735-804), to whom Charles the Great intrusted the direction of the palace-school at Aachen and whose work there and in other parts of the great Frankish Empire sheds lustre upon the school from which he came. Latin, of course, as the language of the Church, was taught in the monasteries and the cathedral schools. Cædmon's hymns and metrical paraphrases of stories from the *Bible*, and those of other

Earliest
Literature
of
Christian
England

CHAP. III

Venerable
Bede

poets whose names have perished, were written in Latin, and they form a connecting link between the heathen literature, written in Anglo-Saxon, and the subsequent writings written in a more modern form of English.

Far more important is the work of another Northumbrian monk. The Venerable Bede (672-735) was the most learned man of his age, and the one true historian that Europe could boast for several centuries. All his life he lived in the monastery at Jarrow, where, in his own words, his quiet days were spent "taking delight in learning, teaching, and writing," putting in readable form all that was then known of astronomy, physics, music, grammar, arithmetic, rhetoric, and many another science and art, stirred by the golden thought of Plato, enchanted by the old Vergilian charm, and animated always by the sweet spirit of the Nazarene. All his literary work was done almost entirely by himself. "I am my own secretary," he confides to us. "I make my own notes. I am my own librarian." His principal work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which tells most of what we know of England for a hundred and fifty years, which testifies to his love of historic truth, which reveals a religious heart and a systematic mind, and which is the first prophetic utterance of the unity of the English people. Still another Northumbrian writer was Cynewulf, the greatest of English poets before the Norman Conquest, whose religious poems are filled with the fervor of true devotion.

Coming
of the
Danes

Ecclesiastical unity, as we have said, did much to further the cause of political unity in England. Yet progress in this direction was slow. The history of the several English states from the time of their formation in the fifth and sixth centuries to 830, when Egbert, King of Wessex (802-839), succeeded in establishing a lordship over all the other kingdoms, is one of frequent warfare between the separate sovereignties and of insurrection within the confines of the single states. The Celts of Devon and Cornwall were also included in the conquests of Egbert, and so all England was for a time under the lordship of Wessex. But this suzerainty must not be mistaken for a real union of England. There was, of course, nothing that resembled national legislation; and there was no feeling of unity among the various English peoples. The time was not ripe for changing the overlordship of England into an effective centralized monarchy. The English peoples had yet to enter upon a long and dreadful struggle for their lands and their lives. Even before Egbert became King of Wessex the Danes had sacked the monastery of Lindisfarne and had made other descents upon the eastern and southern

THE DANES IN ENGLAND

Scale of Miles

0 50 100

N O R T H

S E A

IRISH SEA

Firth of Forth

Lindisfarne

Whitby

York

Lincoln

London

Canterbury

Winchester

Glastonbury

E N G L I S H C H A N N E L

W E S S E X

W A L E S

E N G L I S H M E R C I A

N O R T H U M B R I A

D A N I S H M E R C I A

D A N I S H N O R T H U M B R I A

G U T H R U N ' S K I N G D O M

E N G L I S H N O R T H U M B R I A

S T R A T H C L Y D E

C U M B R A

S t . G e o r g e ' s C h a n n e l

I O N A

coasts. This new deluge from the Scandinavian north, caused perhaps by Charles the Great's conquest of Saxony, came at a time when the English, having lost their ancient love of the sea, were destitute of ships. At first these new enemies, who called themselves Vikings, but who were known in England as Danes, in Ireland as Ostmen, and on the continent as Northmen, came merely to carry off their captives into slavery and to plunder the gold and jewels of convents and cathedrals, but by the middle of the ninth century it had become their aim to conquer and possess the land.

By the time of Alfred the Great (871-900?) the Danes had become virtually the masters of all England north of the Thames and had made serious incursions into the remaining portion. But, after many battles, the noblest of English Kings succeeded in turning the tide and confined the invaders to that part of England, north and east of a line drawn from London to Chester, which became known as the Danelaw. He had been able to do this because of his personal character, his division of the *fyrð*, or the people in arms, into two parts that served in alternating periods and thus provided for continuous military service and at the same time provided for the tilling of the soil, his establishment of fortified posts (gates that were to guard the land) at strategic points, his compulsion of all owners of five hides of land to render the service of thegnhood and thus supply him with a body of well-equipped troops, and his efficiency as a general. But Alfred's high conception of the duties of kingship did not end with the mere security of his people; having delivered them from the Danes he strove to deliver them also from ignorance. Civilization had suffered heavily at the hands of the Danes, for the monasteries had been special objects of their attacks. Latin, even among the clergy, had become virtually extinct; and books and works of art had been destroyed or carried away. And, quite apart from the disastrous results of the Danish invasions, England herself, in the dark confusion of the century that intervened between the death of Bede and the birth of Alfred, had been lapsing into barbarism. In the moments he could spare from the "manifold worldly cares that oft troubled him in mind and body" he addressed himself to the difficult work of rekindling the dying flames of learning. He revised the existing laws by rejecting some and by restating others so as to make them more suited to the changed conditions of society. He summoned to his aid many scholars from other lands, founded schools and abbeys, and strove to rescue from oblivion the disappearing fragments of the literature of his race. The most important of his schools was

Alfred
the Great

CHAP. III the one he established at Winchester, in which he placed some of his foreign teachers and to which he allured children of his thegns and humbler subjects. For the special benefit of the clergy he translated Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*; and for all his people he rendered into the Wessex tongue the *History of the World* by Orosius, a Spanish monk, at that time the best general survey of history, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and in many respects the most interesting of all, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, the golden book which the dying Roman world had bequeathed to the Middle Ages and which for hundreds of years brought comfort to many a weary soul. And it seems certain that it was Alfred who, perceiving the desirability of expanding and systematizing the brief and casual historical records made in the monasteries, called into being one of the most important of the national histories of England, the first history in the vernacular of any Teutonic people, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It is more than a thousand years since Alfred died, but still today, for what he did and for what he was, he remains the finest example of all that is noble, of all that is lovable, in the English character, and the glory of his name grows greater with the passing years.

Gropings
toward
Unity in
England

Alfred's son, Edward the Elder (900-924), pushed back the southern and western limits of the Danelaw; while Athelstan (924-940), after many struggles, reconquered the remainder, although he was able to exercise over it only an overlordship. It was left to Edmund (940-946) and to Edred (946-955) to succeed in extinguishing the Danish power. The wise policy of these two Kings, who employed men of Danish descent in the governmental service, aided very materially in assimilating these erstwhile invaders from the north. Over the brief reign of Edwy (955-959) we may pass quickly, and pause to note that in the time of Edgar the Peaceful (959-975) the power of the house of Alfred reached its zenith. This was due in no small degree to Dunstan (925-988), Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief counselor of the King and of three of his successors, who is the first of the long line of English ecclesiastical statesmen that was to end only when the head of Archbishop Laud rolled from the block. There was much for Dunstan to do. More and more bishops and abbots had come to take part in secular affairs to the detriment of the religious life in their dioceses and convents. This engagement in worldly things may have been necessitated by the Danish inundation and by the incapacity of the English secular leaders and the lack of unity among them. But whatever may have been its justification, it was full of peril to the Church. And

peril, too, lay in the rapidly accumulating riches of the prelates. The episcopal and the abbatial offices were bought and sold; and convents became the sheltered homes of luxury and vice. Such a decline had been witnessed on the continent, but a great movement of reform, which originated in the convent of Cluny, succeeded for a time in arresting the ruin of the Benedictine ideal, although its extreme centralization of power in the hands of the Abbot of Cluny was the very antithesis of the democratic policy of Benedict. The plans for the restoration of monastic life which Dunstan brought back with him from France by no means represent the extent of his activity. He was a statesman of far-reaching vision, as well as a prelate, an administrator of marked ability, and something of a devotee of learning. He doubtless had much to do with the large amount of legislation enacted in Edgar's time; he promoted intellectual intercourse with the continent; and it is certain he made a powerful impression upon his own generation and those that immediately followed it. The short reign of Edward the Martyr (975-978), murdered by a faction of the nobles, was such as to make the English regret its brief duration. The son who succeeded him, Ethelred the Redeless (978-1016), a name that means the one who lacked good counsel, was a mere child of eleven years, and in his long and dreary reign it was that the Danish conquest of England began.

If we look briefly at the Celtic lands we shall see that Ireland, still under the shadowy suzerainty of the Milesian Kings at Tara, was also invaded by the Northmen. There, too, the monasteries were plundered by the Vikings; and to escape these attacks many Irish monks and scholars fled to the continent, among them being that extraordinary genius John Scotus Erigena (800?-877), or John the Scot, who became for some thirty years the head of the palace-school of the Frankish King, Charles the Bald. Steeped in Neo-Platonic thought, this bold thinker, who declined to accept for his major premises the dogmas of the Church, who relied upon reason rather than upon authority, evolved a theory of emanation distantly resembling the modern doctrine of evolution, and formulated the only complete and independent system of metaphysical thought that came to light between the decline of classical philosophy and the elaborate system which in the thirteenth century was produced by Thomas Aquinas. It is true he borrowed his materials from the past, but he dealt with them in a masterful way, fusing them by the power of his thought into an organic whole, proving himself to be in this respect a solitary thinker for several centuries. A number of cities, the first in the island, were founded by the Northmen in the territory that fell

Ireland
and Its
Invaders

CHAP. III

into their possession. Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and others make their appearance in history for the first time about the middle of the ninth century, and from them ships of commerce sailed to England, France, and Norway. But the history of the island in these centuries is one of incessant warfare, until in 1002, owing to the victories of Brian Boruma, the overlordship passed from the Milesian dynasty to the family of Dalcais. In his reign of twelve years (1002-1014) Brian did much for the welfare of the Irish by building and repairing roads, bridges, schools, and churches, and by a better administration of the laws of the land. But even he did not succeed in bringing peace to the distracted country. Fresh inroads of the northern invaders had to be met. At last, in 1014, in the great battle of Clontarf, the Irish defeated Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and thus rendered impossible a Scandinavian supremacy over the island; yet in the struggle the aged Brian perished, and the central authority was so weakened that for a long time afterwards Ireland was in a state of anarchy.

Internal
Strife in
Wales

The first prince who succeeded in imposing his authority throughout Wales, as we saw, was Roderick the Great. Roderick was killed in battle in 877 and Wales was divided between his three sons. The country, distracted by internal strife, was not united again until the time of Llewelyn ab Seisyllt, whose reign came to an end in 1022. Griffith ab Lleweloy, his son, waged war with Wessex, and it was not until the time of William the Conqueror that something like peace was given to the border between England and Wales.

Unifica-
tion of
Scotland

We left Scotland divided into four principal parts,—the English kingdom of Bernicia, or Lothian, which was a part of Northumbria; the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde; the Scotie (Irish) kingdom of Dalriada; and the kingdom of the Picts. The Scots conquered Pictland, gave their name to that part of the country, and brought about the prevalence there of the Gaelic language. Then, under Malcolm I (943-954), they acquired Strathclyde; and finally, under Malcolm II (1005-1034), they secured possession of English-speaking Lothian, and even extended their possessions beyond the historic border of the Cheviot Hills. Lothian, as we have seen, remained loyal to the Scottish Kings, who left their capital in the Highlands and came to hold their court at Edinburgh. The province acted as a medium for the transmission of a higher civilization into Scotland, and it made Scotland so English that the English were never able to conquer it.

Danish
Conquest
of England

Having glanced briefly at these outlying parts of the British Islands we must now return to the story of England. Very early in the long reign of Ethelred the Redeless (978-1016)

Dunstan withdrew from public life, and no man was fitted to be his successor as the chief adviser of the King. For a time the machinery for the conduct and defense of the country established by the preceding rulers proved to be adequate to secure the welfare of the kingdom, even under so incompetent a King as Ethelred turned out to be; but it broke down when submitted to a strain greater than any England had hitherto experienced. In the tenth century, three vigorous kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had grown up in the Scandinavian peninsulas; and from them, about 980, a new set of invaders crossed the sea and descended upon the English coasts. These new enemies came under the sanction, if not the actual leadership, of one or other of the Scandinavian Kings, and so their attacks were more sustained and more systematic than had been the piratical raids of their ancestors. Ethelred bribed the invaders to depart, but this only whetted their appetite and led to renewed attacks under Sweyn, King of Denmark, which resulted in the complete conquest of England and the flight to Normandy of her weak and wayward King. Sweyn survived his acknowledgment as King of England only a few weeks. His son Canute, a boy of eighteen, was acclaimed by the Danes as his successor. The English under Edmund Ironside (1016), son of Ethelred, a hard-fighting prince, resisted for a time; but Edmund soon died, and then the English acknowledged Canute as their King. In a few years Canute (1017-1035), who spent the greater part of his time in England and who married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, became more of an Englishman than a Dane, and proved to be a most adroit ruler, one of the wisest and ablest England had known. His dooms reveal an appreciation of the desirability of arranging the laws of the land in a systematic way and a resolve to give equal justice to Dane and Englishman. His administration was statesmanlike as well as vigorous; and he was a genuine friend of learning and culture. During his reign England was the center of a great though transitory northern Empire. All the Scandinavian lands, the northern isles, Scotland, and Ireland, acknowledged him as overlord. Yet he left the English-speaking province of Lothian in the hands of the Scottish King. It was this relinquishment of Lothian that ultimately made Scotland a Teutonic rather than a Gaelic state; for not only did the Scotie Kings come down from the Highlands to live among their English-speaking subjects, but the English of Lothian gradually assimilated both the Welsh of Strathclyde and the Niduarian Picts of Galloway, so that the only part of Scotland that was not English was the Gaelic north. Two sons of Canute, both disso-

CHAP. III lute and altogether unworthy of their father, disputed the throne ; and for a time they divided England between themselves. In Mercia and Northumbria Harold Harefoot (1035-1040) held forth as King ; while Hardicanute (1040-1042) ruled only in Wessex until his brother's death.

Civiliza-
tion in
England
at the End
of the
Anglo-
Saxon
Period

We have now to make a brief survey of the state of English society as it was at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. The several English states that warred so often with each other had given place to one. Over the single state ruled a King elected by the great princes and prelates. These leading men of the country composed the Witan, or Witenagemot, or National Council of Wise Men, which met from time to time, usually at the chief festivals of the Church, to give advice to the monarch and to discuss with him important affairs of the kingdom, such as the appointment of the leading ecclesiastical and secular officials, innovations of the law, taxation, and war. Of course a powerful King would be able very largely to dominate the Witenagemot, and a weak one would be almost completely under its control. Its power would therefore vary greatly with the character of the King. There was a good deal that was worthy the name of law. It was customary law, it is true ; but it was nevertheless real law and highly evolved. By far the greater part of the codes, or rather collections, of written laws, were formulations by successive Kings of the most necessary or controvertible parts of the customary law. The wergild, the payment made to atone for murder, had not yet been superseded. The largest divisions of the country were called shires. Each shire was presided over by one of the ealdormen, who were great royal officials and members of the Witenagemot. Sometimes an ealdorman was set over several shires, but he always presided separately, in conjunction with the bishop, in the court of each of the shires of which he had charge. In each shire there was also a shire-reeve, who long afterwards came to be known as a sheriff, and who by this time, because of a multiplication of his functions, had become the chief administrative official of the shire. He was appointed directly by the King, and was therefore dependent upon him. It was his duty to collect the royal income in the shire, to enforce the law, and to see that the other ordinary affairs of government were properly carried out. Twice a year, usually, a moot, or a court, was held for the settlement of matters pertaining to the shire. At these meetings messages from the King were read, lawsuits between important men were settled, and other similar business was transacted. The ealdorman, the sheriff, and the bishop were required to be present at the moot in order

THE ENGLISH SHIRES

Scale of Miles



N O R T H

S E A



to explain and carry out the law. Each shire was divided into smaller districts called hundreds, except in that part of the country which had once formed the Danelaw, and there they were known as wapentakes. They were not uniform in size; in the south they were usually smaller and therefore more numerous than in the north. The hundred had a court of its own in which cases were tried. If the hundred court did not meet, or if for one reason or another it failed to hear a case, the case might be taken to the shiremoot. These were the only two courts existing in the country with the exception of the feudal and manorial courts of the King and the nobles. The two ordinary ways of trying accused men were compurgation and ordeal. When the former method was used the court decided whether the accuser or the accused should appear at the next court with a certain number of men of good character, called compurgators, who would swear that the oath of the party whom they supported was reliable. Three methods of ordeal were common. In one the accused carried a piece of red-hot iron a certain distance. If at the end of three days it appeared that God had intervened either to protect the hand from burning or to hasten its healing the man was deemed guiltless. The second method consisted of plunging the arm of the accused into a vessel of hot water. When the third method was used the accused was thrown into a pond or river. Whenever there seemed to be a sign of divine intervention the accused was declared innocent. The method to be employed in any given case was chosen by the court. It was very crude, of course, but it was better than the old blood-feud which it supplanted.

The wild and lawless times brought about a growing dependence of the smaller landowners upon the greater, for only the latter could afford to build a fortified dwelling strong enough to resist the piratical Dane or the English robber; and this dependence was fast causing the old tribalism to be supplanted by feudalism, and by the manorial system, which existed contemporaneously with feudalism, but which is not to be confused with it. Except in the region that had once formed the Danelaw, the mass of men were no longer free allodial owners of land, but the vast majority of them cultivated the soil in dependence upon the lords of the manors. We shall describe feudalism and the manorial system when we reach a period in which they attained a greater development and in which we may have the advantage of the Domesday Survey.

Up to Alfred's time England had but few towns; with his reign they begin more rapidly to increase. London, a "mart of

Begin-
nings of
Feudalism

Rise of
the Towns

CHAP. III many traders," gradually displaced Winchester as the capital. Oxford had come into existence by the opening of the tenth century; and among the other towns were Gloucester, Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Taunton, Sandwich, Canterbury, Rochester, Southampton, Norwich, Stourbridge, Tamworth, Lincoln, and York. Yet none of these towns was large, even judged by medieval standards. Most of the English towns before the Norman conquest were mere villages of wooden dwellings defended with a stockade and a ditch. They had come into existence where some road crossed a river, where an inlet of the sea provided a good harbor, where a monastery or the dwelling of a lord afforded protection, where the site of a Roman town offered building materials, or where the need of a market had made itself felt. And it was as markets for agricultural products that most of the towns prospered, for there was little manufacture. Every town, as well as every manor, had its arable land, its common meadows, and its common woodland; and few if any of the burghers were able to earn a living exclusively by work within their town walls. Most craftsmen had still to plow and sow and reap in order to eke out their living. And they were as yet "unfree." Individual independence was to be acquired only gradually, as municipal freedom was secured. Fishing was next in importance to agriculture. Salt-making, iron-working, the making of many leathern articles, and masonry and carpentry were all important industries.

**Decline of
Literature**

For a hundred years after the death of Alfred the stimulus he gave to literary activity made itself felt. But gradually it declined. Between his death and the Norman Conquest only three things rose to the level of importance in the field of literature. The first is the homilies, or sermons, and other writings of Ælfric (955?-1020?), the ease and grace of whose style far surpass that of Alfred and make him the greatest prose writer in the vernacular before the Norman Conquest. They explain the various festivals and doctrines of the Church and recount its recent history. The second is the Homeric poem, inserted in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which celebrates the victory of Athelstane at Brunaburgh, in 937, over a combined army of Danes, Scots, Picts, and Welsh. And the third is another fragment of verse, instinct with dramatic power, also embedded in the *Chronicle*, describing the battles with the Danes in 991 at Maldon. The *Chronicle* itself continued to be written, in several monasteries. Owing to the many hands employed in its composition its literary merit varies greatly, but all of it after the first Danish raids is filled with the gloom of that wild and lawless time.

Literature, while it did not wholly perish in the half century that intervened between the Danish and the Norman conquests, suffered a marked decline and was destined to experience a long eclipse. When at last it emerged above the waters of the social deluge it had found a new tongue; not that of Northumbria, in which Bede wrote, not that of Wessex, into which Alfred turned the books he loved, but that of Mercia.

CHAP. III

After the death of Canute's sons the Danish Empire fell apart. To the English throne there succeeded not a Danish prince, but Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), the only surviving son of Ethelred the Redeless. The new King was distinctly lacking in the qualities of a ruler, and he was especially unfitted to reign in the difficult time in which his lot was cast. He was the mildest of men, a crowned monk, who relinquished the reins of government while he devoted himself to prayer and church building. He was incapable of wise counsel and vigorous action in days when both were needed. The charm of his person, however, appealed to the monastic biographers, and so about his figure there was thrown a halo it had not possessed in life. About a hundred years after his death he was canonized, and upon him was conferred the title of Confessor. For almost a generation, in the most plastic period of his life, he had lived at the Norman court; and so, half Norman by blood and wholly Norman by education, he was an Englishman in name only. What had been the history of the land in which Edward had been reared? Early in the tenth century the Northmen had settled in the French district that afterwards came to be known as Normandy. Rolf, their leader, became the "man" of the French King; and his successor, William Longsword (927-943), was given the title of Duke. The newcomers were shrewd and cunning. They had a notable power of imitation; and very soon they intermarried with the French, adopted their language, assimilated their civilization, and improved upon it. Into the service of their Duchy they invited men of talent, learning, and skill from many places. In course of time their literature, chivalry, and architecture "became the envy of Europe." Richard the Fearless (943-996) became the most powerful vassal of the King of France. Under him and his successors Normandy continued to grow steadily in power and prestige until finally the Duchy came into the control of William II (1035-1087), the illegitimate son of the preceding duke by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. This William it was who afterwards became William I of England. Edward filled his court with Normans; but England was really ruled by three great earls, Leofric, of West Mercia, Godwine, of Wessex, and Siward,

The
Norman
Conquest

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of Northumbria, all of whom had been servants of Canute. They did not work in harmony, however, and their struggles for supremacy over the King, who seemed never to have any mind of his own, filled the long reign with discord and disputes. When the childless Confessor died, Harold (1066), son of Godwine, earl of Wessex, grasped the scepter. But William of Normandy, asserting that Edward, his cousin, had designated him as the next King of England, and having some years previously extorted under duress a pledge of support from Harold, when that prince was an involuntary visitor in Rouen, laid claim to the Crown. So, with an army of which the Normans constituted less than one-half and of which the greater part was made up of mercenaries and adventurers, lured from many parts of Europe to the standard of the greatest captain of the age by the promise of land and loot, he set sail for England to enforce his claim. The moment was an opportune one for the invader; Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, had descended upon Northumbria and captured York. The English Harold had rushed north and defeated the Scandinavian King. Then a forced march to the south brought him face to face with the Norman Duke. The diversion of the Norwegian raid greatly weakened the English forces. The extraordinary rapidity with which the regular troops marched back to the south left the raw levies far in the rear; and to make matters still worse Harold was surprised by the Normans into giving battle when he must have known that it would be better to await reinforcements. Yet, even with these great disadvantages, the issue of the battle fought at a place, long afterwards called Senlac, seven miles north of Hastings, appears to have hung in the balance until the end. It was the death of Harold, wise and just, last of the Saxon Kings, that decided the struggle. The invaders prevailed; and on Christmas day of the same year, 1066, William was crowned King of England. In 1070 Northumbria was subjected to the most ruthless ravaging which all the history of England had recorded; and somewhat later the last resistance of the natives to the foreign yoke was crushed in the eastern fens and the Norman conquest was complete.

The People
Who Were
Conquered

It was not an English nation that William had met and overcome. Though in no small degree the Angles, Saxons, Celts, and Danes had intermingled, they were still in large part, in their own corners of the country, clearly distinguishable from each other. And far more important than the absence of racial unity was the lack of national consciousness. The mass of men still thought of themselves as Northumbrians, or Mercians, or men of Wessex. If a few of them saw in the distance the vision of

national unity the eyes of the many could see no further than the province in which they lived. The nation of England was not yet born. When the sullen north left to Harold and the south the task of repelling the Norman foe it was merely one of the many instances of a lack of national feeling even in the face of the gravest danger. For a long time the English peoples were to be submerged by their new conquerors; they were to learn the severest lessons of submission of which their story has left us a record. But they were to emerge at last, the peaceful conquerors of those who in war had conquered them; they were to rise in the scale of civilization; and, above all else, they were to cherish memories of a common past and to look forward with hope to a common future. Then, and then only, did there come into being the English nation, that unity of the English people whose basis is the identity of spiritual interests and no longer merely the harsh compulsion of the sword.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

With this chapter it would be well to begin to make use of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. And from now on many articles useful for our purpose will be found in R. H. I. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

Among the general histories of the time is Edward A. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, which, however, ought to be read in connection with a more recent and accurate work, such as J. H. Ramsay's *Foundations of England*. John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People* ought to be read in its entirety, because of its point of view, and because it is one of the finest examples of what history, as a branch of literature, ought to be; but it is gradually being left behind by the scholarship of our own time; his *The Making of England* deals only with the present period of our study.

Selections from the Anglo-Saxon laws are to be found in William Stubbs' *Select Charters Illustrative of English Constitutional History*, of which the seventh is the last edition, and in F. L. Attenborough's *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. An excellent collection of original source material, useful from now on almost to the end of our study, is Edward P. Cheyney's *Readings in English History*. The best edition of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is that by Charles Plummer. A translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by J. A. Giles is published in the Bohn Standard Library.

G. B. Adams's *Constitutional History of England* includes the results of recent investigation and thought, but is somewhat too abstract. Frederick W. Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond* is the work of one of the finest of English historians. J. H. Round's *Feudal England* contains much new material.

For economic matters Edward P. Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England* will be found very useful from now on almost to the end of our story. William Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and*

CHAP. III *Commerce.* A. P. Usher's *Industrial History of England* is based upon the most recent research.

Clive Bigham's interesting *Chief Ministers of England* is useful for biographical information from now on to the time of Walpole. Lawrence M. Larson's *Canute the Great* is sympathetic and scholarly. Beatrice A. Lees has written the best life of *Alfred the Great*.

F. B. Gummere's *Germanic Origins* is excellent for the character, customs, and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons; and something may be learned of the literature of those peoples in W. P. Ker's *Epic and Romance*.

For the religious history of the time see William Hunt's *History of the English Church*.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECLIPSE OF THE ENGLISH (1066-1154)

UNLIKE the conquest of England by the Danes, which soon left English life running in its accustomed channels, the Norman Conquest wrought a profound change in the life of the country. Canute was a boy under twenty when he was crowned, and it was not long before he had become more of an Englishman than a Dane; whereas it would not have been so easy for William, who was twice that age and who never even learned the language of his new subjects, to adapt himself to his new surroundings had he desired to do so. This was merely a personal and a minor difference. There were other differences between the two conquests of an impersonal and more fundamental character. The Norman Conquest was a reflux wave of Latin civilization destined to work far-reaching changes in the islands. By paving the way for Italian prelates and Gallic politicians it opened wider the gates of England to the canonical and secular laws and to the institutions of the continent. It gave free ingress to the stirring and progressive life of continental Christendom. Denmark had no such civilization as that of Normandy wherewith to improve the social condition of England. Then, too, the land policies of the conquerors were widely different. Canute had refrained from any general confiscation of English lands; but William promised them as a reward to the motley and rapacious mercenaries who helped him to conquer them. The latter, therefore, made wholesale seizures. The English who were dispossessed of their lands sank into the lower classes of society or went to seek new homes in other countries. Many hapless exiles lived their remaining years in a forlorn condition in Denmark, Norway, Scotland, and Flanders; and a few made their way as far as Byzantium. Here and there resistance was offered, but it was crushed with the most remorseless cruelty. In a short space of time after the Norman Conquest the English landholders of any importance had very largely disappeared and their possessions had been distributed to the newcomers. Among the tenants-in-chief few Englishmen are mentioned twenty years later in the *Domesday Book*, and

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General
Character
of the
Norman
Conquest

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as a Form
of Land
Tenure

even the most fortunate of them kept only a part of the lands they had held in the days of the Confessor. The subjugation of England was a gradual process, one region being conquered after another, and so the confiscated lands were distributed to the adventurers from overseas at different times. As a consequence of this the lands of the new holders were scattered far and wide throughout England. Many of the invaders held manors in several different counties separated from one another; and this, as we shall see later on, was an important factor in making English feudalism unlike that of the continent. On the mainland the power of the great vassals of the Crown was increased by the fact that they held their property in contiguous areas, whereas in England their power was weakened by the dispersion of their possessions. This fact in itself was sufficient sharply to differentiate English feudalism from that which prevailed on the continent. But the time has arrived at which we must stop to explain feudalism.

It has been customary to speak of the "feudal system." Yet feudalism was anything but systematic. It varied greatly from place to place and from time to time. It will be well for us to study the development of feudalism on the continent, where the institution attained its most logical fulfilment, and then to note the particular character of feudalism in England. First we must see something of its beginnings. When the power of the Roman Empire was declining in western Europe the need of protection against the invading barbarians, unscrupulous nobles, dishonest government officials, and other predatory enemies became widespread. Subject to attack from many sources, in many relations of life, unable to protect himself, and living in a time when the central government was so weak that it was unable to perform the primary duty of protecting its subjects, the small landowner naturally sought protection from the only one who could furnish it, from some noble who lived in a fortified residence. But this noble did not extend protection without recompense. In answer to the prayer, the *precarium*, of the weak landowner the noble took the land of the latter as his own and then gave it back as a benefice to the former owner to use under the terms of a lease. But we must not think of this lease, this benefice, as a modern contract. The new owner could do as he pleased with the land. At any time, for any reason, or for no reason, he could dispossess the occupant who held it as *precarium*, or *in precario*. And the heir of the occupant, of course, had no right to the land; nor was the heir of the owner bound to respect the lease granted by his predecessor. Thus did the power of the men who were already powerful increase. Weak men, who were eager to secure

protection, gave up their lands; strong men, who desired to be yet stronger, lost no opportunity to extend their possessions.

There was another way in which feudalism was established. In return for shelter and support the landless freeman who could not support or protect himself offered to perform for some powerful man the services that might rightfully be expected of freemen. The act of the landless man in thus offering his services was known as commendation. The man put his hands between those of the lord and commended himself to him, swore absolute fidelity to him. And this personal aspect of feudalism, resulting from the acceptance of a commendation, was known as *patrocinium*. The *patrocinium*, or vassalage, was not altogether new. It could trace its ancestry back to the relationship existing in the Roman Empire between patron and client. And it was modified by the customs of the *comitatus*, the relationship that had existed among the Germanic barbarians between the chief of a tribe and his chosen band of warriors.

Thus, at first, there were two distinct sides to feudalism; a land tenure called the *precarium*, which afterwards became known as benefice, and a personal tie called the *patrocinium*, which later on became known as vassalage. It became the custom to grant a benefice only in case the grantee became the vassal of the grantor. And the recompense most generally desired and demanded of the grantee was service in time of war. The obligations of a vassal for the benefice (or, to use a still later word, the fief) which he held, were owed directly to the lord, his seigneur, even in war against the King. Thus feudalism was a powerful centrifugal force. It made for the disintegration of kingdoms.

Feudalism continued to develop on both these lines, benefice and vassalage, in those portions of western Europe in which Germanic peoples were established. The social conditions that had given birth to it continued to exist. Not one of the new governments was powerful enough to prevent local violence, nor to counteract the other forces that fostered the institution. It entered upon a new stage when great nobles became the clients or vassals of others still greater than themselves and held lands from them precariously. Particularly did the prelates, who were the immediate custodians of the lands bestowed upon the Church, use the *precarium* tenure in order to secure protection for their territorial possessions. And the nobles were not reluctant to secure possession of great episcopal and abbatial estates upon the easy terms of that tenure. Not all of this sub-infeudation was voluntary. Many of the more powerful lords compelled lesser ones to do them homage and become their vassals. Gradually the tenure

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came to assume more of the aspect of a modern contract. The rights of the occupant of the land were more specifically stated and guaranteed. The temporary and fluctuating character of the *precarium* disappeared. The grantee profited by the fact that the tenure came to be for life; and the grantor was recompensed by payments and service rendered by the grantee, which, while they seldom if ever corresponded to the full rental value of the land, served to indicate his permanent possession. Even so powerful a sovereign as Charles the Great struggled in vain to stem the swelling tide of feudalism. He was compelled by circumstances of the time to permit his tenants-in-chief, the men who held land directly from him and who were therefore his own vassals, to remain the military chiefs of all the men who were vassals of them. The national duty of every man to support his King was transformed into the feudal obligation to support his lord, even, it will be remembered, when the lord was at war with the King.

Continued
Decen-
tralization

But decentralization went further. In the centuries of disorder succeeding the death of Charlemagne it became the custom of the Kings to grant the feudal nobility the privilege of immunity. When a noble secured this privilege the royal officers ceased to visit his lands for the purpose of performing in them their public functions. These duties were carried out thereafter by the noble who thus represented the government in all its forms to all his tenants. Immunity was most frequently and conspicuously granted to religious houses; but it was gradually extended to members of the secular nobility. It might well be that the King continued to receive from the district exactly the same services he received before the grant of immunity was made, but in the future he could hold responsible for the performance of those services not the inhabitants of the district but only its lord. The most important of these new rights acquired by the nobles was that of holding courts in which the judicial affairs of all the inhabitants of the district, criminal as well as civil, were determined. With the control of the judicial function of the government went also that of legislative and administrative powers. When this had been accomplished feudalism had almost completely supplanted national government. The last capitularies of the Carolingian Kings date from the year 884, and it was not until the twelfth century that the first proclamations of the Capetian monarchs resembling laws began to appear. There was little need of national laws. The feudal group of the seigneur and his vassals was virtually independent, sufficient unto itself in matters political as well as social.

There remained, however, one other element to be added to

feudalism in order to make it logically complete,—heredity of functions. We have seen that the temporary character of the feudal system underwent a change, that the vassal acquired the right to hold the benefice, or fief, for life. Eventually, in obedience to a natural law, the vassal's heir obtained the right to inherit the fief and all the privileges accompanying it. This process was accelerated by the creation of strict entails under Edward I. By the end of the reign of that ruler a hereditary peerage may be said to have been established in England. When this fourth element was incorporated into feudalism the institution became possessed of all its fundamental features. There remained only the perfecting of details. We have said it is not quite correct to speak of "the feudal system," because feudalism varied from place to place and from time to time. This variation was to be found not only when feudalism was in its incipient stages, but also when it was in its prime and in the period of its decay. There were fundamental differences between feudalism on the continent and feudalism in England.

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Comple-
tion of
Feudalism

Feudalism in England, it has been remarked, found no such complete fulfilment as it did upon the mainland of Europe. Feudal forms, resembling somewhat those of the continent, existed there before the Norman Conquest. But the course of their development was arrested and changed by the circumstances of the Conquest and by the bold statesmanship of the Conqueror. Every member of the feudal aristocracy in England, so William strove to inculcate, owed allegiance first to the King, and only in the second place to his immediate lord. Loyalty to the King was his paramount obligation. This ideal of universal allegiance to the sovereign was disregarded in times of rebellion, yet it was nevertheless a factor that counteracted in no small degree the decentralizing tendency of feudalism. The English national army, like those of the mainland, consisted normally of the tenants-in-chief and the lesser nobility who were their vassals; but the King always retained the right to summon the ancient *fyrd*, the old *levée en masse*, irrespective of any obligations its members might owe to their feudal lords. In England, too, immunity never made such inroads upon the royal power as it did on the continent. Despite the establishment of feudal and manorial courts the judicial machinery, which we have already described, survived the Conquest almost intact; for every inhabitant of England, whether he were villein or earl, remained, theoretically at least, subject to the royal courts of the hundred and the shire. Finally, the right of the feudal nobles to make war upon each other, universally recognized upon the continent, was not tolerated

Feudalism
in England

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in England, where, unlike the countries of the mainland, the King was usually more powerful than any of his nobles and so was able to suppress rebellion and disorder. It is misleading, however, to compare the feudalism of England with that of France; rather should it be compared with that of the Duchy of Normandy. Only the essential elements of feudalism are now described, and the chief differences between the feudalism of the continent and that of England noted. Later on, when feudal society is dealt with, more will be said regarding the details of feudalism.

Life
on the
Manors

Below the feudal aristocracy was the mass of people who tilled the soil and worked at their various crafts in the villages and towns. The towns were few and unimportant as yet, and the first effects of the Conquest were doubtless not favorable to them. But in the wake of the Norman soldiers came Norman craftsmen and traders, who settled in the towns, especially in London. There they found some of their countrymen, who had come over in the days of the Confessor. Gradually the towns grew in wealth and importance and within their walls was preserved or renewed the traditions of English freedom, unknown in Normandy, where the tyranny of the feudal lord was felt in town and countryside alike. Silently and slowly those traditions rose to the surface during the period of Norman rule, until in the time of Henry I they were formulated in written charters. Yet compared with the common-folk who lived in the country the town-folk were as yet unimportant. In the country it was that the mass of men lived. So to them we must give a passing glance, waiting until we reach the period in which the medieval manor attained its greatest development to deal with them at some length. The manor was a large farm on which lived the lord who held it (unless, indeed, he lived on some other manor he possessed) together with his officers, freemen, villeins, and serfs. The serfs were bondmen; the villeins were men who in return for the land they were allowed to cultivate for themselves had to work for the lord at the latter's pleasure; whereas the services of the freemen were fixed. In the period immediately preceding the Conquest many of the men who tilled the soil were allodial freeholders, especially those who lived in the district that once had formed the Danelaw; but William accelerated the process by which these petty freeholders were degraded to the position of manorial dependents. And although in theory the tenants of any manor were still subject to the royal courts of the hundred and the shire, certain rights of jurisdiction over them were granted to the lord of the manor. The hundred courts

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steadily declined in importance after the Conquest. More and more the manor court became an important feature of the judicial system. The shire courts still possessed importance within a narrow sphere; if assailed by his master in life or limb or honor, and still more if assailed by a third party, the villein was entitled to such protection as it could afford; but for the most part the shire courts were concerned with criminal justice and with financial affairs rather than with defending the tillers of the soil against their lords. Thus was the agricultural estate, which had once been nothing more than a farm, transformed into a distinct jurisdiction.

William gave constant attention to the affairs of the central government. No new institutions for carrying out the royal will were established, but more method and greater energy were displayed in administration. The Witan of the Anglo-Saxon Kings was continued in the King's Council. The same men were found in the Council who would have participated in the Witan; and the same sorts of business (judicial, financial, and political) were transacted. In the meetings of the Witan, however, the tenants-in-chief had been the dominant factor; whereas the King's previous decisions were, usually, submitted for the approval of the Council. The methodical character of the new government is seen very clearly in the survey of the kingdom known as the *Domesday Book*.

The King's
Council

In order to ascertain the fiscal obligations of his subjects to the Crown, William, after a discussion in the Council, sent special commissioners in 1086 to all parts of the country to ask certain questions of a sworn jury from every township. Then, when the returns (which were seriatim accounts of manors), were in, the matter was arranged according to counties. The data thus classified made a thick manuscript volume, which still exists exactly as it was written, and which, perhaps because no appeal was allowed from its records, came to be known as the *Domesday Book*. For some reason or other that we do not know the survey of three eastern counties was not incorporated in the volume. It was afterwards put in another volume,—a little *Domesday Book*. No other medieval country possesses so complete a census. It enabled William to learn what financial contributions he might expect from his subjects; it did much to facilitate the levy of taxes; and, though some of its secrets have been wrested from it only by the most diligent investigation, it affords us a great deal of information about the social life of the time.

The First
National
Census

Equal in importance to William's dealings with secular affairs were his measures affecting the Church in England. In order

Survey of
the Latin
Church

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rightly to understand these measures, and also much of the subsequent history of England, it is necessary for us to turn aside for a moment to see something of the Church and its claims. Christendom from 1054 onward was divided into the Greek Church and the Latin Church. At the head of the latter was the Pope, who claimed the spiritual supremacy of the world and the right to guide its temporal governments. Gregory VII (1073-1085), one of the most masterful of all the Popes, who for almost a score of years previous to his pontificate had been the power behind the papal throne, now occupied this exalted position. In no small degree it was due to him that in 1059 the election of the Popes was confided to the College of Cardinals, thus leaving it freer than before from the influence of the nobility and the populace of the city of Rome and that of the Germanic Empire. But before his time all western Europe had professed obedience to the Roman pontiff. Throughout the Latin Church the same splendid ritual, with minor variations from place to place, was performed in the same sonorous language, the same traditions were held in reverence, and the same doctrines received universal assent. Within this vast fold were to be found all the diverse peoples and kingdoms of the West, which were often antagonistic one to the other. The Church was well organized, and its organization followed very closely that of the Roman Empire, which in many respects it had supplanted. Beneath the Pope were the archbishops, who could exercise their power only after having received the pallium from him, and each of whom was the overseer of a number of bishops. Under each bishop were the priests of his diocese, who administered the rites of the Church to the people in town and country. Any member of the clergy, even a barefooted monk, could be raised directly to the cardinalate if such were the desire of the Pope; and it was the cardinals who, subject to lingering external influences, now elected his successor. The monastic clergy consisted of monks and nuns, who had largely withdrawn from the world and lived their lives unto themselves. Later on, the friars were to be established and to become very active in the daily life of the world. The Latin Church had gradually built up a comprehensive and, with regard to its fundamental dogmas, a well-articulated system of belief. But there was as yet much to do in organizing creed and practice. The various elements that entered into the life of the Church had not been completely harmonized; there were many cross-currents, many conflicts of theory with practice, and not a little that was confusing. For her creed she claimed in the most outspoken terms indefeasible authority. She alone was the inter-

preter to man of the will and the word of God. Several sacraments had been instituted for the salvation of man; some of them were indispensable to his spiritual life; and they could be administered, with the exception of baptism, under certain conditions, only by a regularly ordained priest. So the laity were absolutely dependent upon the priesthood for the nourishment of their religious life. Outside the pale of the Church it was hopeless to seek an approach to God. In temporal matters, also, the Church was omnipresent. Her penetrating power touched every worldly subject. In its first years Christianity was an entirely ideal religion. Its founder had said that His kingdom was not of this world. But the harsh circumstances of the barbarian invasions had compelled the Church to play a leading rôle in worldly affairs. And the acquisition of landed estates by the bishops and abbots had involved their Church in feudalism. These prelates, by virtue of their great landed possessions, were also princes of the kingdom in which they resided; and as a consequence the Kings became actively concerned in their appointment. In the Holy Roman Empire, indeed, the Emperor, although the form of ecclesiastical election was definitely preserved, assumed the right of investing the bishop-elect with the diocese by giving to him the ring and the staff, which were the symbols of his office. It was in the time of Gregory I (590-604), whom posterity has well surnamed the Great, that the Church definitely embarked upon the stormy sea of worldly things. And this wise and far-seeing pontiff was so keenly aware that, because of the acquisition of worldly possessions and power, the Church would inevitably lose sight of her primitive mission that he died in sorrow at the thought of the storms she was certain to encounter. But so irresistible was the current that had swept the Church from her ancient moorings that even Gregory VII, who as the monk Hildebrand had made his first entry into the Eternal City with bare feet and uncovered head, became in time one of the most extreme exponents of her secular claims and interests. It was with this pontiff, as we have seen, that William the Conqueror had to deal.

William lost no opportunity to replace English bishops and abbots with Normans, so that by 1080 every important ecclesiastical position in England was occupied by an alien. And the Norman prelates, though some of them had been appointed with an eye to political expediency, were in general a great improvement upon their English predecessors. Intelligence and morality had long been at a low ebb among the English clergy, whereas the Norman ecclesiastics, narrow-minded as many of them were, and unable to see the desirable features of the work of their pre-

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decessors, were animated with the ardor of reform. Chief of the foreign prelates whom William appointed to office in England was Lanfranc (1005?-1089), an Italian cleric, educated in the civil and the canon law, distinguished by his success as an administrator and a teacher in Normandy, who became Archbishop of Canterbury and the most subtle lawyer in the King's Council. One of the greatest protagonists of orthodoxy of the time, he was also, as far as circumstances permitted him to be, an upholder of the extreme claims of the Papacy. His dexterity induced an English synod definitely to declare the see of York to be subject to that of Canterbury; he was zealous in the cause of monasticism; he strove to enforce celibacy upon the secular clergy, many of whom were married; and it seems probable that it was owing to his influence that, by royal ordinance, the ecclesiastical courts were separated from those of the national government. Lanfranc was loyal to William and was often able to render him great political service, especially when governmental affairs called the King to the continent. He did not fail to see that not only the cause of law and order but also the success of the religious reformation, which he had so much at heart, depended upon the maintenance of a strong central power. But it was inevitable that many of his measures, conceived in the spirit of the aspiring Papacy, would lead to trouble in the future when Primate and King were not so closely associated by personal ties and when reformers were no longer satisfied with increasing learning and piety in the land but sought definitely to subordinate the temporal to the ecclesiastical power in every case in which the two came into touch. And it was not only the clerics whom William had introduced into England, ever watchful of the far-reaching claims of the Papacy, who gave rise to trouble. The Norman barons did not leave behind them the jealousy of the central power that had found vent in many a rebellion against the ducal authority across the sea. Given to avarice and greedy of gain they, too, regarded with displeasure the growth of the royal power. The story of the troubles of the Conqueror's successors with these two classes of society, with ecclesiastical ambition and feudal discontent, runs through the history of England for over a hundred years.

Accession
of Wil-
liam II

When William died he left Normandy to his eldest son, Robert; while England was bequeathed to his second, favorite, son, William II (1087-1100), known as Rufus. But it required more than the will of a dying King to dis sever the two countries. Many of the Norman barons held land in England, as well as in their own country, and the difficulty of serving two masters at the same time immediately confronted them. The barons on both sides of

the Channel found profit in provoking quarrels between their rulers, and so one of the first objects of English policy became the acquisition of Normandy. The two brothers were altogether unlike each other. The Duke's thriftless and easy-going nature rendered him acceptable to the anarchic feudal nobility, whereas the strong hand of the cruel and cunning King was much feared by them. Twice did rebellion break out in England. Each time, however, Rufus, supported in large by the English who preferred even so undesirable a sovereign as the Red King to a horde of petty tyrants, succeeded in crushing it. War between the two brothers began soon after their accessions and continued intermittently until 1096, when Robert, weary of continual defeat, pawned his Duchy to his brother and joined the motley throng that made the first attempt to restore to Christendom the alleged sepulcher of the Saviour.

The struggles with the barons of his realm and with his brother were not the only troubles in which Rufus became involved. A contest arose between him and the Church. In order to satisfy his greed and to meet his many financial needs he resorted to the most unscrupulous and oppressive devices for taxation. In this he was ably assisted by Ranulf Flambard, a Norman priest, a man after his own heart, whose acute mind and conscienceless character were responsible for many of the ingenious methods of financial extortion, and who was rewarded for his skill and industry with the Bishopric of Durham. One of the practices employed by William II was that of delaying the appointment of successors to bishops and abbots in order that he might appropriate the revenues of the vacant offices to his own use. When Lanfranc, who had been so helpful to his father, died in 1089, he permitted the Archbishopric of Canterbury to remain vacant for four years while he enriched himself with its great revenues. At last, when sickness came upon him and death seemed nigh, the fear of his evil deeds prevailed, and the King, who was able to shock even the worst of his ribald companions with his daring blasphemies, sent the name of the saintly Anselm (1033?-1109) for election to the see. It was not long before the new Primate, who accepted the office much against his will, expressed emphatic disapproval of the personal vices of the King and of the extortions he practised upon the Church. From this time forward the two men were at open enmity with each other. The chief clash between them was upon the question of investiture.

Investiture, it will be remembered, gave the bishop or abbot the insignia of his office, and for these tokens he did homage to the King and swore fealty to him; while consecration conferred

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The
Quarrel
over In-
vestiture

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upon him the spiritual power of his position. In theory the Church had opposed investiture of ecclesiastics by a layman in any form; but the struggle did not reach its aggravated form until Gregory VII put forth the most sweeping claims of the papal power. The Church was to bind all peoples together in one organic whole; as the representative of God on earth all temporal rulers were to be accountable to her. And the first item of the long program of action which such an ideal entailed was the freeing of the Church from the control of the Empire, the power which in the past had most interfered with her independence. With the dramatic contest between Gregory and the Emperor Henry IV, which had for one spectacular episode the imperial penance at Canossa and for another the pathetic death in exile of the haughty Pope, we have not here to deal. Nor have we to do with the continuation of the struggle, complicated by many political considerations, under their successors. The settlement, final for the medieval centuries, was not reached until 1122, when, in the Concordat of Worms, a compromise was effected by which the Emperor retained his feudal suzerainty over every prelate who was placed in charge of a benefice, while the right of investing him with the insignia of his spiritual office was confided to the Pope. The clash between national and papal interests disturbed every country of western Europe, and it was not to be expected that England would escape the strife. William II desired to invest Anselm with the office of Archbishop, and to this mode of investiture the latter, though he was reluctant to take office, seems not to have objected. Afterwards the Council of Clermont, in 1095, decreed that every bishop was to be chosen by the uninfluenced votes of the qualified priests of the diocese, and not invested with the spiritual insignia of his office, or even enfeoffed with estates, by the hands of a secular prince, except for a fief having no relation to the ecclesiastical position. Whether or no Anselm was influenced by this decree, the fact remains that in 1097 he fled to Rome in the midst of a quarrel with the King. But the politic Urban II, who deemed it inexpedient at the time further to offend Rufus, and who perhaps realized that the precedent of English practice favored the position of the King, failed to give the fugitive the support he expected, and so until 1100 Anselm remained abroad. In that year an arrow, shot by some unknown hand in the New Forest, put an end to the sneers and vices of the passionate and impetuous King.

Accession
of
Henry I

Robert, the elder brother of the dead Rufus, was far off in Italy on his way home from Jerusalem; so his younger brother, Henry I (1100-1135), quick to seize the opportunity, left the

body of the King unburied, rode to Winchester, and took possession of the royal treasure. Ready of tongue, he easily persuaded the handful of nobles who were present in the ancient capital to recognize him as King; and then, only three days after the fatal arrow had rid England of his predecessor, he was crowned in London. The new King, prudent and parsimonious, diligent and determined, cold and calculating, was the very antithesis of his dead brother. The name of Beauclerc by which men came to call him was earned not by any real attainment in scholarship, but rather by the natural instinct he displayed for education. And the reputation for wisdom he enjoyed was due in no small degree to the deliberate failure to keep his word. Yet Henry had qualities that made him the man for the hour. He loved peace, not because he was unable to fight, but because he realized that peace was what the country most needed; and he was intelligent enough to continue the strengthening of the royal power in the most practical way. It was not long before he found himself involved in the same two contests that had filled the reign of Rufus, one a struggle with a hierarchy loyal to the increasing and incalculable power of the Papacy, and the other a contest with the factious feudal barons. He began his reign with the fairest promises of reform, many of which were in due time fulfilled, enunciated in a charter that stands at the head of a long list of constitutional documents wherein are embodied the liberties of the English people. And he won the hearts of his English subjects by taking to wife Edith, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling. Robert was bought off by relinquishing to him all the ducal possessions in Normandy and by agreeing to pay him on behalf of England an annual tribute of money.

Though the struggle with the barons began almost at once we shall deal first with the controversy with the Church. Henry filled all the vacant bishoprics and abbacies and recalled Anselm to his see. But the question of investiture remained unsettled. Compromise seemed more remote than ever. Anselm returned from Rome determined to support the most extreme claims of the Papacy, which had recently been promulgated in his presence. Not only did he deny the right of any secular sovereign to invest a prelate with the ring and staff, the symbols of the ecclesiastical office; he asserted also that even for the secular possessions the bishop or the abbot should do no homage and swear no fealty to the King. Anselm and Henry were equally disinclined to precipitate a quarrel, and yet each was loath to yield his position. So the Primate, who had returned from Rome to seek some solu-

Henry
and the
Church

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tion of the perplexing problem, finding no way out of the impasse, crossed the Channel and remained abroad. Finally, in 1106, Paschal II consented to a compromise. Henry promised that henceforth in England no lay hand should invest a cleric with bishopric or abbey by ring or by crozier; while Anselm, on his part, agreed that consecration should not be denied to anyone because of homage done to the King. It was a compromise that foreshadowed the settlement of the Concordat of Worms, which, it will be recalled, ended sixteen years later the great quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy. Both of these settlements left a substantial victory with the secular sovereigns. They did nothing to lessen the power of the monarch to influence ecclesiastical elections; and with the power to determine the election of the prelates remaining in royal hands it mattered little who should possess the empty privilege of installing bishops and abbots in their offices. Yet this secular victory was apparently but dimly perceived at the time. Two years after the compromise was agreed upon the life of the peace-loving but inflexible prelate came to an end.

Anselm as
a Thinker
and a
Writer

It would be a mistake to think of the wise and gentle Anselm, whose peaceful countenance often disarmed the brutal Rufus and even won the regard of the Saracens, only as an ecclesiastical administrator and diplomat. The cares of office constitute only the story of his external life. Dearer far to him than the court was the seclusion of the cloister, where his thoughts, never quite forgetful of the world in which he lived, soared into the infinite blue above him. For thirty-three years previous to his elevation to the archiepiscopal throne, as monk, prior, and abbot, he taught in the great convent of Bec, situated on the skirts of the forest of Brionne in Normandy, which, largely because of his genius, came to be one of the most renowned schools in Europe. He lived in the heart of the Age of Faith; and so, keen as was his intellect, one does not expect to find in him a thinker who studied the records of the human past and explored the phenomena of nature in search of truth as yet unknown to man. He was completely submissive to the authority of the Church, whose dogmas were to him identical with revelation. It was never his aim to learn in order to believe; what he desired was the felicity of understanding that to which his faith already subscribed. "I make no attempt, Lord, to penetrate to thy depths," he said, "for my intellect has not such reach; but I desire to understand some measure of thy truth, which my heart believes and loves. I do not seek to know in order that I may believe; but I believe in order that I may know. For this I hold to be true, that unless I shall have believed I shall not be able

to understand." In such an utterance as this is the medieval mind revealed. The practice of using the reason within certain limitations upon religious matters resulted eventually in the scholastic philosophy of the later Middle Ages; and so Anselm has been styled the father of the schoolmen. But we should err were we to regard him as being in spirit the originator of the bloodless syllogistic system of the scholastics. True his writings do not pulsate with the warm humanity of Augustine's *Confessions*, nor do they possess the fragrant tenderness of the *Imitation of Christ*; but there is about them something of the airy quality, something of the light and the twilight, something of the ecstasy of the belief that the finite, though it cannot measure, can surely feel the infinite, that links him on the one hand with Plato and on the other with Emerson.

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In his struggle with the turbulent barons, Henry I, aided very materially by the English who promptly answered the summons of the ancient *fyrð*, quickly proved the master. With the confiscated lands of the rebels he endowed his assistants, new men whom he raised "from the dust to do his service," thereby creating and strengthening a lesser nobility which served as a check upon the restless and ambitious aristocracy that aspired to immunity if not to independence. Then, becoming involved in war with Normandy, he succeeded in gaining all the lands once held by the Conqueror. When this was accomplished he was free to turn his attention to the more congenial task of administration. In this he received invaluable assistance from a certain Roger (?-1139), who had impressed him in years gone by with the swiftness with which, in his little chapel near Caen in Normandy, he performed the service of the mass. The prince took the priest into his employ, and when he became King made him his Chancellor, and, not long after, Bishop of Salisbury. Ambitious and avaricious, the uneducated prelate displayed great talent for organization and direction. He put in order the machinery by which England was ruled for several centuries, became one of the most important men in the kingdom, and ruled England when his master was in Normandy.

Roger of
Salisbury

Let us attempt to describe this governmental machinery. The Witenagemot, or the King's Council, or the Great Council as it had come to be known, still met from time to time; but it was more distinctly feudal in character than it had been before the Conquest. The King, like any other feudal lord, received the "aid and counsel" of his vassals. The gathering of the vassals that gave counsel to the King was organized as an assembly court. It was, therefore, also known as the *Curia Regis*. There were

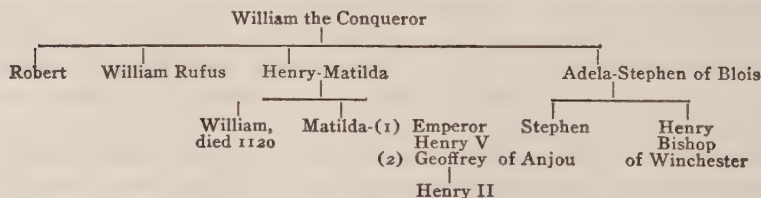
The King's
Council

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ished. The sheriff still remained an important officer. Upon him the King relied for the shire-levies and for the collection of royal revenues. Until they were displaced by the traveling justices they presided in the shire courts; and it was their duty to see that the private feudal courts did not encroach upon the hundred courts and the courts of the shires. From the newer nobility Henry selected men whom he could trust in such vital matters. Finally it is in Henry's reign that, as we have already noted, the beginnings of the autonomy of the towns, charters of self-government, are to be found. It is true that Henry was an autocrat, that he governed by means of bureaucratic officials who were entirely subservient to his will, yet his reign of law and order was unmistakably favorable to the growth of constitutional liberty. It was favorable to the growth of national unity. In his time it was that the two races and the two civilizations were fused.

Disputed
Succession
to the
Throne

When Henry died suddenly in Normandy a grave situation confronted England. His only son William had been drowned when, in 1120, the White Ship, driven on a rock by a drunken pilot, sank in the English Channel. The only remaining legitimate child was Matilda, who had been married to the Emperor Henry V and subsequently, upon her first husband's death, to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. The barons on both sides of the Channel, despite the dislike of the age for a woman sovereign, had been persuaded to support her; but in those warlike times it seemed inevitable that Geoffrey would be the real ruler, and, because of the fact that Anjou had often been at war with Normandy, he was unpopular with the feudal nobility in the kingdom as well as in the Duchy. Such were the circumstances under which Stephen, Count of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela, laid claim to



the Crown. The claimant was an energetic fighter, a generous and a faithful friend; but he was wanting in foresight, deficient in the power of organization, and lacking in decision. The feudal barons, who for three-quarters of a century had been rigorously repressed, were not slow to see their advantage in a state of anarchy. Ever ready to sell their support in return for additional privileges, they shifted from side to side and thus gave to

the civil war, which for fifteen years sank its talons deep into the heart of the country, a kaleidoscopic aspect. At last, in 1153, the claimant, now an old man, having just lost his son, a compromise was agreed upon at Wallingford. Stephen was to reign for the remainder of his life and then the crown was to pass to Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou. In the following year Stephen died, and in the person of his successor a new dynasty ascended the throne. The years of civil war had revealed the evils of rampant feudalism. The people were now willing to accept a national government more drastically centralized than ever before.

We must now stop for a moment to see what had been going on in the Celtic lands during the Norman period. Ireland, it will be recalled, was greatly weakened by the battle of Clontarf, fought against the Scandinavian invaders. For a long time after that event the island was in a state of anarchy. Various princes struggled for supremacy, but none succeeded in securing it. Wars between the several tribes and factions was so frequent that the island was described by a contemporary as a "trembling sod." In 1118 Ireland was divided by the synod of Rathbresdil into dioceses, and thus an attempt was made to replace the old tribal system of ecclesiastical organization with one that made for more effective general government. Another national synod, held somewhere about 1134, gave to the see of Armagh primacy over all the other bishoprics. Still later, in 1152, the Synod of Kells rearranged the diocesan system in the form which, with slight exceptions, it retains today.

Ireland

For the purpose of preventing the Welsh from raiding the western shires of England, William the Conqueror erected three palatine counties, whose seats and principal castles were at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford; only the first of these, however, retained its exceptional powers for a considerable length of time. The word "palatine" means pertaining to the palace, and therefore to the sovereign. It was the custom in the Holy Roman Empire to send certain counts to act as governors in distant parts of the Empire. Because of the exigencies of their situation, the necessity of their repelling foreign foes and checking internal tendencies toward independence, extraordinary governmental powers were conferred upon them. The districts over which they ruled were called palatinates. The palatinate of Chester was permitted to have its own Parliament. It was not represented in the national Parliament until 1541; and even as late as 1830 it retained some of its special privileges. Not satisfied with the erection of this feudal barrier along the western frontier, the Conqueror penetrated into Wales, and other inroads were made

The
Palatine
Counties
and Wales

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by the English. But the anarchy of Stephen's reign enabled the Welsh to regain much that they had lost.

Scotland

Scotland, we saw, under Malcolm II (1005-1034), acquired the English-speaking province of Lothian; and its Kings, coming down from the Highlands, made Edinburgh their capital. For a hundred years after Malcolm's death there was a dynastic struggle, in which Macbeth who, in Shakespeare's tragedy, "murdered sleep" figured, and which was also a struggle between Celtic customs and English and Norman ideas. The marriage of Malcolm Canmore (1058-1093) to Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, did much to increase the spread of English ideas in the northern kingdom and to add to the power of the English element in both secular and religious affairs. She it was who completed the harmonization of the Celtic Church in Scotland with western Christendom. But if any single man may be said to have been the maker of Scotland it was David I (1124-1152), who freed the Church in his kingdom from the jurisdictional claims of the Archbishop of York, who did much to improve agriculture, who substituted written contracts for the holding of land in place of the Celtic oral agreements, who reduced the under-kings of the provinces to feudal nobles, and who established sheriffs in different localities to administer justice in the name of the King. The tenants-in-chief, the royal officials, such as the Chancellor, the Steward, and the Constable, together with the prelates, acted as advisers of the King and formed the germ of the future Parliament. Town life was developing. Municipalities elected their own magistrates, conducted their own courts, and managed their own markets. Schools were to be found in the monasteries, in some of the parishes, and in the towns. And while there was not yet national taxation, the King being compelled to "live of his own," there were, as we have seen, the beginnings of national justice.

Mingling
of Con-
querors
and Con-
quered in
England

Before the close of the Norman period the conquerors and the conquered had melted together. Inter-marriage in all classes except the highest had soon become common, and so much blood had been intermingled that less than a century after the Conquest a contemporary writer was able to remark that it was virtually impossible to distinguish between the two races. The Norman Conquest of England was fundamentally different from the English conquest of Britain. The earlier conquest had displaced a large part of the population and had introduced an entirely different set of people with a different temperament and a different way of regarding life. The former inhabitants were for the most part, as far as we know, pushed back into the borderlands that still form the "Celtic fringe." But the last conquest the island was

to witness was effected by men, descendants of Scandinavian sea-rovers and French mothers, who were not unlike the people they subdued, who formed only the governing and trading classes, and who, as we have seen, became in less than three generations indistinguishable from the children of the ancient stock.

In addition to this blending of races there had been a social fusion of far-reaching consequences. When the soldiers of the Norman Duke, after crossing the Channel, advanced upon their enemies one sang in French the *Song of Roland*. With the victorious invaders another language made its way into England; and, still more important, with them came civilization. For the defeat of the English under Harold was the sunset in the islands of the old heroic age of the wild north and the dawn of the rich and romantic spirit that animated the life of western Europe in the Middle Ages and inspired its art. The development of literature in the English language was arrested for a century and a half after the Conquest; and when eventually it was revived it revealed important changes. For a brief time the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was continued, but it came to an end in 1154, and its closing entries betray an imperfect mastery of the vernacular. The truth is that although the English tongue was still spoken by the mass of the people it was no longer used by the educated classes as their medium of expression. The invaders brought with them the literature that had delighted them in their former homes; but with the continental writings cherished by the Normans, even with those remodeled in their new country, we are here only slightly concerned.

Fusion of
the Civ-
ilizations

What interests us most is the literature written in the British Islands at this period, whether it be in the vernacular or in some other tongue. And chief of this are the legends grouped about the name of Arthur, who was reputed to have been King of Britain some time about the fifth or the sixth century. Whether there was such a King has long been disputed; but it seems to be true that, while there was at that time no King by the name of Arthur, a noted chieftain, who fought against the Saxon invaders and fell in battle, bore that name. As time went on the stories of his deeds grew, much as did those about Charlemagne, until he became an imperial conqueror. As the Charlemagne cycle waned the Arthurian cycle waxed in popular interest and gradually exercised a profound influence upon all the literature of western Europe. And of course the Cymric chieftain of that far-off time, and the personages who surrounded him as well as the events in which he took part, were represented in the varying lights of all succeeding centuries in which the stories of the cycle

Legends
of King
Arthur

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were rewritten and in which additions were made to them. Thus did the Arthurian legend become very confused and complex. Somewhere about the year 1136 Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh priest, wrote in Latin a *History of Britain*, a compilation of materials probably obtained from British sources. The book is pseudo-historic; but it served as a storehouse of legends from which later writers drew narratives which they developed and changed. It seems likely, though this is a disputed point, that it was in Wales the Arthurian traditions were preserved, and that from there, long before Geoffrey's time, they had spread to the peninsula of Brittany, which was known as Armorica until the Celts who fled thither to escape the Saxons gave the district the name it still retains. The other theory, which to the present writer seems less probable and not so well supported, is that the legends had been forgotten in the islands and had been remembered and cherished by the Celts who found in Armorica a new Britain safe from the inroads of the Saxon enemy they so greatly dreaded. But whichever theory be correct, the fact that the legends eventually found their way into the literature of every country of western Europe is undeniable. One of the most popular presentations of the Arthurian stories was a free metrical version of Geoffrey's narrative, called the *Roman de Brut*, written in Norman-French by Robert Wace (1100?-1175), a priest, born in the isle of Jersey. The process of accretion was continued. The old narratives were embellished and new ones invented. Of special importance is the introduction into the cycle of the legend of the Quest of the Holy Grail, the search for the chalice with which Jesus celebrated the Last Supper and in which His blood, when on the Cross His side was pierced, was caught and miraculously preserved. The Grail was said to have been brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, a wealthy Jew converted by Jesus, who built "with twisted twigs" the first Christian church in the country, which afterwards, so the story goes, became the Abbey of Glastonbury, and whose staff, planted in the ground, became a thorn which flowered twice a year. The introduction of this beautiful legend of the Grail is generally credited to a writer who lived later than the period of our present chapter, to Walter Map (1137?-1208?), who was a clerk in the household of Henry II and who was one of the King's traveling justices. In these stories the Celtic spirit, quite unlike that of the Teutonic invaders of Britain, is expressed fully and with great charm. The eventual union of these two elements is one of the fundamental factors in the supremacy of English poetry.

We have said that when at last the English tongue prevailed it

was changed. Its vocabulary was enriched with many a Romance word, its methods of expression were multiplied, ideas waiting to be expressed were increased, and, leading to still further modification, intellectual intercourse with the continent was greatly stimulated. Much of this change in the language, and many of the other phases of the civilization of the time, were due to the monks. And here we must see something of the wave of monastic reform and expansion which, originating in France, made itself felt as far north as the Highlands of Scotland. The story of every monastic order is the same. In the beginning there is a period of strenuous and sustained effort to attain the ideal of the founder. Then there is a period of gradual decline in which formality and convention replace the spontaneous and sincere strivings to lead a strict, ascetic life, ending at last in wealth, ease, and corruption. Finally there is a period of revival, a renewed effort to reach the lofty ideal of the life contemplative. For long the Benedictines had been sunk in the routine which their wealth permitted; and even the ardent Cluniacs had declined. Chief among the new orders that made their way into the islands was that of the Cistercians, founded at Cîteaux, and first made important by the accession to its ranks in 1112 of Bernard of Clairvaux. It professed a literal return to the Benedictine rule, and, indeed, surpassed it in austerity. The daily religious devotions were reduced, and manual labor, especially agricultural work, was required in the hours thus regained. It was as tillers of the soil and breeders of sheep, cattle, and horses that its members, after the first outburst of spiritual fervor had subsided, exercised their chief influence upon medieval life. So extensive was their production, and so efficient their industrial organization, that, assisted by thousands of lay brothers drawn from the peasantry, their export of wool from England had become by the middle of the thirteenth century an important feature in the commerce of the country. In England their first abbey was that of Furness, founded in 1127; and others, "beautiful in themselves and beautiful in their sites," were Tintern, Rievaulx, Byland, and Fountains. Born of one of those strange and irresistible tides of enthusiasm that are so salient a feature of medieval life, the new monastic orders were liberally supported even by the most lawless and brutal of the feudal nobility, and by the coldest and most calculating of contemporary Kings. They rendered some service to society at large. They did much to increase agricultural production; here and there waste lands were reclaimed by them; and they improved several of the arts and crafts. Thus they imparted knowledge and furnished a good

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example to the great mass of the people, the tillers of the soil and the artisans of the towns, whose labor sustained the life of the nation. And, despite the fact that the Cistercians cannot be said deliberately to have promoted the cause of secular education, the lore of the past, preserved in books, found in them custodians and disseminators. For these things the new orders are to be commended. But all this social aid was rendered without any intention of reconstituting the social conditions of the time; the reconstructive social mission of the founder of Christianity had long ago fallen into the limbo of things forgotten.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

Selections from the primary sources will be found in Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*; and in A. E. Bland's *Select Documents in English Economic History*. The *Dialogue concerning the Exchequer* is translated in E. F. Henderson's *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.

To the books dealing with the political, constitutional, and social history of the islands already mentioned the following may now be added: G. B. Adams, *Political History of England*; and also his *Civilization in the Middle Ages*, in which will be found an excellent chapter on feudalism. Mary Bateson, *Medieval England*. Hilaire Belloc, *Book of the Bayeux Tapestry*. H. W. C. Davis, *England under the Normans and Angevins*, a very readable and informing volume. Hubert Hall, *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer*. Charles H. Haskins's *Normans in European History* and his *Norman Institutions* are the most authoritative works on their subjects. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*. R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*. F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*. W. R. W. Stephens, *History of the English Church*. Paul Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*.

CHAPTER V

THE REAPPEARANCE OF THE ENGLISH (1154-1216)

HENRY II (1154-1189) was the first of the Angevin dynasty. The family is sometimes called Plantagenet, because Geoffrey of Anjou wore a sprig of the broom flower, the *planta genistae*, in his helmet; or because he was accustomed to hunt on the broom-covered heaths of his native land. Henry II restored the governmental machinery established by his grandfather. His long reign, despite the fact that throughout it he strove to convert his holdings into an empire, was one of law and order for England. From his grandfather he had inherited all the Anglo-Norman possessions, and from his father he had received Anjou and Touraine, while with his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine he had acquired all the territory from Poitou to the Pyrenees. These territories across the Channel were far greater in extent and much wealthier than England. So it was only natural that his interests and activity should be continental more than insular, and that he should spend the greater part of his time across the sea. Henry was neither a Norman nor an Englishman; he was an Angevin; and the dominant motive of his life was to make the house of Anjou paramount in France. To the many struggles abroad incurred in the effort to carry out this ambition, struggles that deflected his attention from the affairs of his insular possessions, we shall pay but slight attention. They entailed heavier taxation upon England, but for the most part they left her in peace. The growth of nationality in England and in France dissolved the dream of an empire that gave no heed to the associations and aspirations of the common people. It is not in conquests and territorial acquisitions that the lasting work of this able and active King is to be found, nor in any encouragement of the intellectual and spiritual forces that were exerting so deep an influence upon the age in which he lived; rather must we look to those legal reforms in England with which his name is so closely identified.

We have said that Henry restored the governmental machinery

CHAP. V

Henry II
as an
Emperor

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Develop-
ment of
the Curia
Regis

established by his grandfather. But he did more than that. He improved it. The King's Council, or the *Curia Regis*, and its traveling justices had exercised the right of deciding cases, such as disputes between tenants-in-chief and litigations involving any of the royal rights and possessions, in which the King was directly concerned. It had also been their custom to judge great crimes not committed within the jurisdiction of a feudal lord empowered to deal with them. To these powers others were now added, and so the court became a more important factor than ever before in the life of the nation. The process of differentiation naturally continued in the Court. The first court of special functions to be formed was the Exchequer. This we have already noticed in the reign of Henry I. Its special name of *scaccarium* then first appeared; and also its special staff known as the "Barons of the Exchequer." But, though its financial procedure was quite closely defined, the court did not become a fully differentiated body in the reign of Henry II. The people of that time did not speak of the Court of the Exchequer, but only of the "*curia regis ad scaccarium*." They knew of only one King's Court, composed of his councilors, which was essentially the same whether it was held before the justices at Westminster, before the justices itinerant, or at the Exchequer.

The
Grand
Jury

In 1166 the Assize of Clarendon provided for a reform in the trial of persons for crime. For many years crime had been rampant in the land. If the injured person, or one of his relatives or friends, did not accuse the offender there was no one whose duty it was to see that he was taken into court. And feudal courts with criminal jurisdiction were so inefficient that it was not at all certain that justice could be obtained in them. Criminals, therefore, often went unpunished. The new assize provided that when the traveling justices came to hold court in a county twelve men from each hundred should appear before them and upon oath give the names of any persons in their hundred whom they knew were accused or suspected of having committed a serious crime. Added to these twelve men were four others from each of the four townships or village communities nearest to the scene of the alleged misdeed who were to take the same oath. Thus was the jury of indictment, or accusation, formed; or, as we call it today, the grand jury. And thus was the criminal jurisdiction of the feudal courts greatly superseded. The accused was tried by the ordeal of cold water. That method was required by the Assize of Clarendon.

The
Petty
Jury

A new method in the settlement of suits, called inquisition or recognition, was now employed in the royal courts, especially in suits regarding the possession of land. Twelve men who were



thought to have the best knowledge of the disputed facts were chosen. They were to hear the case, and then they were to give a sworn verdict, a *vere dictum*, a true statement, as to which party in their opinion was entitled to possession. These men were called jurors, from the word *juro*, which means "I swear." They were subject to fine in case they failed to give a decision, or in case it could be proved they had deliberately rendered an untrue verdict. But for some time they felt themselves at liberty to ignore evidence produced in court and to rely upon the opinion they had already formed. After hearing the evidence they argued the case between themselves and reported to the court only the result they had reached. The method was a great improvement upon what had gone before it, yet clearly it was susceptible of development. Later on it came about, therefore, that men who had knowledge of the facts were retained as witnesses, while men who lacked such knowledge were appointed as jurors to listen to the witnesses and then to give a verdict; it also became the custom of the judge to be present at the deliberations of the jury, so that he might pass upon the points of law that arose in course of the discussion of the facts. This jury came to be known as the petty jury.

The Grand Assize, a formal edict or law issued some time or other in the reign of Henry II, we are not sure just when, gave to any freeman whose title to land was questioned the right to have the validity of his claim decided by the King's justices. From time to time other edicts and laws called assizes, some of them named from the place where they were issued and others from the subject with which they dealt, were published until not only all cases concerning the possession of land might be taken into the royal courts, but also many other disputes. But as yet the high fees and the expense and difficulty of attending a royal court often stood in the way of justice. One thing that made men desirous of having their claims to land tried in the King's courts was the fact that, in cases arising under the assizes, the old methods of trial were replaced by a far better procedure.

Out of the decisions of the *Curia Regis* and of those of its traveling justices, which were kept as records, there gradually grew a mass of general customs or legal principles, clear and consistent, that came to be known as the common law. It was unlike statute law in that it was not enacted by the sovereign political power, and that it depended upon usage, instead of governmental authority, for its support. Thus did the law of the land come to be English law and not the Roman law which, after its submergence by the barbarian inundation, had risen to the surface and was winning its way in Henry's other possessions and in the greater part

Increased
Jurisdiction of the
Royal
Courts

Growth
of the
Common
Law

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of civilized Europe. The precedents of which it was composed were adapted to suit the changing conditions of society, and so the common law was elastic and continually increasing in volume. Having Saxon customs for its chief content, and being arranged by Norman lawyers, it became composite like the English language; and, like that language, it has found its way into every country settled by the British people. Local customs and personal privileges were compelled to give way wherever they clashed with the common law; and over the county and hundred courts the King's officials assumed a more direct control. Thus far law had been provincial,—the law of Wessex, the Mercian law, and the law of the Danes. It now became English. All these improvements made the royal courts far more popular and powerful than the local and private courts; they gave them a steadily increasing patronage and jurisdiction; and they enabled them to become an important factor in bringing about national unity.

Changes
in the
Army,
and Be-
ginning of
National
Taxation

Two other things added to the power of the central government. The Assize of Arms, issued in 1181, reorganized and extended the old English militia, called the *fyrð*, by requiring every freeman to provide himself with arms suitable to his social standing, so that when he was called upon to put down rebellion or to resist invasion he would be a more effective fighter. Then the King placed less and less reliance upon the feudal military levies which, in addition to the Assize of Arms, he was empowered to make and sought by means of money payments demanded of his subjects to replace these levies with mercenary soldiers. These payments were known as scutage, or shield-money. They affected all military tenants, higher as well as lower, though naturally the lesser tenants were more frequently permitted to pay the scutage, instead of rendering service, than were the tenants-in-chief. The tenants-in-chief, then, were still likely to be compelled to discharge their liability by personal service, and upon them was made a more exacting assessment of the other regular feudal dues. In these measures are to be seen the beginnings of a more effective army, a professional military force, and of national taxation. The central government was fast becoming independent of feudalism; and so political feudalism, no longer resting upon the firm foundation of its necessity to the Crown, began to disappear.

Feudal-
ism Pri-
marily a
System
of Land
Tenure

We have just spoken of "the regular feudal dues." What were they? The question can be answered only by outlining the usages of feudal society, and this it seems well here to do. There were at first, so we have seen, two ways of entering feudalism. If a man owned land, and could find safety in no other way, he could give the land to a powerful lord in return for protection. He was

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permitted to use the land, as a benefice or fief, at the pleasure of the lord. If a man had no land, he could commend himself to a lord; he could enter the lord's service as a vassal. Usually in return for his services he received a benefice, or, as it had now come to be called, a fief, which he held at the lord's pleasure. A fief was generally a piece of land, though it might be one of several other things,—the right, for instance, to collect tolls at a bridge. Thus, whichever way one entered it, feudalism was at bottom a system of land tenure. Having already described the elements of feudalism (benefice, vassalage, immunity, and heredity of functions), we are here concerned only with the usages of feudal society, with the rights the lord could expect of the vassal, and the rights the vassal could expect of the lord.

The first rights a lord demanded of a vassal were homage and fealty. No man was born a vassal, but, in return for a fief, by a solemn act he became a vassal voluntarily. The man knelt before the lord, placed his hands between those of his superior and thus publicly avowed himself to be the lord's man. Then the lord kissed him on the mouth and lifted him to his feet. Such was the ceremony of homage. Then the vassal took an oath of fidelity. With his hand on some relic, or on the *Gospels*, he swore to be faithful to his lord, to fulfil the duties of a vassal. This was the act of fealty. Homage and fealty were two distinct acts. The first was an engagement; the second was an oath. But as there was never homage without fealty the two became confused.

Homage
and
Fealty

After the oath of fealty and the act of homage the vassal was entitled to the fief; so it was conferred upon him forthwith. Ordinarily the fief was a piece of land; but it might be something else,—a lucrative privilege. The lord put the vassal in possession of it by giving him a piece of soil, a twig of a tree, a glove, or something that symbolized the object transferred. This act was called investiture. The vassal was invested with the fief.

Investi-
ture

It was not the general custom to have the duties of each party to the other stated at this time in specific terms. Those duties were determined by local custom, and usually were well known to all the feudal aristocracy of the district. In the early years of feudalism, as we have seen, the contract bound only the contracting parties. It was valid only during their lives. It did not bind their descendants. Gradually, however, heredity of fiefs became established. A son could expect to inherit the fief his father had held. Yet whenever the lord died the contract had to be renewed with the new lord; and whenever the vassal died his heir had to perform the act of homage and take the oath of fealty. In theory

Heredity
of Fiefs

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Regular
Duties of
the
Vassal

it was only the right to renew the contract that became hereditary. though in practice this right came to be equivalent to heredity of possession of the fief.

Our question is still unanswered. What were "the regular feudal dues"? In return for the fief, and for the protection afforded by the lord, the vassal had to render service of three kinds,—in war, in council, and in judgment. It was chiefly for his service in war that the fief had been bestowed upon the vassal. He had to help his lord in war with a stipulated number of men armed in a specified manner. Usually this service was for forty days a year. At the end of that time, whether the war were concluded or not, the vassal might claim the right to go home. It is little wonder, therefore, that the King desired to replace this limited service, and this dependence upon the baronage, with the ancient obligation of every freeman to serve in the wars in which the country became involved and with scutage and an increase of the regular feudal dues that would enable them to maintain mercenary forces more readily and completely responsive to the royal will. When the lord was in need of advice he could summon his vassals to his castle. The obligation to comply with such calls was often limited to three assemblies in the year; and such meetings were ordinarily held at the great feasts of the Church,—at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. Often the time of these assemblies was selected for the marriage of the children of the lord, or for the entry of his son into knighthood. The attending vassals enhanced the show of the ceremony and thus gratified the vanity of the lord. Sometimes the vassals were required to act as a tribunal, as a feudal court of justice. In this capacity they adjusted differences between vassals and between vassals and lord. The vassal could not refuse to sit in the court, nor could the lord refuse to convoke it. The vassal was also under obligation to bring any law-suit in which he was involved to be decided in this feudal court. Such were the periodical services required of the vassal.

Occasional
Duties
of the
Vassal

Then there were aids to be rendered which did not fall due at stated times, but only occasionally. At the outset these occasional aids were scarcely more than courtesy, but gradually they became customary, and finally they became law. Among these occasional aids was ransom. When a lord was captured by the enemy his vassals contributed toward the sum required for his release. We are soon to see that when Richard the Lion Heart was imprisoned by the Emperor Henry VI (1190-1197) his tenants-in-chief, who were his direct vassals, and also in this case many others, raised an enormous sum for his ransom. When

the lord's eldest daughter was married, an aid was due from the vassals for her dower; and when his eldest son was knighted they were required to contribute toward the expense incurred. In some places other minor aids were required. Another sort of payment required of the vassal was called relief. When the vassal died his heir had to pay a sum to the lord in order to secure recognition of his right to the fief. Likewise if a vassal sold his fief the purchaser had to pay a relief to the lord for the right to assume control of the fief. Still another right of the lord was that of escheat. If a vassal became a felon his fief might be forfeited; or if he opposed his lord he might be declared a recreant, and then his fief escheated, that is, it went back to the lord. Very profitable to the lord was the right of wardship. When a fief was inherited by a minor the lord took control of it and administered it during the minority of the heir. He did this because the heir could not perform his services as a warrior. In return for the income of the fief the lord had to educate the heir and put him in possession of the fief when he became of age. The right of marriage was also lucrative to the lord. When a fief was inherited by a woman, the lord had the right to select a husband for her. She could not be expected to fulfil the military duties arising from possession of the fief. So the lord had a right to see that her husband was a man whom he could trust and that he was a good fighter. Sometimes women paid large sums to the lord to be allowed to marry the men they loved, or to avoid marrying men whom they disliked. These are not all the feudal dues a lord could expect of a vassal, but they are the principal and common ones. It was by the increase of many of these feudal dues, as well as by the imposition of scutage, that Henry II endeavored to raise money sufficient to hire a professional army and thus render himself independent of the military services the barons owed him.

In return for the fulfilment of these obligations the vassal had the right to be invested with the fief, the right of protection by the lord from his enemies, the right of justice when injury had been done him, and, finally, if the lord failed in his duties to him, the right of defiance.

Upon the fundamental elements we described in the preceding chapter (benefice, vassalage, immunity, and heredity of functions), and with the duties of the vassal to the lord and those of the lord to the vassal, the fabric of feudalism was built. Wherever feudalism was not checked, as it was in England, by a strong central power it entailed almost constant war. And even in Eng-

Rights
of the
Vassal

Merits
and De-
fects of
Feudalism

CHAP. V land, despite the power and precautions of the Conqueror and his successors, it was no easy task to counteract the centrifugal force of feudalism and to stamp out its predilection for strife. Feudalism, as Guizot has pointed out, had certain merits. There was no compulsory entry into it; it was a definite and intelligible condition; one knew one's duties and rights; usually no change could be made without mutual consent of vassal and lord; judgment was passed upon one by one's peers, not by one's superiors or inferiors, but by men who had the same interests and who belonged to the same class; and, finally, it recognized the right of withdrawal and the right of rebellion.

**Church
Courts**

While the power of the feudal barons was declining in England, that of the Church increased. The organization of the bishoprics and parishes constantly improved, men of marked ability were attracted to the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, and the facilities for clerical education were bettered and extended. The Conqueror had permitted the establishment of separate church courts for the settlement of spiritual matters. These courts claimed a wide jurisdiction, both as to persons and as to things. It were dishonor to call the servants of God, the clergy, into a secular court for a crime by or against one of their number. This gave the church courts exclusive jurisdiction over many subjects of the Crown, for in those days every altar-boy, every university student, and even every inmate of an ecclesiastical institution, no matter how humble his position, was considered as a cleric before the law. And every member of the laity who was accused of a crime against a cleric could be tried, so the Church claimed, only in an ecclesiastical court. It was but natural that under these conditions purely secular matters were often tried in church courts, even cases involving the royal prerogative; and many cases in such courts might be appealed to the papal curia and there tried by a power that might happen to be unfriendly to the sovereign. The Church never pronounced sentence of death in her courts; though in the case of heretics she often put pressure upon the civil authorities to secure the infliction of the extreme penalty. The privilege of being tried only in a church court was known as "benefit of clergy." It was highly desired by all who were accused, or who were likely to be accused, of crime. Many laymen got barbers to give them the "clerk's crown" in the hope of profiting by the privilege should their crimes and misdemeanors be discovered. Nothing was easier than to obtain consecration as a clerk in minor orders. And, as to things, the jurisdiction of those courts did not end with matters of faith and discipline, but, in theory, extended to all cases in any way connected with any of

the sacraments, with sacrilege, oaths, adultery, church property, wills, endowments, and many other things. CHAP. V

In the ecclesiastical courts the Church used her own law, the canon law, whose sources were the *New Testament*, the tradition that was in her keeping, the canons of ecumenical and other councils, and the decrees of the Popes. Thus the canon law was a body of law formed by gradual accretion. From time to time attempts were made to arrange it, first according to chronology and then according to subject-matter. The most important of these attempts was that by Gratian, a monk of whom very little is known, published at Bologna about 1148 and known later as the *Decretum*. Subsequent compilations, very scattering because they were the work of private persons, were made to bring the *Decretum* up to date and to meet its deficiencies as they were disclosed; and they were collated in 1234 by order of Gregory IX. Members of the clergy went to the continent, especially to Bologna, to study the canon law, and others became familiar with it in the households of bishops where teachers and practitioners were to be found. The revival of the Roman law, which for some time had been under way on the continent, and the wide-spread success of the Cluniac reformation, which everywhere had sown the seeds of centralization, gave a great stimulus to the canon law and the church courts in which it was practised. These courts were far more popular than the civil courts, for the judges were more learned, the procedure was more reasonable, justice was more likely to be obtained, and the punishments were milder. Nearly all contracts were therefore made binding by oath in order that their non-fulfilment might be taken into a church court as a case of perjury.

Canon
Law

In other ways, too, than by the popularity and privileges of its courts did the Church increase its power in England. Henry I, it will be recalled, strove to lessen the exercise of papal authority in the kingdom, and yet towards the end of his reign appeals to Rome without his sanction, by persons dissatisfied with decisions rendered in the church courts, and petitions of high ecclesiastical officials, to have cases in which they were involved heard in the first instance by the papal Curia, were frequent. In the anarchy of Stephen's time the power of the Church grew apace; its courts encroached in every direction upon the jurisdiction of the secular tribunals. No criminous cleric, it was asserted, could be punished by the temporal authority, even after he had been pronounced guilty by an ecclesiastical court. Complete disregard was shown for the rule, established by the Conqueror, that without the royal permission no case ought to go to Rome. Such was the situation

Encroach-
ment of
the Ec-
clesiastical
Power

CHAP. V

Rise of
Thomas
Becket

when there entered upon the scene one of the most striking figures in England in the medieval centuries.

Thomas Becket (1118?-1170), known to his contemporaries as Thomas of London, was born of Norman parents in that city. Skilful in the use of the canon law, which he had studied at Bologna and elsewhere on the continent, though by no means as able as Lanfranc or as scholarly as Anselm, he climbed the social ladder until he was made Archdeacon of Canterbury. And then, upon the recommendation of the Archbishop, Henry, whose cause he had already served by persuading the Pope not to sanction the coronation of Eustace, son of Stephen, as successor to the throne, raised him to the position of Chancellor. Tall and dark, with luminous and expressive eyes, ready of wit and fluent of speech, the handsome cleric soon became the King's most intimate companion and was enriched with the gift of great estates. In his new office he systematically advanced the interests of the royal power whenever they clashed with those of the Church. In order to further the imperial aspirations of his sovereign he taxed ecclesiastical possessions so severely that he was accused "of plunging his sword into the bowels of his mother." But when, in 1162, the King made him Archbishop of Canterbury he ceased to be a subservient instrument of the royal power, resigned the Chancellorship, and devoted himself to the cause of the Church. It was his temperament that produced the change. So ardent an advocate was he of the cause with which he happened to be most intimately connected, so violent a partisan, that it was impossible for him to adopt a policy of compromise.

The Con-
stitutions
of Claren-
don

A clash between so stubborn a champion of the Church and the restless, energetic, and determined King was inevitable. Most of the disputes between them centered upon the claims and practices of the ecclesiastical courts. Henry was bent upon removing the menace of the increasing number of persons who were exempt from the operation of the secular law. Finally, in 1164, at a meeting of the King's Council at Clarendon, a set of laws was drawn up, afterwards known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, by which the King desired to see the relations between the Church and the Kingdom settled. The Constitutions greatly curtailed the power of church courts, transferring most of their cases to the civil tribunals. They provided, among other things, that any cleric accused in a royal court of a temporal crime should be sent to a church court. The latter might either try or degrade the cleric as it deemed just. Then the Church "ought not to protect him further." He was to be sent for final trial to a royal court. No suits relating to ordinary contracts were to be heard in the ecclesiastical courts.

Appeals to Rome without the royal permission were forbidden; and without such permission no cleric was to leave the realm, and no tenant-in-chief of the Crown might be excommunicated.

At first the Primate yielded; but later on he refused to subscribe to the Constitutions. Some months later, at nightfall, in the midst of a drenching rain, he fled in disguise to the north, whence after a further delay of two weeks he made his way into the territory of the King of France. All his property, and that of his relatives and supporters, was confiscated, and four hundred of his friends were driven across the sea. For six years Becket remained abroad. In 1170 the papal threats induced Henry to effect a reconciliation with the exiled Archbishop whom he met for the last time at Fréteval; and the latter, leaving the King in France, returned to Canterbury. But a reconciliation that made no mention of the Constitutions could not last. Becket had no sooner landed in England than he proceeded to punish ecclesiastics who had supported the King, and to publish letters from the Pope in which the Constitutions were regarded as null and void. Henry, as fiery of temper as he was in appearance, flew into a rage. "What cowards have I nourished in my house," he passionately cried, "that not one of them will avenge me on this low-born priest." Four knights, unscrupulous adventurers eager to gain their master's favor, hurried across the Channel to Canterbury. They made their way into the minster, dim with the falling night, where the service of vespers was beginning. There, at the foot of a pillar to which his back was set, they struck the dauntless Primate to the ground and scattered his brains on the stones.

A thrill of horror ran throughout western Christendom. Becket was the first important martyr to the Hildebrandine conception of the power of the Church. He was canonized two years later, and his shrine, so the medieval world believed, became the scene of many miracles. It was richly adorned with gold and silver, and lit with jeweled lamps. Even today one may see the stone steps leading from the cathedral choir to the chapel of the shrine worn deep with the feet of untold thousands of pilgrims who each year flocked thither to seek the intercession of the saint with God for their sorrows and their sins. The victory that Thomas had failed to win in his lifetime came as a reward of his death. Henry solemnly avowed his innocence of the deed, gave a large sum of money to charity and the Church, walked barefooted into Canterbury, submitted to a public scourging at the hands of priests, and withdrew several of the most important clauses in the Constitutions of Clarendon. True it is that later he exercised in a quiet way much of the power he had professed to relinquish, but

Flight
and
Death of
Thomas
Becket

Results
of the
Quarrel

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Power
and
Services
of the
Medieval
Church

through all the remaining medieval generations the criminous cleric enjoyed the bitterly disputed "benefit of clergy," and appeals to the papal Curia of persons involved in ecclesiastical suits became more numerous than ever. No attempt to limit the "benefit of clergy" was successful from this time on until the reign of Henry VII.

In this open quarrel between the King and the Pope the latter was supported by a great majority of the people. In the Age of Faith the Church could govern and compel the support of the laity without armies or police. There were a number of weapons with which she could enforce her decisions and decrees. Terror was one of the most efficacious. Not only could she condemn men to eternal torture in the next world; even in the present life she could call down dire punishment from heaven upon them. In all the market-places it was rumored how this was happening every day. With heaven and hell as guarantors, the Church had no need of prisons or police. Then she could impose penance (a contraction of the word penitence), the performance of good deeds, such as wearing a hair shirt or going upon a pilgrimage. Later such literal penance became commuted for money payments. There was excommunication, with its three degrees of minor, major, and anathema. The anathema not only cut off the living from the Church; it deprived even the dead of salvation. Its pronouncement was a very impressive ceremony. The tolling of a bell summoned the people. The bishop was attended by twelve priests. Each bore a lighted candle. The sentence was read from a book, and at that moment the candles were dashed to earth in token of the extinction of the sinner's soul. Few in those times did not fear excommunication "by bell, book, and candle." It compelled the submission of Kings. But for those temporal rulers who still held out there was a last resort. A fief or a kingdom could be placed under an interdict. Interdicts were of varying severity. In the extreme form, which was seldom used, in all the territory no mass was said, no vespers sung, no sacraments administered. Even the Last Sacrament was denied, and no dead bodies were permitted to be buried in consecrated ground. The sweet church bells that so often brought consolation, that to the medieval man were as the hearth fire had been to the ancient Roman, were silent. The doors of the church, aye, even the gates of heaven, were shut. Few were the monarchs not stricken to their knees by so powerful a weapon. But it would be wrong to attribute the power of the Church over the people solely to her weapons. They were intended only for the guilty. Her power depended chiefly upon the services she performed. The secular clergy were the spiritual guides of

their parishioners. They baptized them at their birth, they heard their confessions, they gave them their first communion, they married them, and at the hour of death they fortified them with the last rites of the Church. The priest was often the social leader in the parish; he wrote letters to the absent and read their replies, especially in the time of the Crusades; and in the absence of newspapers and other modern means of communication he was eagerly sought for news. Churches were gathering places not only for religious services, but also for social diversions. Sunday was the weekly holiday of the hard-working population, and it was spent in or near the church, in rest, in games, and in happy intercourse. Many social features and activities which in our time are conducted by the state, or are left to the discretion of the individual, were administered by the Church in the Middle Ages. Religious life, like the waters of a great ocean, washed every shore, impregnated the soil with underground streams, and sent the falling rain to refresh the fields.

Henry II did not increase his popularity by his quarrel with the Church. The people failed to see that their advantage lay in the cause he represented. Numerous revolts disturbed his French territories. Wales, too, gave trouble; but by 1163 he had conquered the southern part of that country and compelled homage for the remainder. Eight years later he conquered Ireland as far west as the Shannon and the Bann. That unhappy country was truly a "trembling sod." Remote from the centers of European life, and containing vast stretches of marsh and forest and barren hills, the island had not lent itself to the formation of a compact society nor to the development of civilization. The Celtic learning, both sacred and secular, which had astonished and charmed the mainland when England was still in the throes of the barbarian invasions, had lost its glow. No teachers from the continent had come to replace those who had gone forth. A period of intellectual and spiritual decay had settled down upon the western isle filled with the anguish of incessant civil conflict. Secular affairs were in an equally deplorable condition. The people were impatient of restraint. They chafed against the elementary rules of justice and established government. Lack of a powerful central authority permitted and encouraged the various princes to be forever at war with each other. Such a condition invited the ambitious ruler of England to take possession. But the conquest was as uncertain as it was easy, and not until four hundred years later was the island really subjugated. The national hatred engendered by the partial conquest was destined to increase in bitterness, despite the gradual disappearance of differences in language,

First
English
Conquest
of Ireland

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blood, and civilization, and to fill succeeding centuries with discord and misery. In the west and the wild places of the center the native chiefs resisted with fluctuating fortune the encroachment of the English. In 1173 three of Henry's sons were involved in rebellion against him, and with them were many English and French nobles and the King of Scotland; but after much hard fighting the rebels and invaders were subdued. Other wars on the continent disturbed Henry's remaining years; but at his death his possessions extended without a break from Scotland to Spain, and though the end of his reign was troubled with the machinations of his wife and the insurrections of his children all of his work that was valuable was destined to endure. It was his thought and energy that had made the government of England the freest, the most impartial, and the most efficient in Europe.

Richard,
Lion
Heart

The reign of Richard I (1189-1199) need not detain us long. One of the most romantic of figures, a knight-errant, in whom were blended the best and worst qualities of his brutal age, he spent hardly one of the ten years of his reign in England and did nothing at all to advance the interests of his country. His devil-may-care bravery in the Third Crusade, the most brilliant of all those enterprises foredoomed to failure, earned for him the name of Lion Heart; and if it were not his shifting preferences and policies that made him known as Richard Yea and Nay, they at least justify the cognomen. Imprisoned on his way home from Palestine, first by the Duke of Austria and then by the Emperor, the needy and avaricious Henry VI, £100,000, an enormous sum for that time, was demanded for his ransom. The great sum was never paid in full, but the part of it that was paid drained the resources of England to the limit and proved the beginning of governmental taxation of personal property. His Chief Justiciar, Hubert Walter (?-1205), who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, did something to mitigate the reckless financial raids upon the people and to conciliate the sufferers. He also inaugurated the policy of looking for support to the knights of the shire, a body of men whose interests were not exactly identical with those of the feudal baronage but were more closely related to those of the common people and of the Crown. In 1195 he issued an ordinance by which four knights were to be appointed in every hundred to act as guardians of the peace. From this was eventually evolved the office of justice of the peace. Richard's reign would have been even a greater burden and a greater failure than it was had it not been for the reforms of this constructive statesman.

It is at this time that England was most directly involved in the

events of the Crusades, though it was later that their results were to make their impression upon her civilization. All sorts and conditions of men, from peasants to princes, went on these expeditions to the Holy Land. Many motives moved them. Some, like Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis IX of France, were led by piety, by the spiritual ideals of the time, to strike a blow for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulcher. Many more were actuated by love of war and adventure. Still others were lured by curiosity, by the tales of medieval travelers in the East and those of Oriental visitors in the West. Some, who saw but slight prospect of success in the western lands, and who expected greater opportunities in the East, were spurred by ambition. Poverty drove many a man thither. Intolerable havoc was wrought by the endless private wars of feudal times. A knight, or even a burgher, whose father had been unable to provide for him, or who had been stripped of his worldly goods, might hope to win wealth and power in those far-off lands of fabled wealth. And the lust of heaven impelled thousands to throw themselves into the warfare of the Cross against the Crescent, just as in 1896 it led the fanatic horsemen of the Sudan to ride to their death at the mouths of English cannon. Bernard of Clairvaux told the crusaders that heaven would open wide to receive all those who perished in the attempt to recover the holy places. Few, perhaps, were actuated by a single motive. In all ages it is usually with mixed motives that men strive to carry out their dreams and to perform the deeds upon which they have set their hearts.

The Crusades in the East began in 1095 and continued for centuries. Many things resulted from them. The authority of the Popes, under whose auspices they were preached, was much increased. To the clergy, who, as we have seen, were able to render additional services to the people, they brought more power; and by them the faith of men was stirred and exalted. To the Emperor they brought a lessening of prestige. But to the Kings they were kinder than to the Emperors. Not many of them went, and those who did go soon returned. Their most turbulent barons found a new outlet for their warlike spirit; and in the absence of those disturbers of the peace bishops and burghers united with the Kings to increase the central power. The towns prospered. The Crusades meant a constant and unproductive drain of capital from England; but thrifty merchants and industrious craftsmen were able to supply the lords who owned their lands with the necessary funds to meet the expense of the expeditions in return for charters of greater self-government. So many feudal barons perished by the way, or met their death in

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Causes
and
Motives
of the
Crusades

Political
Results
of the
Crusades

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the East, that the survivors were forced to fill their places with men from the ranks of peasantry and townsfolk. Thus were the barriers of class shifted and broken. But the elevation of the country people of western Europe from the condition of serfdom did not come until the age of the Crusades had passed away. We have yet to hear their sorrowful story in England.

Economic
and
Social
Results
of the
Crusades

New luxuries came from the East. Spices, perfumes, sugar, soft fabrics for the lighter hours, jewelry, the lute, and many another thing whose Saracenic name still betrays its origin, were brought to western Europe. New necessities also came back with the returning soldiers and with the increasing body of men engaged in commerce. Maize, rice, cotton, and paper are but a few of them. Commerce was greatly expanded. After the long interval of the centuries that had elapsed since the fall of the Roman power in the West, industrial exchange on a world-wide scale was resumed. Inventions were introduced from the East; and, better still, the inventive spirit found its way with them. The handicrafts were greatly stimulated, and so manufacture came for the first time to occupy a place on a level with agriculture. Agriculture itself was improved with new methods and new seeds.

Intellec-
tual
Results
of the
Crusades

The Crusades had important intellectual results. Curiosity was incited. Men longed to know more than Western Europe and the Middle Ages had told them of the great questions of life. The Age of Faith began to give way to the Age of Reason; but the change, as all such changes are, was very slow. The development of the modern languages was accelerated. We are soon to see something of the rise of the English tongue. And with the rise of the popular languages came the beginnings of national literature. Taste was developed, the thing that differentiates us from one another. The individual was emerging from the mass. Science traces its revival to the time of the Crusades. Saracen doctors taught at Salerno, the first school of medicine in Europe. Into philosophy a new stream flowed. From the Saracens of the Spanish peninsula came a greater knowledge of Aristotle than the medieval world had possessed. And sweetness as well as light streamed into the West from the East. The Saracens, it was discovered, were not the monsters they had been pictured. They were very human, and far surpassed the Europeans in knowledge and humanity. Saladin sent his private physician to Richard the Lion Heart when the latter was ill with a dysenteric ailment peculiar to the East. In their treatment of the sick and the afflicted the Saracens were centuries in advance of the Christians. He was indeed a poor specimen of man who did not return home with a deeper humanity as a consequence of his experience in the

East. In tolerance, too, the Mohammedans outdid the Christians. They provided for the respect of the Holy Sepulcher; and they had welcomed the westerners to the Christian shrines. There is nothing to lead us to believe that the Christians would have so treated the Mohammedans. Out of the meeting of East and West tolerance slowly grew. Skepticism found its way back with the Crusaders. Men began to distrust much they had believed. Their doubts, it is true, were at first only whispered with bated breath; but the seed of incredulity was planted and it grew. All through the Middle Ages men had relied upon the word of authority for guidance. Now they began to trust something within themselves. They were guided by the consensus of their faculties; or, as we have narrowed the word, by their conscience. Thus were the seeds of modern life transplanted from the East to the West. They blossomed and bore fruit on the continent many years before their flowering time in England; yet from this time onward life even in England was never quite the same as once it had been. When Peter the Hermit preached the First Crusade he unconsciously preached a far-distant Renaissance that was to change the aspect of the world.

John (1199-1216) had endeavored to put himself in supreme power when the late King was in the East; but the government elaborated by Henry II proved itself so efficient that, even though it was in part conducted by ministers of little talent and less tact, it rendered hopeless any feudal rising. Between him and Richard had been another brother, Geoffrey, who had died in 1186. Geoffrey's son, Arthur of Brittany, was perhaps the rightful heir to the Crown; but the law of succession to the Crown was then uncertain, and Arthur was a mere boy of twelve. Both in France and in England, therefore, John's claim overrode that of his nephew. Quarrels soon broke out between the cunning and unscrupulous King and some of his vassals across the Channel. Philip II (Augustus) of France deemed the moment opportune for promoting the traditional policy of his house of lessening and dividing the continental possessions of the English Crown. In the war that ensued Arthur, whose cause Philip had espoused, was taken prisoner and then, by the order, if not by the hand, of John he was put to death. The cruel murder cost the English King, who was already loathed by all who knew him, the support of his French vassals. With little difficulty Philip added Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou to his possessions. Of all the wide territories once held in France by the island Kings only Guienne and southern Aquitaine remained to them. These they were destined to keep for two hundred and fifty years; but they were

Loss of
Territory
on the
Continent
and its
Conse-
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far away, and the holdings of the King of France intervened between them and England. Future Kings of England were to live at home much more than their predecessors had done; and England herself had to depend upon her own resources far more than in the past. It must not be supposed that the possession of large territories on the continent by English rulers was altogether detrimental to England. The additional power and prestige the Kings had thus acquired doubtless aided them in the task of reducing English feudalism; the unavoidable acquaintance with various types of government broadened their views and increased their power of analysis; reform measures tested in one place were applied in another; and communication with the centers of continental civilization was increased. But hereafter England was compelled more fully than before to solve her own problems.

Quarrel
between
the Pope
and the
King

The ecclesiastical law provided that when a bishop died the chapter of the cathedral should elect his successor. It was impossible for any bishop to fulfil all the duties of his episcopal office and to conduct all the services of the cathedral himself. He needed assistants. These assistants formed the cathedral chapter. Some of the cathedral chapters were composed of canons. These canons were secular priests who lived under semi-monastic rules, or canons; and from their common and canonical life their title of "canon" was derived. In other cathedrals the chapters were made up of monks instead of canons. In either case the chapter, according to the canon law, had the right to elect the bishop. The King of England had generally been able to persuade the chapters to elect his nominees to vacant bishoprics. When an archbishop was to be elected, the subordinate bishops and the Pope were greatly interested, as well as the King and the archiepiscopal chapter. In 1205 Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, died. It was well known that the King desired the complaisant John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, to be the new Primate. But one night some of the younger and more impetuous monks of the chapter elected their sub-prior, Reginald, and immediately dispatched him to Rome to be confirmed in his new office. The anger of the King was so great, however, and his threats so fearful, that the monks, who had already become dissatisfied with Reginald, rescinded their action and elected the royal nominee. Innocent III (1198-1216), one of the greatest and most statesmanlike of the Popes, declared both elections illegal and persuaded or compelled the representatives of the chapter who were then in Rome to elect Cardinal Stephen Langton (?-1228), an Englishman whose character and capacity had won the high regard of all who knew him. Langton was unquestionably the fittest of the three

candidates, but it was a bold and unbearable extension of papal power thus to foist upon England a nominee of the Pope. John was again furious, and so there was precipitated another quarrel with the Papacy. In 1208 Innocent laid England under an interdict; and, despite the King's threat to outlaw any priest who declined to perform his functions, nearly all the churches were closed, and most of the bishops and higher clergy fled to the continent. Not all the offices of religion were denied to the faithful, but enough were withheld to cause extreme distress. The next year the King was excommunicated. But John was utterly irreligious. He feared no personal penalty and cared nothing for the spiritual anguish of his people. So, for almost five years England remained under the ban of the Church. Then the Pope declared John to be deposed and authorized Philip of France to deprive him of his kingdom. Philip prepared to invade England; and John could not hope for the united and hearty support of his people because they were disaffected by his bad government, especially by his fiscal exactions. Suddenly, therefore, the callous King dissembled his wrath and submitted to the papal power. He was anxious to remove every pretext for rebellion and invasion. He gave way on every point for which he had contended. Kneeling at the feet of the papal legate, he surrendered England and Ireland to the Pope, received them back as a fief, and agreed to pay a thousand marks a year as tribute for them. This submission was no idle form; for some years the dominant power in the control of England was that of the Bishop of Rome, who exercised his authority through his legates.

The interdict, together with increased taxation and exacting demands, had made both the people and the nobility greatly dissatisfied with John's conduct of affairs. Archbishop Langton lent his support to the popular clamor for redress of grievances, and he encouraged the barons to systematize their demands. John had long desired to crush the power of Philip of France, but his plans came to naught when, in 1214, his German allies and some rebellious French feudatories were decisively beaten at Bouvines. The defeated monarch then returned to England to meet the rising tide of discontent. When he rejected their demands, the barons marched on London, the gates of which were opened to receive them while most of the citizens were at church. London was favorable to the plan of exacting reforms and gave its aid to the barons. Left with only a few personal retainers, John was forced to give way. In June, 1215, at Runnymede, a meadow near Windsor Castle, in the presence of a great assembly, he affixed the royal seal to a hurriedly prepared document that afterwards became

The Great
Charter

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known as *Magna Carta*. Many of the sixty-three clauses of the Great Charter relate to temporary and minor matters and even its important provisions can scarcely be said to be new. It made few lasting innovations, and claimed no new liberties. It guaranteed to the Church the full possession of the rights she already enjoyed, especially freedom in the election of bishops. To the King's tenants-in-chief it promised the elimination of all excesses in the collection of feudal dues; and they, in their turn, were to observe the same conditions with regard to their own tenants. Freemen below the rank of nobles were benefited by the guarantees of the liberties and rights of London and other towns, the stipulation that the ancient rents in the various counties were not to be increased, and the provision for the freedom of merchants in coming into and going out of the kingdom upon payment of the ancient custom dues. Yet, as was natural at that time, the interests of the lower classes were by no means so fully provided for as were those of the nobility. Hereafter it was unnecessary for suits between subjects of the Crown to follow the royal court from place to place. Such suits were to be heard in designated places. Criminal cases instigated by the Crown were to be tried only by such judges as "know the law." No freeman was to be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any other way molested, without the judgment of his peers, according to the law of the land. And justice was not to be denied. But the articles which secure the liberties of the common people in town and country are not numerous; and it may be said without injustice that the barons neglected the interests of the lower classes. It will be observed that for the most part *Magna Carta* merely restored and elaborated privileges the subjects of the King already possessed; and it should be understood that many provisions of the agreement, such as the one relating to private jurisdictions, which, however, were never observed, were distinctly reactionary in character. It was not designed to make the King responsible to the nation, but rather to secure the local independence of the barons, to stop the King from invading their courts and preventing them from doing what they thought fit with their own. Yet this document which was the result of the first alliance of all the classes then having political power has been regarded as containing the essence and embodying the ideal of all British liberty and as being something sacrosanct. One reason for this is that in later times much that is not found there was read into the document by those who were struggling for the extension of liberty. Underlying the specific provisions of the Charter, and far surpassing them in importance, is the principle

that the power of the King is to be limited and guided by law. In the future any King who seriously violated an important law would imperil his position, and, as the people rose in power, his life would be endangered. The document bears witness to the fact that nationality had not yet been achieved. It was written in Latin, not in English. John, as was suspected, endeavored to nullify the Charter; but, in 1216, in the midst of a civil war, in which the barons were aided by Prince Louis of France to whom they had offered the Crown, death relieved the English of this most undesirable of all their Kings. He was a soldier of ability when in command of adequate forces, skilful in strategy and quick and clever in tactics; but as a statesman he was lacking in sympathy and foresight, and so his career was a failure from his coronation to his death.

In all the one hundred and fifty years that had elapsed since the Conquest the English peoples remained submerged beneath the Norman tide. But toward the close of the period we see some signs of their coming emergence. In the towns they have fused with the invaders and play their part in the slow but sure growth of municipal liberty. Literature in English, as we have seen, entirely disappeared. Even the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* died out in the wild years of Stephen's reign. Yet the spoken language had never been endangered. Banished from the court and from every feudal castle, it descended below the surface and lived in the daily life of the common people and in their popular songs and stories; and then, almost in the very year that England was severed from Normandy, it rose once more to the level of literature in the *Brut* of Layamon, a country priest. This long metrical narrative, whose theme is the story of Britain, is greatly indebted to Wace's *Roman de Brut*, which we have already noticed. It is of no historical value, but it adds some items of its own to the growing mass of the Arthurian legends. For the first time, as far as we are able to discover, the mysterious King appears invested in the shining raiment of chivalry, a noble and generous figure, in whom the courtesy that was the ideal of medieval knighthood is instinctive. The language of the poem is English; scarcely more than one French word is to be found in each five hundred lines; but, as one would naturally expect, the English is transitional in character. The peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon grammar and syntax had not yet entirely disappeared. Most important of all is the fact that once again the English temperament found expression in verse. In resonant lines the warlike deeds of ancient heroes and the winter storms are recounted and described, and occasionally even an epic note is struck. Here, beyond all question, is visible

Emer-
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English
and Rise
of Their
Language

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the emerging of the English from beneath the shallow waters of the Norman flood, not the English of Alfred's time, but a people quickened by the inventiveness and the instant sensibility of the Celt and emboldened by the eager, enterprising, and ambitious spirit of the Norman.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

To the original sources already given we may now add the translations into English of Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*, and Roger of Hoveden's *Annals*.

G. B. Adams, *Origin of the English Constitution*. A. S. Green, *Henry II*. Hubert Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenets*. W. S. McKechnie's *Magna Carta* is the best work on the subject. F. W. Maitland, *Canon Law in England*. Two books that may well be added to those dealing with the same subject we have already mentioned are Medley's *Manual of English Constitutional History* and T. P. Taswell-Langmead's *Constitutional History of England*, of each of which there is a revised edition. Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, and also her *John Lackland*. F. M. Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*. J. H. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*. L. F. Salzman, *Henry II*. William Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets*, a perfect little book; and also his scholarly *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series*. J. B. Thayer, *Development of Trial by Jury*.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH NATION

(1216-1327)

THE dreams of empire in which Henry II permitted himself to indulge were doomed to defeat. His vast possessions, extending from Scotland to Spain, were kept together by Richard the Lion Heart, but in the reign of John four of the most important of the French states were lost forever to the English Crown. We remember Henry's reign not so much for his imperial ambition as for the great improvements he made in the government of England. Richard's reign was a romantic interlude of little consequence; while that of John will always be recalled because, as a result of an alliance of all the classes having political power, it witnessed the signing of the Great Charter. When the meanest of English Kings came to his unlamented end his son, Henry III (1216-1272), was but a child of nine, and so the conduct of government was assumed for a time by a regent, the venerable William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. The Great Charter, somewhat modified in favor of feudalism, was reissued; and, a pardon being offered them, the barons who had rebelled against John and espoused the cause of Louis of France when that prince landed in England forsook the foreigner and swore allegiance to the little boy who now occupied the English throne. The troubles of the reign of John had filled the land with disorder, but, before his death in 1219, the aged Pembroke had done much to restore order; and then, the affairs of government being conjointly directed by Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, and Pandulph, the arrogant papal legate, more vigorous measures succeeded in completing the pacification of the country.

In less than a generation after the loss of Normandy and Anjou the more ancient of the English baronage, which now formed only a small section of the nobility, and whose estates were now confined to England, had become as national in spirit as the mass of the people; and the larger part of the nobility, which had been raised to the ranks of the aristocracy only within the last century, had always been English in spirit. Sundered from

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and the
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the continent more distinctly than they had been since the Conquest, thrown more upon their own resources, and becoming increasingly conscious of a common destiny, the English were rapidly being welded into a powerful nation. The mass of the English people "desired nothing more than peace, quietness, and good governance." They viewed with displeasure the territorial ambitions of their King, his extravagance in spending money and their consequent increased taxation, the favors he bestowed upon the "horde of foreign favorites" that flocked to his court from Poitou and Provence, and the subservience he displayed to the interests of the Papacy. In the years of 1232 to 1258 during which the King's personal rule lasted these things were the subjects of criticism by a party that included the most practical and the most patriotic of the nobles and prelates. And, strange to say, toward the end of the period one of the foreign favorites of the King became their leader.

Simon de
Montfort
and the
Lessening
of the
Power of
the King

Simon de Montfort (1200?-1265) came to England in 1230 and eight years later married the sister of the King. His family were nobles in the south of France, but through his grandmother he had inherited the Earldom of Leicester. He was a harsh and austere man, with a strain of religious fervor in his make-up. Influenced very greatly by Robert Grosseteste, the learned Bishop of Lincoln, he became the chief spokesman of the party desiring to effect reforms in Church and State. The continual extravagance of the King and his subserviency to the Papacy determined the barons to put the royal power under constitutional restraints. In 1258 a committee of twenty-four nobles, of which Simon de Montfort was the leader, drew up the famous Provisions of Oxford. This new plan of government provided for the establishment of a permanent council of fifteen barons and bishops, the consent of which was to be necessary for every act of state, and for the creation of other committees that should have charge of the national finances and of the business formerly transacted by the Great Council. It is quite obviously the work of a feudal party. It sought to replace the absolutism of the King with the authority of a limited number of secular and ecclesiastical nobles deemed qualified to represent the nation. Such a bureaucratic government was doomed to an early end. It provided for no authoritative executive, it left the various committees unsatisfactorily related to one another, and it made no provision for representing the interests of the small landholders and the subtenants. Three years later Henry III repudiated the Provisions. We are not quite certain of what followed. Further study of the original sources is necessary. It seems that the matter was sub-

mitted to the arbitration of Louis IX of France, who in 1264 gave his decision, contained in a document known as the Mise of Amiens, in favor of the King. The decision was rejected by many of the English, and, four months later at Lewes, actively aided by the towns and some of the younger nobility, with at least the moral support of the Universities and the clergy, Montfort, by virtue of his superior generalship, defeated and captured the King. In the following year he summoned a meeting which is important in the history of the English Parliament.

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Today the Parliament of the British Islands consists of two chambers. The upper chamber, known as the House of Lords, had its origin in the Witenagemot, of Anglo-Saxon times, made up of members of the nobility and the hierarchy. The Witenagemot, which at first merely gave advice to the King, and at whose meetings the King was usually present, gradually became a deliberative and legislative body. It advised the King as to the appointment and removal of the leading officers of state, it laid claim to the right to elect and depose even the King himself, it asserted the necessity of its consent to the legality of taxation and of treaties, and it acted as the supreme court of the realm. The nobles and bishops who composed the Witenagemot knew something of the interests and necessities of the people in the districts from which they came, and they were united to them by racial ties. The character of the assembly was suddenly changed at the time of the Conquest. The English people were submerged, foreign nobles replaced the former landholders, and foreign prelates supplanted the bishops and abbots who were of the same race as the peasantry. For the Witenagemot, with its restraining powers, there was substituted the King's Council, made up of bishops and barons who were vassals of the King, whose advice and sanction were theoretically involved in the making of laws, but who in practice were subservient to an absolute monarch. "By the counsel and consent of all my archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons," is a phrase one finds in royal proclamations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but usually it was very perfunctory. Gradually, however, it acquired vitality. As time went on the barons disputed the claim of the Crown to absolute power. In 1197, for instance, their voice was distinctly heard in opposition to certain proposals of the King. Then the bishops became jealous of the ambitious barons. For more than a hundred and fifty years these aspirants for power struggled against each other. One other thing should be remembered. At no time in the medieval period did the King's Council lose its original character as a single controlling organ in the state. Yet the process of the gradual differentiation of its various func-

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Parliament
and Its
Predecessor

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tions, of the separation of its various activities, was continued. At this time there were at least three important bodies, only partially defined and not entirely separated from one another,—the King's Bench, the Exchequer, and the Parliament. The name "Parliament," which was now coming into common use, did not, therefore, connote a separate body; and much less did it connote a representative assembly such as we are familiar with today. It was only a meeting, under a new name, of the King's Council. Nor was Parliament at first a purely legislative body. It was above all else a court,—the High Court of Parliament. Half the time of Parliament was occupied with purely judicial functions as late as the reign of Henry VII. The three constitutional functions of giving advice, of acting as a court, and of acting as a legislature were not as yet specialized and differentiated. A new element was now to be added to Parliament. For many years the people had prospered as merchants and manufacturers, while the towns grew apace. Both Church and Crown sought the support of the people, and, as the price of that support, charters embodying principles of popular government, each more liberal than the last, were granted to the towns. It was, therefore, a people accustomed to some share in government that had aided Simon de Montfort to defeat Henry III. The assembly which met in 1265, summoned by the masterful Earl, consisted of (1) ecclesiastical and secular nobles, and (2) two knights from every shire and two burgesses from each city and borough. In the next reign the three elements of the Parliament of today (Crown, Lords, and Commons) were all present and clearly distinguishable from each other. It must be remembered, however, that most of the members of the Commons were minor nobles,—knights of the shire, who were tenants-in-chief of the Crown. And another thing not to be forgotten is that even then Parliament was not a purely legislative assembly. The growing financial needs of the Crown were often the cause of its being summoned; but a still more frequent cause of its meeting was to deal out justice. The frequent summons of Parliament was a measure required not by the Crown so much as by its subjects. It is the barons who in 1258 demand three annual Parliaments. Parliament continued to be primarily a high court of justice. Numerous individual petitions for redress of grievances were addressed to it. The settlement of individual grievances is a matter of law. Gradually it was realized that these individual petitions might well be fused into common petitions. Then the action of Parliament became legislative, for the settlement of common petitions is legislation. For a long time, however, the work of Parliament remained multifarious. Then, too, all the formal work

of Parliament was done in common session, in a single chamber. There were not as yet two "houses." Slowly and obscurely during the fourteenth century, and indeed in the next century, the representatives of shires and boroughs were organized into a "House of Commons." The earliest reference to a "House of Lords" does not occur until the reign of Henry VIII.

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The new assembly, whether it was a deliberately devised constitutional improvement, or whether it was merely a device to gain additional strength, remains the greatest event of Simon de Montfort's varied and adventurous career. In the same year Simon, who, since he had secured possession of the royal family, proved to be not a little of a dictator, was killed in a battle with Prince Edward at Evesham, after that gifted young soldier had escaped from prison. He was fully aware of the miseries and oppressions of the lower orders and resolved to do away with them as far as possible, and for this he was revered for many years after his death as a saint. The succeeding King was more successful than the Earl, partly because the way had been pointed out to him by the Earl, and partly because he was content with less. His reign witnessed a notable development of Parliament. The great service rendered by that institution in the Middle Ages was to help to make national unity a thing of the spirit rather than a mere territorial expression. A common political consciousness was scattered to the constituencies from its center at Westminster.

Death of
Simon de
Montfort

As a result of his participation in the civil wars of his father's reign, but still more as the result of his far-sightedness and of that strain in his character which led him to choose the phrase "Keep Troth" as his motto, Edward I (1272-1307), one of the ablest of all the Kings of England, had a clear understanding of the governmental problem that confronted him. He realized that his task was to continue the work of Henry II, to provide an effective government that should respect the rights to which his subjects, in the opinion of the time, were entitled. In 1274, soon after he returned from the Eighth Crusade, he sent commissioners to ascertain, from sworn witnesses in every hundred, what exemptions were claimed from royal jurisdiction, what privileges (such as monopolies of mills, fisheries, and ferries) existed, and what abuses (such as bribery and unjust decisions of courts) had given rise to complaint. With this body of information he was able to proceed intelligently to enforce the royal rights and to put an end to the misdeeds of royal officials. In the following year the First Statute of Westminster, enacted by a Parliament in which were representatives of counties and boroughs, provided for adminis-

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trative improvements; and the same Parliament in return for this statute granted to the King a permanent revenue, derived from charges levied upon certain imports and exports. Commerce, as well as land, was thus made to contribute to the general support of the government. The royal revenue was further increased by a systematic keeping of accounts.

This improvement of the fiscal basis of the government was a prelude to a development of the legal system of the country. Much codification of law was being done on the continent. English lawyers, too, were interested in the arrangement and definition of law. Henry of Bratton (?-1268), whose name was corrupted into Bracton, produced somewhere about the middle of the century the best work of any English lawyer in the Middle Ages. For many years he had been one of the justices of Henry III. He received suggestions from Italian jurists, but his work is essentially a record of the extending practice of an English court. For more than fifty years the decisions of this court had been recorded, and from its rolls numerous decisions were cited as precedents by Bracton. His book may be considered as a summary of the attained results of the common law. In it we see the "common law" tending to become "case law." The lawyer was becoming an important factor in the life of the nation. It is in the reign of Edward I that the reporting of legal cases first became a definite practice.

New
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Edward had a number of able legists among his advisers; important laws were enacted in his reign; and the period is the one from which all subsequent legal development may be said to flow. In 1278 the Statute of Gloucester caused an inquiry to be made as to what right, *quo warranto*, could be shown by those who claimed exemptions from royal justice or from royal taxation. It was directed in particular against the great lords. There was, of course, much opposition to this inquiry, and so a compromise was made. The exemptions that could be traced back to the accession of Richard the Lion Heart, 1189, were allowed; for those acquired since that time a written record had to be produced. Thus did the King regain some jurisdiction and make it difficult, if not impossible, to usurp any such privilege in the future. In the next year Parliament, at the solicitation of the King, enacted the Statute of Mortmain (*De Viris Religiosis*), which forbade the granting of land to cathedral chapters or monastic houses, and to all corporations whatsoever, whether lay or clerical, without a royal license. Such a regulative law had become necessary by reason of the fact that the Church, which already possessed about one-third of the land in the kingdom, never relinquished its hold

upon its possessions, never permitted them for the lack of an heir to escheat to the Crown, but held them in the unrelaxing grip of a "dead hand." And such a law had been made necessary by the further fact that all ecclesiastical holdings were exempt from some of the duties and other services the Crown could require of its tenants-in-chief. In 1285 the Second Statute of Westminster forbade men who, as sub-tenants, held land only for the period of their lives to sell their estates. Such estates, thereafter, could pass only to a lawful heir, or, in default of such an heir, to the feudal lord. To this law was added in 1290 a Third Statute of Westminster, known as the *Statute Quia Emptores*, which checked the process of subinfeudation by preventing freeholders from alienating lands to the disadvantage of their own lords, and by providing that the purchasers under the new conditions should be feoffees of the said lords. When such lands were sold they were to be sold outright, and the new owner was to stand in exactly the same relation to the lord as the former owner had done. These two laws put an end to subinfeudation. Whenever a tenant-in-chief disposed of one of his fiefs the new owner became a tenant-in-chief of the King, and the same thing happened whenever such an estate was divided. Meanwhile, in 1285, the Statute of Winchester improved the equipment, organization, and maintenance of the national militia, which, as we have seen when we took notice of the Assise of Arms of 1181, was a development of the ancient *fyrð*, and it made provision for a general duty of watch and ward.

Another thing that may be noticed here is the fact that under this powerful ruler the adjective disappeared from the *Magnum Concilium*. Edward's Council was royal, not oligarchic. Its membership depended upon royal writs, not upon feudal privilege; and attendance became a matter of obligation, not of right. Only for a time, however, were the claims of the greater barons to limit the royal authority thus checked. It was in the course of the subsequent struggle to determine whether the Council was to be one of magnates based upon baronial rights, or one of royal advisers dependent upon the Crown, that the peerage became a constitutional force in Parliament. All these changes and enactments, while contributing to the peace of the realm and the equalization of justice, tended to increase the power of the Crown. Our last glimpse of Wales was in the reign of Henry II. We saw that the southern part of the country was conquered and that even in the other part the princes were compelled to do homage to the English King. Hostilities broke out between John and the Welsh, and again between them and Henry III. In 1203

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the Title
of the
Council

Conquest
and Pa-
cification
of Wales

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the Welsh sees, after long-continued opposition, were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; and this ecclesiastical subordination of Wales to England helped to pave the way for the political union of the two countries. Edward I completely extinguished Welsh independence in a campaign beginning in 1276 and continuing intermittently for seven years. In 1284 Queen Eleanor gave birth in the Castle of Carnarvon to a son whom, so it is alleged by some writers, Edward presented to the Welsh, perhaps half in jest and half in earnest, as a prince who could speak no word of English. Seventeen years later the youth was formally created Prince of Wales by his father, and since that time the title has regularly been conferred upon the recognized male heir to the Crown. The conquest of Wales resulted in the reorganization of the country for the purposes of political and judicial administration, and to most of the leading towns charters were granted that permitted considerable municipal independence and self-direction. At last all the land west of the Severn enjoyed peace and the development of its commercial resources was made easier. In a comparatively short time the export trade in coal, copper, timber, iron, and wool became important; and into the towns the English tongue and English customs found their way; while in character, language, and sympathy the rural districts remained strongly Cymric.

Expulsion
of the
Jews

Another incident of Edward's reign to be noticed was the expulsion of the Jews. The Conquest had started a tide of immigration into England from the continent of which the Jews formed a distinctive and important element. Religious and racial antipathy kept them apart from the mass of the people and prevented their assimilation. They were, in general, confined to the larger towns and there they lived in quarters of their own known as Jewries. Living in the country by special permission of the King they were his chattels, entirely at his mercy, governed not by the law of the land but by a set of rules drawn up by the King and his councilors. Debarred from most of the ordinary occupations of life they made themselves felt in the life of the nation principally as scholars, physicians, bankers, and money-lenders. This last calling was thrown open to them by the fact that the Church forbade its members to receive "usury" for the lending of money. Our distinction between "usury" as illegal profit and "interest" as legal recompense did not then exist. In those days money was usually borrowed less for the furthering of some productive enterprise than for the purpose of paying debts, building castles, equipping a military expedition, providing for a Crusade, or meeting some unexpected and probably arbitrary demand. A much

greater risk was entailed in lending money for such purposes than for the advancement of some industrial or commercial project, and, therefore, a higher rate of "usury" was demanded and received. This, together with the bitter religious animosity of the time, made the Jews a deeply hated race. They paid heavy fines to the King, and lent him money in time of need, and so they received the royal protection; but popular clamor against them became so loud that in 1290 they were banished from the kingdom under pain of death. One thing that made it easier for Edward to dispense with the services of the Jews than it would have been for any of his predecessors was the fact that Italians had gradually been disputing with them the monopoly of banking and money-lending. By a philosophical quibble these Christians persuaded themselves that though they might not take "usury" they might accept "interest." It was a hair-splitting distinction very characteristic of the age. In a few years these Christian money-lenders became as unpopular as ever the Jews had been.

We have seen nothing of Scotland since the days of David I (1124-1152), who, it will be remembered, freed the Church in his kingdom from the jurisdictional claims of the archiepiscopal see of York, and who did much to improve the internal condition of the country. For more than a hundred and thirty years after his death the country was relatively calm and prosperous and was distinctly affected by the spirit of western civilization. When the Scottish throne was without a direct heir no less than eight aspirants appeared, and Edward I, in pursuance of the shadowy claims of the English Kings to supremacy over Scotland, decided in 1292 in favor of John Baliol (1249-1315), who thereupon swore fealty to Edward and was crowned King of Scotland, much to the displeasure of a majority of the Scottish nobles. Edward's treatment of Baliol as a feudal inferior soon provoked war, and after a raid as far north as Elgin the English army returned with the Scottish King as a prisoner. It was not easy to keep the country north of the Cheviot Hills in subjection. Chief of the rebels who raised the standard of Scottish independence in the name of the captured King was William Wallace (1270-1305), a national hero of Scotland, who succeeded in driving the invaders from the country for a time. Poorly supported by the nobles, and hampered by the jealousies of those who did bear arms beneath his banner, he was driven by Edward into the mountain fastnesses of the north, whence he made desultory descents upon the English, until at last, with but a few followers about him, he was captured, taken to London and there executed with great cruelty. But despite the fact that the atrocities of

Rise
of the
Scottish
Nation
and Its
Struggle
for Inde-
pendence

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which he was guilty, greatly glossed and sometimes even ignored in the strains of Scottish minstrelsy, have left a regrettable stain upon his career, his dauntless spirit, his political wisdom, his mastery of diplomatic measures, his unselfish devotion, and his loyalty in the midst of disloyalty to the land he loved, still draw his countrymen together and inspire them with a noble patriotism. Nor did the desperate struggle of Scotland for independence cease with his death. The banner of St. Andrew was raised by Robert the Bruce (1274-1329), grandson of the chief rival of Baliol for the Crown. In the midst of a guerilla warfare Edward died in Scotland "leaving his incompetent son to ruin himself by his own follies, while ferocious hangings and dragging of men to death at horses' heels roused the Scottish commons" to the support of "the wandering knight who stood for Scotland." The English were decisively defeated at Bannockburn in 1314 and driven from the country; and in 1328 the independence of Scotland was formally recognized by England in the Treaty of Northampton. Robert the Bruce, prior to the death of Wallace, had pursued a shifty policy, but from the moment he assumed the leadership of the Scottish cause he never faltered or turned back. In the face of obstacles that would have disheartened many another leader he succeeded in making a nation, in unifying all the forces that had been stirred into life by Wallace. David II (1329-1371) was a child of five when his father died. England supported the claims of Edward Baliol. So war broke out again, if, indeed, war can ever be said to have ceased in the medieval history of Scotland. David was captured by the English in 1346 and the promise of a ransom was exacted before he was allowed to leave England. The ransom was never paid in full; and the Scots rejected an arrangement between David and Edward III by which the latter was to become King of the northern country should David leave no child to succeed him. At length the long reign of forty-two years, characterized by waste, by war, by party strife, by treachery, and by reaction, came to an end and the first of the famous and ill-fated Stuart line ascended the throne.

Edward II,
the In-
competent

Edward I, who died soon after Robert the Bruce began his successful struggle for Scottish freedom, was one of the greatest of English Kings. He left a lasting impression upon the history of England. But his son Edward II (1307-1327) was one of the most incompetent Kings who had reigned since the Conquest. Frivolous and indolent, he delivered the government into the hands of favorites, of whom the astute but vain and ostentatious Piers Gaveston was the most notorious, and the two Despensers the ablest. It would not have been difficult for the baronage to

have put an end to so deplorable a régime had they been agreed among themselves. But they quarreled with one another and so the miserable reign, a time of corruption and decay, was allowed to drag on, until at last, in 1327, Edward was deposed and his fourteen-year-old son placed on the throne. Some eight months later the unhappy King was put to death.

Despite foreign and domestic wars, the century and a quarter that elapsed between the accession of Henry III and the deposition of Edward II was, on the whole, a prosperous time for England. It was a period in which civilization made distinct progress. Population steadily increased, commerce expanded, and the intellectual activity, of which we shall see more when we look at the Universities, continued in augmented measure. Written English rose once more to the level of literature, it will be remembered, in the *Brut* of Layamon, a priest of Ernley-upon-Severn, which made its appearance soon after the opening of the thirteenth century. Similar stories and romances in verse, most of them more or less deeply influenced, in subject-matter and in form, by the literature of France, were written in subsequent years. But the developing nationality of the English was sure to find expression in romances of the story of Britain. The people in village ale-houses and at the fairs demanded stories of the heroic figures in the legends and history of their own land. These were written in a distinct, if embryonic, English style; and of these sagas *King Horn* and *Havelock the Dane*, especially the latter with its fresh and wild vigor, may be regarded as the best examples. Thus did the aspirations of the natives gain recognition in their own language.

Dawn of
Literature in
English

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

Mandel Creighton's *Historical Lectures and Addresses* contains brief chapters relating to Grosseteste and his time. F. A. Gasquet, *Henry III and the English Church*. E. Jenks's *Edward Plantagenet* has good chapters on the legislation of Edward I. G. W. Prothero, *Simon de Montfort*. J. H. Ramsay, *The Dawn of the Constitution*. L. F. Salzman, *English Industries in the Middle Ages*. F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*. Three books by T. F. Tout, *Edward I*, *The Place of Edward II in English History*, and *The Political History of England*, the last of which is full of minute and accurate knowledge, and, despite its severe and at times unattractive style, full of life. K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*.

To the original sources may now be added the translation of the interesting *English History* by Matthew Paris.

CHAPTER VII

CASTLES AND MANORS

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Chivalry

THE long reign of Henry III was a time in which several of the great medieval institutions were at their prime, or were rapidly approaching their prime, in England. We shall, therefore, devote ourselves at this point to a study of those outstanding features of medieval life with which we have not already dealt at length. First of all we shall see something of chivalry, of life in the castles.

The Castle

The childhood years of a boy born in the ranks of the feudal aristocracy were spent at home with his parents. When he grew up he was to be a knight. But it was no easy matter to be prepared for knighthood, and so, somewhere between the ages of seven and twelve years, the boy was sent away from the hall or castle in which he was born to the household of as great a noble as his father could influence. There he was to be trained in knightly accomplishments. The castle was a stone fort. If it were situated on level ground it had a ditch all round it, called a moat, filled with water. Oftentimes castles were situated high up on hills or on rocky promontories well-nigh inaccessible. High walls surrounded the castle, in which, at intervals, towers were built. Inside the walls was the castle itself; but some of the rooms in which the nobles and their servants lived were often to be found in the towers. Stables, granaries, and other buildings were also inclosed by the walls. Over the moat was a drawbridge; and the gate to which the drawbridge led was protected by a portcullis. Such a structure performed the function of a fort very well, but it was an ill place in which to live. The space within the walls was limited, and as a consequence life in a castle was very crowded. Often there was no adequate drainage; and often, too, there was but a scanty supply of water. Not a few of them, especially those in the hills, were remote from food supplies. Life in a castle was not one of luxury, and yet it was there society lived.

The Page

From such a place, and to such a place, the youth was sent to be "nourished" as a page. A father, if he were able to do so, sometimes chose the castle of a learned ecclesiastical prince as

the place in which his son should be educated. Many boys were sent to the court of Thomas Becket; and Henry I sent his son Richard to the castle of the Bishop of Lincoln. In the castle the youth was associated with a body of pages called haunchmen, a word that has become changed into henchmen, for one of the things they had to do was to carve the haunches. They were also called damoiseaux and varlets. They were bound together by ties of friendship; they shared beds, trenchers, and drinking cups.

Usually the great majority of the occupants of a castle were men, for a woman could not help to defend the castle in time of siege as effectively as a man. Only the lord and a few of the more important vassals who lived with him were permitted the luxury of a wife. High above the deferential male crowd moved the lady of the castle. Perhaps she had brought to her husband a dower equal to his own possessions. Her daughters were given away in marriage when they were tender little girls. Her only female companions were the wives of subalterns and the waiting ladies. All day long the swarm of pages and young men fluttered about her. It was she who directed the life of the pages. It was she who taught them the amenities known as *courtoisie*. *Courtoisie* was the life of the castle, of the enclosure, of the court. It was the good-breeding, the manners of a gentleman, that one acquired at the court of a noble. There was much to be learned in those rude times. Many things that are conventions today were full of meaning then. Each had his own knife, but there were no spoons and no forks. The plate was a trencher, a piece of board hollowed out in the middle and used by two persons; and drinking cups were passed from one to another. So it was very important that one should have clean fingers and lips. It is for these things, among others, that Chaucer gives praise to the prioress in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*.

The Lady
and
Courtoisie

At mete wel y-taught was she with alle;
She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle.
Ne wette hir fingres in hir sauce depe,
Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
That no drope ne fille up-on hir brest.
In curteisye was set ful muche hir lest.
Hir over lippe wyped she so clene,
That in hir coppe was no ferthing sene
Of grece, when she dronken hadde hir draughte.

There was a popular saying of the time that no one was a noble who within the last year and a day had had a blue finger nail.

When the boy was about fourteen he was transferred, if he had

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VIIThe
Squire

been an apt page, to the body of squires. He had now to learn the many things in which a knight should be proficient,—wrestling, boxing, hunting, carving, riding, and the use of arms. The principal part of his education was now carried on out of doors. Indoors he carved in the hall, handed vessels and served wine to the guests at table, gave water for the washing of hands when the meal was over, made his lord's bed, slept in his lord's chamber, if that were desired of him, or at his door, and in the morning helped him to dress. The word "squire" originally meant "armor-bearer." The squire had to serve his knight in everything, to groom his horse, to see that all his arms and accoutrements were in good order, to arm him for the tourney or for battle, to supply him with new arms and to fight at his side. For six to ten years he led the life of a squire.

Initiation
into
Knight-
hood

Every squire hoped, some day or other, to be made a knight. But it was costly to maintain the estate of knighthood; so many a poor squire never became a knight. Knighthood was generally conferred in time of peace; but it was the highest honor to be made a knight on the field of battle. The ordinary age at which knighthood seems to have been bestowed was from twenty to twenty-five. At first the ceremony of initiation was very simple; but more and more the Church took control and developed it until it became almost an eighth sacrament. It was considered to be the sister of Holy Orders. What was this ceremony that had come to be almost a sacrament? Let us listen to an account, not of an ordinary knighting, but of one in which the ceremony was elaborated to its full extent. All its details were symbolical. The medieval centuries were a time of symbolism. Many things meaningless in themselves were then regarded as the vesture of realities. This high esteem of symbols was one of the most characteristic qualities of the medieval mind. The novice was solemnly stripped of his clothes by his fellow squires and put into a bath. That was symbolical of purification. Then, after rising from his bed, he was clothed in a white robe. That was a symbol of chastity. Over this was placed a robe of red; symbolical of the blood to be shed in defense of Holy Church. Then he was shod with black shoes; symbolical of the earth from which he had come and to which he must return. The night before his admission into knightood the squire, kneeling before the altar in the chapel of the castle, fully armed, and alone or in company with the priest and his sponsors, kept the vigil-at-arms. Then he confessed and received absolution, heard mass and took the sacrament of Communion. After that he was fully armed by the ladies of the castle and by attending squires, and to his patron he made his

knightly vows. A white belt was placed about his loins to denote a pure life; a sword was girded at his side, symbolical of justice; and spurs were put on him to signify ready service. The squire then knelt at the feet of his patron knight who raised a sword aloft and with the flat side struck him upon the neck three times. This was the accolade. Then the knight gave the squire a light blow on the cheek, the *Colée*, saying: *Au nom de Dieu, de St. Michel, et de St. George, je te fais chevalier; sois preux, hardi, et loyal*. Then the squire arose a knight. Thereupon largesse was given by the patron to the new knight, and by the knight to his companions and inferiors. This was symbolical of the noble liberality that was one of the first of knightly virtues.

What were the vows of the knight? He vowed to fear God and to revere him, to serve his seigneur, and to maintain the rights of the weak, of widows and of orphans. He vowed to hold no avarice in his heart, nor to fight more than one against one, to keep his parole on capture, and to aid his fellow knights. If one failed to keep the vows of knighthood he was, in theory at least, disgraced. Occasionally this was carried out in practice. A funeral sermon was preached over the recreant knight. Sometimes a shroud was used. His golden spurs were flung on a dung-heap. The tail of his war-horse was cut off; and a work-horse dragged his shield over the ground.

The occupation of the knight was found chiefly in the service of his lord in the many wars of the time. On the continent especially, warfare, whether for pleasure or for business, was the principal activity of the knight. Such constant practice made feudal cavalry very skilful. But knights were also occupied in doing good deeds, and in the common and necessary duties of life. For amusement they could hunt, hawk, play chess and checkers, dance, and indulge themselves gluttonously in food and drink at banquets. Still other amusements were found in torturing animals, such as bear-baiting, and in receiving guests. Then there was minstrelsy. True the music of the time was but a simple melody sung to the strumming of a lute; yet some of the songs that have come down to us have the fresh charm one finds most often in the folk-songs of a people blessed with the gift of lyrical utterance, and others still glow with the passion of life. Few visitors to a castle were more welcome than the wandering minstrel, the knight-errant of song. Skill and knowledge, versatility and repertoire, were developed and enriched by travel; and so the troubadour, more characteristic of the south of France than elsewhere, but not unknown even in England, made his way from castle to castle, and often from land

The Vows
of the
Knight

Occu-
pations
of the
Knight

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VIIIdeals of
Chivalry

to land, meeting with a kindly welcome alike in lonely places and at the courts of Kings.

The ideals of knighthood are embodied in these lines from the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*.

A knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
And thereto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.

And a poet of a later day, in his *Idylls of the King*, has given to us the ideals of chivalry as it was in its prime.

To reverence the King as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her by years of noble deeds,
Until they won her.

It is true all knights of the Middle Ages did not live up to such ideals, just as all of us do not live up to our ideals today. But it was well that the age, which in so large a degree was a brutal age, possessed such ideals. Something of the ideals of chivalry men did reach. They helped to shape men's lives. They gave color to the atmosphere of the time. They influenced multitudes of men. The best of the medieval nobles felt the force of *noblesse oblige*. They learned that rank imposes obligations.

Helping
to Keep
the Peace

Chivalry was characterized by a number of incidents. In the tenth century some of the bishops in southern France originated the Peace of God which aimed to protect non-combatants, agricultural property, and ecclesiastical buildings. In the following century this was supplemented by the Truce of God by which private warfare was forbidden on certain days of the week, at certain feasts, such as Easter and Pentecost, and during certain seasons, such as Lent. Chivalry, especially on the continent, was concerned with the observance of these cessations of war. Apparently this practice was never generally adopted in England despite the fact that from 1130 to 1154 its general provisions were a part of the law of the land. Such a truce was seldom as neces-

sary in England, where since the Conquest the King had usually been able to enforce his own peace, as it was on the continent.

Knight-errantry was an incident more common wherever chivalry was found. For a year and a day, or for a longer period if he wished, the young knight rode through the land, fully armed, and dressed in green, the color of spring and of hope. The roads were full of danger; seas were infested with pirates, and every forest was the lurking place of robbers. There was much to tempt the knight to adventure and "to ride abroad redressing human wrongs." To succor ladies in distress and to give aid to orphans was a part of a knight's duty. So, wandering up and down the land, the newly initiated knight served a sort of apprenticeship. The eldest son of Henry II, so we are told, rode for three years as an adventurer in many lands.

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Knight-
Errantry

Another incident of chivalry was gallantry,—the peculiar attention knights were expected to pay to members of the other sex, which at once exalted and debased women. As chivalry began to go to seed it came to be assumed that every knight and every lady must be in love. Gallantry, therefore, came to be a rule of knightly conduct. Love took its place by the side of war and religion in the life of every knight. Gradually this conventional love was systematized. There came to be a science of love, known as the *gay saber*. Many a noble lady had been wedded to an elderly baron at an early age. It could not be expected of her that she would fall in love with her husband. She had been married to him, without her consent, for reasons of family policy, or the marriage had been commanded by her feudal seigneur. The wandering minstrels filled her ears with romantic songs of illicit love. The swarm of male attendants in the castle flattered her vanity. It was at once a delightful and a dangerous situation. It often resulted in immorality. Thus did the *gay saber* help to make the relations between the sexes, which had once been simple and natural, highly artificial.

Gallantry

Still other incidents of chivalry were jousting and tournaments. A joust was a combat in which two knights, or men-at-arms, encountered each other on horseback with lances. This was done sometimes for exercise, and at other times for sport. The aim of each participant was to throw his opponent from the saddle. A similar form of exercise was tilting with a lance, or like weapon, at a quintain. A quintain was a post, or some object mounted on a post, a suspended ring, a sack filled with sand, or a dummy figure. The actual form of the quintain, and also the object of the exercise or the sport, varied very greatly. A tournament was a martial sport or exercise in which a number of combatants,

Joust
and
Tournament

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mounted and in armor, fought with weapons for the prize of valor. It appeared in England for the first time in the twelfth century. For a time sharp lances and swords were used, and the encounter, which could not accurately be described as a sham battle, was called a combat *à outrance*; but as time went on and feudal society became more civilized, blunted weapons, *armes blanches*, were more and more employed, and such encounters were called combats *à plaisance*. These contests were held in an oval enclosure known as the list. Oftentimes a series of such encounters was held as a spectacular display.

The
Lingering
of Chivalry
in Literature
and in Life

The sun of chivalry set on the fields of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. From that time its period of twilight began. It became a strange, unreal, fantastic, and mystical thing, unlike anything the world will see again. Its men and women were natural only in those things to which the hot and fierce passions of their uncultured souls compelled them, in lust, in blood, and in cruelty. In all else they came to be altogether unnatural. It was all as unreal as the world of Oberon and Titania, though, despite the soft and hazy light time casts over the past, by no means so delicate and full of charm. In time, as all such phases of life do, chivalry passed into literature. We shall find it in the pages of Edmund Spenser. But that silvery poet retains of it only what is exalted, serious, and tender; for him the knightly warfare against evil was still the rule of heroic manhood; it was he more than anyone else who retained for the uses of the Renaissance the romance of chivalry and its moral idealism. In Sir Philip Sidney we shall see a bright figure in whom was reincarnated all the finer elements of medieval knighthood.

Relation
of the
Manors
to Feudalism

2. From the life of the nobles we must now descend to that of the vast mass of the people; that is, to the peasantry who tilled the soil. We shall find them on the farms, or rather the manors, of the time. The manorial system is often confused with the feudal system; but there was no organic connection between them. It was, of course, the feudal lords who owned the manors; but feudal relations existed among the nobles only, not among the nobles and their peasants. Some of the feudal lords held scores of manors, just as today one man may own several farms; but each manor was a unit. Long before this time most of the land in England, as well as on the continent, had come into the possession of large landholders. It was a condition that resembled somewhat the large plantations of our southern states before the Civil War.

The people of the manor consisted of the lord, the lord's officers, the freemen, the villeins, and the serfs. The lord of a manor

might be great or small, a simple knight, an earl, a duke, or the King himself. He might be a secular noble, a bishop, or an abbot. But whatever the rank of the lord might be, the relations between him and the peasantry remained the same. If he held only one manor, he would live in the hall, he would know the condition of affairs, and he would himself be able to do much of the work of supervision. When a lord owned several manors he would usually pay only occasional visits to some of them. In this case he appointed a bailiff, who lived in the hall, to look out for his interests.

The
People
of the
Manor

Each freeman paid a fixed rent for the land he cultivated for himself. Usually this rent was paid in labor. He could not be disturbed as long as he paid it; and he might come and go as he chose. The freemen were dependent upon the lord of the manor only so far as he was their landlord. Sometimes their rents were paid with a certain amount of the produce, and sometimes with both labor and produce. Their lot was a stable one; its terms were definite. Their lands could not be taken from them nor their rents increased without their consent. Provided they continued to pay the fixed charges they could do with their holdings as they pleased.

Freemen

In England, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were comparatively few freemen on the manors. The peasantry consisted chiefly of unfree men, who, more and more as time went on, were called villeins. It should be remembered, however, that strictly speaking all members of the villa, or manor, were villeins. The rent paid by the villein for the land he was permitted to cultivate for himself was fixed by custom. A villein was not a mere slave, yet he was subject very largely to the will of the lord. He had no protection against his lord except in the manorial court, for the law of the land would not intervene between lord and villein. His condition was servile, and his children inherited it. "Once a villein," according to a medieval saying, "always a villein." Of course the holdings of the villeins varied from man to man and from manor to manor. Sometimes a villein had only a cottage and a garden for himself and his family; but usually in England a villein cultivated for himself about thirty acres. The duties of the villeins to the lords of the manors in return for their cottages and lands varied from place to place. Everywhere the regular duties were fixed by custom. In winter and summer months a villein gave his master about three days' labor each week. But at harvest time the amount was often increased. He had for his reward the product of the land he was permitted to cultivate for himself. He could not leave the manor without permission; and the lord might compel him to assume new duties. As a rule

Villeins
and
Serfs

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only his superfluous sons and daughters could buy the lord's permission to go away and live their lives elsewhere. He had no rights of property against his lord. On some manors the condition of the villeins was little inferior to that of freemen; but on others harsh masters often made their lot wretched. The chief disadvantage of the villein's condition was its uncertainty. The freeman knew exactly what was required of him; but the villein did not know on one day what extra services might be demanded on the next. Customary services differed greatly from one district to another, and even on contiguous manors. In the society of this time money was little used, and exact values were not placed upon services. But as time went on the commercial spirit developed, and greater precision came into the relations on the manors. The villein's duties were then more strictly defined, and his condition came to differ less and less from that of the freeman. By the end of the fourteenth century the distinction between freeman and villein had almost entirely disappeared in England. Below the villeins was the third class of peasants, the serfs, the great mass of whom were tillers of the soil. They were personally dependent upon the lords of the manors. They could not even marry without permission. In England the distinction between villein and serf was not so marked and not so common as it was on the continent.

**Treatment
of the
Peasants**

At times the misery of the peasants became so great that they revolted and killed their lords. This almost always resulted in their speedy defeat and punishment, for all the fighting class would then make common cause against them. More frequently they fled to the woods to become brigands. Or at times they ran away to seek new masters, for there were always lords who wished to receive new peasants; and so, despite the law, peasants frequently left their lands. The fear of losing his peasants was sometimes a salutary check upon the lord, preventing him from imposing as many burdens as he might otherwise have done. When the towns began perceptibly to grow in number and size there were more opportunities for the peasants to flee from the manors. If one could remain secreted for a year and a day he was put forever beyond the clutches of his former lord. One might also hope to find a better station in life by fleeing to some abbey.

**Landless
Men**

There was little room in a manorial village for others than those who shared permanently in its work. The floating populations, the landless men, must have found the conditions of life very hard. But as population increased the supply of land became limited and some had to do without it. These landless

men lived by selling their labor to the lords or the more prosperous peasants.

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In England a manor often consisted of five or six thousand acres, but the size varied very greatly. Some were large, others were small. Every manor was divided into two unequal parts. The smaller part, generally about a third, was reserved by the owner to be cultivated directly for his own needs and profit. This was called the *demesne*. At first not all of it was found in one place. It consisted in part of strips and patches scattered up and down the manor, and in part of a compact parcel of land. Its produce belonged to the lord, and on it the peasants worked when they labored for their master. As time went on the *demesne* land was gradually gathered together in one place. The holdings of the peasants were known as *tenures*. We have seen that the tenure of a *villein* was ordinarily about thirty acres. This amount of land was not all in one place. It was always divided. The *villein*, or the freeman, held a strip of land here and another strip there. His holdings were scattered up and down the manorial estate. These strips were divided from each other by narrower ones that were uncultivated and called *balks*. Much land was wasted by these dividing strips. Then there was the common land, consisting for the most part of pasture. It could be used for that purpose by lord and peasant alike. The number of animals any particular peasant might put on the common was determined in part by custom and in part by the amount of his arable holding. From the woodland the peasants, under certain restrictions, could procure their fuel and the material wherewith to build their huts and stables. Sometimes there was wild land on the manor, land incapable of cultivation, that served as grazing land or supplied fagots for the fire. Access to the woods and to the wild land was usually freer than to the common.

Land of
the Manor

The arable land of a manor was usually divided into three parts. One part, or field, was sown with wheat or barley, the second with oats or peas or beans, while the third was left fallow. In the following year the field that had just rested was sown afresh, that which had borne a crop at the last harvest was sown with seed of another sort, while the field that had borne two crops in succession was left in its turn fallow. This is known as the *three-field system*. The three fields were generally quite distinct; sometimes they were on opposite sides of the village; and each holder possessed a number of strips in each field. Between harvest and seed-time, when it bore only straw scattered by the scythe, or a little grass growing on the skirts of the fields, the land was used as pasture. Then all the dwellers in the village sent to it their pigs,

Tillage

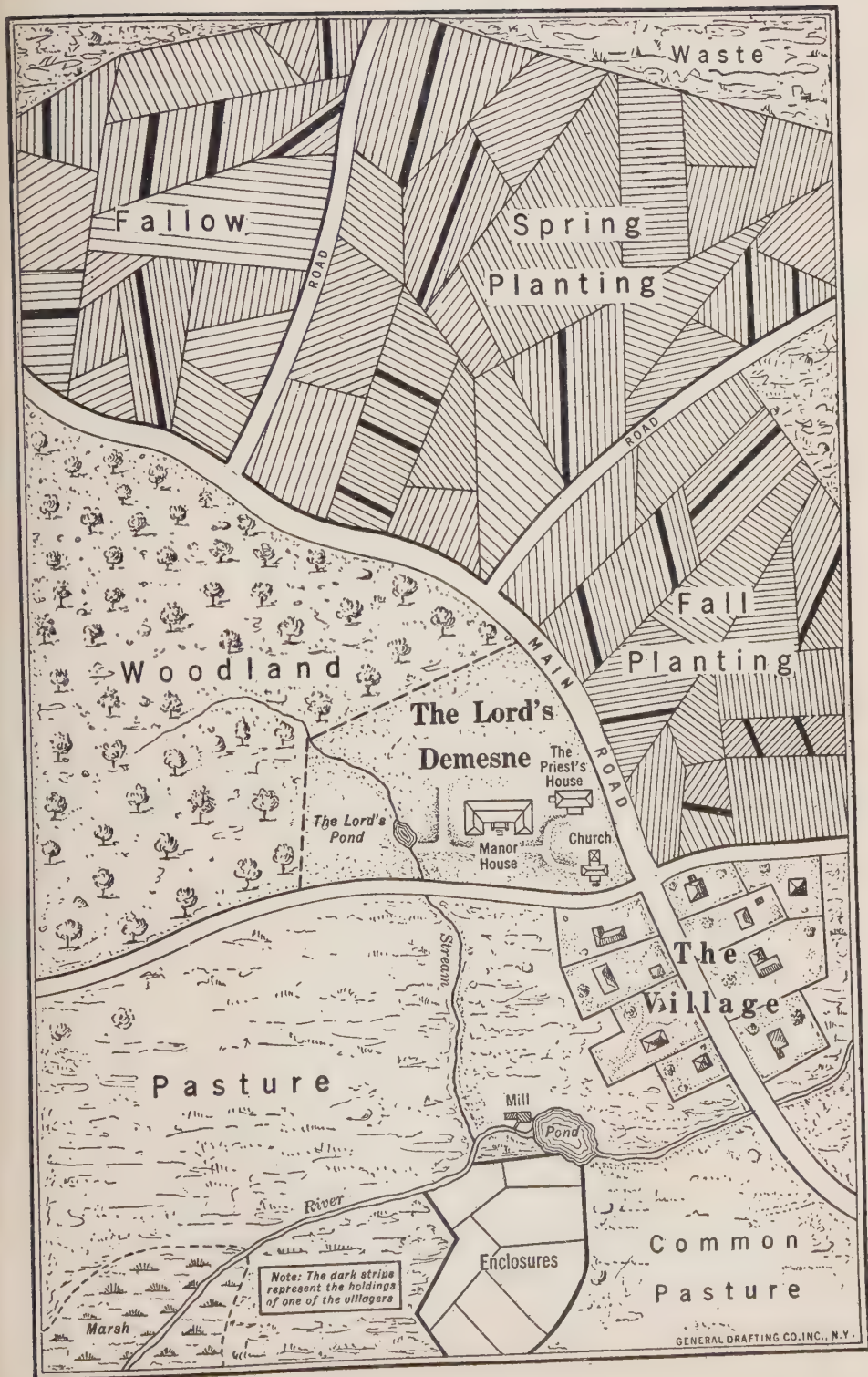
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and sheep, and cows. The tillage was very crude in those days. It was carried on according to time-honored methods. Teams of four, or eight, or even twelve oxen dragged huge wooden plows over the ground, turning but a shallow furrow. Every holder had to plow, sow, and reap at the same time and in the same way as his neighbors, for all used the same field, and the plowing and reaping were generally coöperative. Change was usually looked upon with suspicion. An experienced or imaginative peasant could put his ideas of improvement into practice only if he could persuade all the other cultivators to adopt them. The value of fertilizing was little understood. The soil produced not more than a third of what the same acreage yields at the present time.

Buildings
on the
Manor

The manor-house was the center of the life of the manorial estate. There the lord lived, and there he held his law-court. These local courts were most powerful under Henry III; the scope of their jurisdiction was limited by Edward I. Every three weeks the court was held in the hall. Neglect of duty, payments, questions of weights and measures, and other business of the manor came up for settlement. It was not always a fortified house. Sometimes, particularly if it were the chief residence of the lord, it was a castle. The peasants could not live on the lands they held because, as we have seen, their holdings were made up of narrow strips, often widely separated, and redistributed every year. So they lived in villages, wherein the cottages, or tenements, were close together. It was from the village that the majority of the peasants took their name of "villeins." They were men of the villa, or of the village. The contempt of the feudal aristocracy for the "villeins" is seen in the meaning we give to the word. The peasants built their own dwellings. They were but poor places at best, the walls of wattle and clay, the roof of thatch, the floor the beaten earth, scarcely more comfortable than the wigwams of our own Indians. There were, of course, other buildings. There were the church and the buildings needed in human industry, the great thatched barn of the demesne, the wind-mill, the water-mill with its little cascade and sleepy pool, though it does not seem likely that the same manor had both a wind-mill and a water-mill, the village pottery, the smithy, and in later years the red-roofed malt-house, and the oast with its quaint and inquisitive cowl. As the generations went by, they were often built in a better manner, made pleasant, picturesque, and comely; for the men who built them were craftsmen who took delight in the work of their hands.

It is surprising how largely self-sufficient the villages were.



Bread, cheese, and bacon were necessities which all but the poorest could provide from their own holdings. The poorest villein had a plot of ground for growing herbs and fruit, the parsley, leeks, kale, chervil, shallots, cherries, and apples with which his frugal diet was diversified. The only article of common food bought in the open market was salt fish, a great quantity of which was eaten on fast days and in Lent. The lords bought sugar, wine, spices, and costly fabrics for clothes at the fairs or in the boroughs. Tar, which was used to prevent "scab" in sheep, was brought from the forests of Scandinavia; and from other places small quantities of iron, lead, and tin. Surplus products, as a rule, were not needed in other manors, though more and more they contributed to the growth of towns, and this was one of the principal causes of the inefficient methods of agriculture. Only for building the village church, or the manor-house, was much help required from outside; and local labor and skill appear to have sufficed even for them in a way we should hardly suspect. Each community formed a large family, in which many members were united by ties of blood, and which, despite divisions, presented a united front to the inhabitants of other manors and towns who were all deemed to be "foreigners." The strong liquors of today were unknown anywhere in the thirteenth century; yet the peasants were often sodden with beer, upon the private brewing and consumption of which there seems to have been no restriction, and only an inadequate control of the public sale. Life was not all hard work, though a very large part of it was. Labor was suspended for some eight weeks in the year because of feast-days and similar causes. Village feasts and sports had their charms for the simple-minded and unlettered peasants. But the diversions were comparatively few; and many if not most of the peasants had brutal tastes and habits. The following lines from the poem called *Piers the Plowman's Creed*, written in the fourteenth century, throw some light upon the condition of the peasant in England.

And as I went my way, weeping for sorrow,
 I saw a poor man o'er the plough bending.
 His coat was of a clout that cary was called,
 His hood was full of holes and his hair sticking out,
 His shoes were patched and clouted full thick;
 His toes peeped out as he the ground trod,
 His hose o'erhung his gaiters on every side,
 All befouled with mud, as he the plough followed.
 Two mittens had he, scanty, and made all of rags,
 And the fingers were worn out and filled full of mud.
 This wight was bemired in the mud almost to the ankle;
 Four oxen were before him, that feeble had become,

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One might reckon rib, so rueful were they.
 His wife walked by him with a long goad,
 In a cutted skirt cutted full high,
 Wrapped in a winnowing-sheet to keep her from the weather,
 Barefoot on the bare ice, so that the blood followed.
 And at the field's end lay a little bowl,
 And therein lay a little child wrapped in rags,
 And twain of two years old upon another side;
 And all of them sang a song that sorrow was to hear,
 They cried all a cry, a sorrowful note,
 And the poor man sighed sore, and said "Children, be still."

Duties
of the
Peasants

We have seen something of the terms upon which the peasants held their lands. In addition to manual labor, portions of the crops and of the live-stock were due the lord. The lord claimed a share of the wheat, oats, hay, poultry, cattle, and the wax that was obtained from the numerous beehives of the Middle Ages. Wax was needed for candles in church and castle, as well as for the seals affixed to documents. There were charges to pay when a freeman transferred his holding, and when a son succeeded to a holding upon the death of his father. The peasants were obliged to have their grain ground in the lord's mill, and to have their bread baked in the lord's oven, and each time they had to pay a charge, a portion of the grain or the flour. Fees were also exacted for cutting wood in the lord's forest and for fishing in his ponds and rivers. Only the lord's weights and measures could be used, and for their use a fee was charged. And, of course, all the fees and fines exacted in the manorial court went to the profit of the lord. In 1381 these petty duties helped to cause a rebellion of the villeins. But it was the personal labor of the peasants in return for the land they were permitted to cultivate for themselves that constituted the greatest burden the mass of the people had to bear. They had to plow the lord's fields, sow them in the spring, harvest the crops in the autumn, and cart the sheaves and the hay to the barns. They had also to do other transport service for him, to gather and cart firewood, and to help in the construction and repair of buildings. In war time they were often called upon to give help in offensive and defensive operations.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING.

The best general work on chivalry is Leon Gautier's *Chivalry*; to which may be added F. P. Barnard's revised *Medieval England*, useful also for other topics; E. L. Cutts's *Scenes and Characters in the Middle Ages*; G. T. Denison's *History of Cavalry*; and C. W. Oman's *Art of War in the Middle Ages*. A. H. Thompson's *Military Architecture in England* is admirably illustrated. Something of the later history of chivalry may be gathered from W. H. Schofield's *Chivalry in English Literature*.

For original sources see Edward P. Cheyney's *English Manorial Documents*.

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All the industrial histories we have previously mentioned have something to say about the medieval manor. To them may now be added H. Allsopp's *Introduction to English Industrial History*; W. J. Ashley's *Surveys*, useful also for life in the towns; Bland, Brown and Tawney's *English Economic Documents* for original sources; M. Fordham's *English Rural Life*; Augustus Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, in which will be found an essay on life in a medieval village, and also his *Studies by a Recluse*; E. Lipson's admirable *Economic History of England*, the one volume of which thus far published relates only to the Middle Ages; N. J. Hone's *Manor and Manorial Records*; and several books by Paul Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, *English Society in the Eleventh Century*, and *Villainage in England*. Attention should be called again to R. E. Prothero's *English Farming Past and Present*, which in a readable manner embodies the best recent studies of the subject. See also Harold Peake's *The English Village*.

For various aspects of life at this time see Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; G. G. Coulton's *Chaucer's England* and also his *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*; and J. J. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*.

CHAPTER VIII

TOWNS AND UNIVERSITIES

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Rise of the Towns

WE must now leave the countryside in which were found the castles and manors and make our way into one of the towns to see how life went on within its walls. The feudal age was one in which towns were always exceptional and extraneous. They were not needed in the economy of the time. The mass of the people lived in rural parts and provided themselves with almost everything they needed. Yet for a long time a number of causes had been at work, silently, slowly, and surely, that eventually brought many towns into existence. A great stimulus to trade and to towns was given by the Norman Conquest. More and more continental commodities were imported into England; and perhaps the first immigration of Flemish artisans took place in the reign of William I, whose wife was a Fleming. Then the suppression of feudal warfare did much to promote internal trade. After the middle of the twelfth century towns were distinctly important, if indeed they were not dominant, in the life of the people. Some towns had their source in the need of security. Peasants sought refuge within fortified walls. Sometimes it was an abbey that was encircled with walls, sometimes a castle. Shrines and other holy places gave rise to towns, as in the case of Bury St. Edmunds. Occasionally it was the people themselves who built their own walls. Into such a protected place the peasantry crowded, and so the village grew into a town. Again it was a market that attracted people to live near by, or the holding of a county fair. A number of English towns were built on old Roman sites, but the ignorance and fury of the invaders and the subsequent wars had not left much of the Roman buildings. Most of the towns were on other sites. They had grown up because of security, or trade, or justice, about some center,—a castle, a monastery, or a river crossing. The largest towns had developed from villages because their sites were particularly favorable for commerce and industry. But even the largest towns in the Middle Ages were small. In the thirteenth century not more than about 25,000 inhabitants could be claimed by London.

Feudal warfare was more prevalent on the continent than in

England, yet, as we have seen, there were many times when the inhabitants of English towns were glad they were protected by stout walls of stone. The first thing one saw as one came out of the forest, or as one came off the heath, was the wall. Perhaps it was only a mound of earth with a thorny hedge along the top; or maybe it was a palisade. First one wended one's way through the pasture lands, and then through the fields that were tilled. Perhaps a glimpse had been caught of the gallows, which in those lawless times were not often empty, and above which flocks of crows circled in the air. One did not pass unchallenged into the town. Only after examination by the gate-keepers were strangers admitted. Still such precautions were less necessary and less scrupulously insisted upon in England than in the more turbulent countries across the narrow seas. At first everyone lived within the walls, but as the population began to overflow the enclosure, and the power of the King to enforce his peace grew stronger, people began to live outside in the fields. It did not occur to the people of those times that it is well to have straight streets. Streets were merely passageways between the houses, narrow and crooked, dirty and unpaved. There were no sidewalks, and so one had to pick his way through the mud and dirt as best he could. When the streets were named they were often named after the tradesmen who lived in them. In London one may still walk in Threadneedle Street, where the tailors lived, and in Lombard Street, where Italian bankers had their quarters. In the larger and busier towns the streets were filled with people. Venders of food and dealers of miscellaneous articles went about crying their wares. Fights between the apprentices of the different trades were not infrequent. Pigs were to be found in the streets all day long; and at the close of the day cattle were driven in to keep them safe from robbers. At sunset the shops were closed, a little later the Angelus rang, and still later was sounded the Curfew. Soon after that the last lights were extinguished and the town slept while the watchmen kept guard. There were no sewers, only depressions in the middle of the way into which was thrown all the refuse from the houses. And yet, despite such a condition, wells were located in the same spaces. Little wonder the pestilence often swept through one town after another. As the years went by efforts were made to bring in water from the outside, but it was want of more water, rather than better water, that caused this improvement. Happy the town situated on a river, and happier still one that could have running water in its streets. The water was good for the weavers, the dyers, the tanners, and the pigs. All the washing was done in the rivers, or in ponds. At last a time

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came when the heritage of squalor and rough disorder was no longer accepted without protest. Towns were then swept and garnished. Some towns had come to have distinct quarters long before the end of the Middle Ages. In a few towns there was a quarter for the rich folk, those who had made a fortune in trade, or by selling land to the growing town. Nearly always the cathedral had a quarter which was usually enclosed with its own wall. Quite a number of the English cities still possess a cathedral close. Then there might be a poor quarter, and also a soldier's quarter, if there was a garrison in the town. In the larger towns might be found a Jewish quarter, the Ghetto, or, as it was more commonly known in England, the Jewry.

Within the towns there were buildings everywhere. Shops were to be found in London even on the bridge that spanned the Thames. Houses were crowded closely together, for there was little space to spare within the walls, and each story projected into the street somewhat beyond the one below. The upper stories almost met those on the other side of the way. At first most of the buildings were of wood and thatch; then they came to be built of beams and stucco; and at last, because of the incessant fires, thatch gave place to tile. When tile was used the roofs had to be made very steep so that the rain and the melting snow would not find their way through the crevices. The doors on the ground floor were often made in two parts, especially the doors of the shops. They were cut across the middle. Usually in the daytime, if the weather were fair, the lower half was shut to keep in the children and keep out the pigs. Over these half-doors one could lean and talk with the neighbor across the street, or with some passerby. As the towns grew larger and richer the houses of the well-to-do merchants vied with the castles of the nobles in comfort and luxury, and sometimes they surpassed them in these respects. After the Crusades a balcony was often built in the front of the house, copied from the East. It helped to give lightness and charm to the building. In the center of the town one might expect to find the marketplace, an open square. There the town hall was built; and usually the most important church of the town, or the cathedral, if it were a city, fronted the square. When the market was being held the square was filled with booths and was loud with the noise of buying and selling. Every town was proud of its church; and often the churches of the smaller towns were as large and as beautiful as the cathedrals of the cities. The bells called the people to arms when danger threatened, when fire broke out, when a general assembly was proclaimed, and when the market was opened. On

Sundays and feast days the people went to church to hear any news of importance that might be given out. The church was the common hall of the people. They met there for all kinds of business, to audit the town accounts, to divide the common lands, to make grants of property, or to elect the mayor. In time, of course, many of these functions were transferred to the town hall.

The town was most clearly marked off from the country by the occupations in which its people earned their living. These occupations may be broadly classified into two groups, trading and the handicrafts. But for a long time after the Norman Conquest many townsfolk took part in agriculture, cultivating lands that lay outside the walls; and it was quite common to see villeins living in towns. On these lands they raised crops and pastured their cattle. As time went on, however, it became increasingly practicable to earn one's living entirely by trade or by working at some craft, and so the line of demarcation between town and country became more and more distinct. The one essential thing for successful trade lies in the varying products of different districts. In early times there was not much difference between manors, and then as differences increased they were not always known. But more and more certain men made it their business to find out what goods were abundant in certain places and what goods of high quality were made in certain towns. They carried these things from where they were produced to where they were needed. If they were wide awake and cautious they prospered. So merchants increased in number and importance. In each town they organized themselves into a gild in order to secure and maintain commercial advantages, to obtain a monopoly of trade in some district or in some class of goods, to exclude all outside rivals. These gilds seem to have included all who habitually engaged in selling, and in time they came to rule the towns. The first signs of merchant gilds in England appear about the beginning of the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century the gild hall began to be the center of civic life. The most important characteristic of a merchant gild was its solidarity. A minority always had a voice in the deliberations, but the only chance of the success of the gild lay in its members sinking their differences and acting together when facing the outside world.

The workmen, too, organized themselves. All the men who worked at a given craft in the same town belonged to the same craft gild. These gilds became important in the fourteenth century. Each was given permission by the town government to regulate and preserve the monopoly of its occupation in the town. One entered a craft as an apprentice. For a number of years,

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generally seven, the apprentice was bound by contract to a master. He passed from the control of his parents, lived in his master's house, and learned the craft in his shop. When apprentices had served their time they often went from town to town. These journeyings made up their *Wanderjahre*. It would seem that on an average a master had two, or three, or four journeymen and as many apprentices. The masters worked at the craft, and their sons served as apprentices. Almost all industries were carried on in the dwelling houses, though the matter is not certain. Thus employer and employee came to know each other intimately, and there were not such great differences between them as there are today. Trade and industry became highly diversified and organized. In any important town might be found quite a number of different organizations connected with each of the staple industries. Cloth was one of the chief articles of manufacture at Norwich. The city records mention, in connection with the woolen trade, shearers, fullers, wool-mongers, weavers, dyers, wool-merchants, drapers, mercers, and blanket-makers. The functions and rules of the craft guilds varied from trade to trade, but some characteristics were general. The gild preserved the monopoly of the craft in the town; it regulated the hours of labor, usually prohibiting work on Saturday afternoons and at night time, and always forbidding it on Sundays and holy days. Then, too, the goods offered for sale were constantly inspected, and often the prices, as well as the quality, were regulated. Goods were not then produced at the lowest possible cost, with little or no care as to quality, and with the chief object of increasing the sale. They were made to supply a fairly definite demand for a well-defined product. The whole intention of the supervision may be summed up as "honest work at a reasonable price." The guilds also performed social functions, providing assistance to the sick and needy, and taking care of widows and orphans. Whenever one of the members of a gild died his former associates attended the funeral in a body. Once a year, and sometimes oftener, they all gathered in their hall, or in some inn, for a banquet. Usually all the members of a craft lived in the same street, or in the same part of the town. They were therefore brought together daily, and were members of the same parish church. Common religious observances were held by the gild not only at the funerals of its members, but also on the day of the saint to whom the gild was specially dedicated. Every occupation had a patron saint, and most guilds had a shrine or a side chapel in the parish church devoted to their patron saint. Fines for the breaking of rules were often ordered to be paid in wax so that candles might always

be burning on the fraternity altar. Later on craft gilds took charge of the mystery plays.

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At some towns a fair was held once a year, or every six months, or at most every quarter. In England the fair was always controlled by a private person, who had obtained possession of the monopoly, never by the town government. During the continuance of a fair, as a rule, all buying and selling except at the fair was suspended within a considerable circuit. To the great fairs came merchants from all quarters of the known world. One could buy all sorts of things there, colored leathers from Morocco and Cordova; glass, jewels, silk fabrics, and spices from the East; and furs from the North. Usually the fair was held in a large field, just outside the town. Wooden booths were erected for rent, or ground was set aside for those who wished to put up their own buildings or to sell their wares in the open. During the progress of the fair no merchant could buy or sell in the district covered by the monopoly except within the fair. And during this time the affairs of the town were subordinated in interest to those of the fair. The officials whom the proprietor of the fair had placed in charge were entrusted with the tasks of keeping good order and enforcing fair dealing. They formed a court of swift and ready justice that sat continually during the fair. The French called such a tribunal a court of *pied poudre*, or dusty foot court, doubtless because of its summary procedure. The English called it a court of "pie powder." The law guiding these officials was known as the "law merchant." It was somewhat less rigid than the common law. Thousands resorted to the great fairs held annually, among other places at Stourbridge, Yarmouth, Boston, Winchester, and St. Ives.

Fairs

At the end of the Middle Ages fairs began to decline, though some have persisted to the present time in England, and others still hold a place in the life of the people of Ireland. They were replaced by markets, which were better suited to the new conditions, though markets had existed before fairs came into vogue. There were, of course, far more markets than fairs; and yet not every town had a market. It was a privilege to possess a market; its existence in a town was the result of a special grant. Sometimes such a grant was made to the town government; but again it was made to a neighboring lord or abbot. A market was held for one or two days each fortnight, or each month, as the terms of the grant decreed. Close under the sheltering walls of the parish church it was quite likely to be found. Generally there was not much other trade in the town while the market was open, though there was no legal restriction upon such trade.

Markets

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Tolls for the privilege of selling were paid to the person or corporation that "owned" the market. The things sold were usually products of the surrounding country, especially articles of food. Usually certain things were sold by weight on one day, and certain other things by measurement on another. It meant an increase of population to have a market; for there one had a larger choice and could make bargains. Owners found markets profitable. They rented grounds and stalls, as well as weights and measures. In time permanent buildings were erected, such as those of Covent Garden in London.

Life
in the
Towns

It was a busy life, this of the towns, a life in which the townsfolk themselves watched over their boundaries, defended their territory, strove to keep peace within their borders, took charge of the common property, governed the spending of the town treasure, labored with their own hands at public works, and ordered their own amusements. In all these things the medieval burgher had his training. The claims of the town were never allowed to slip from his remembrance. Town life was greatly developed by the Crusades. Many towns were able to lend or to give money to needy barons who went off to the East. In return they received more liberal charters. Social life was enriched and made more varied. Arts and crafts were stimulated by contact of East and West. Festivals were many, and celebrated with a luxury often surpassing the display of the tournaments. In many towns there was an incessant round of gaieties. Some supported permanent minstrels, who acted as watchmen, but who often went piping up and down the streets. Plays were acted in the church-yard or in the town hall. Some towns had a special play that was acted every year. When fine weather came many of the minstrels, harpers, pipers, and singers started off on their travels and journeyed from town to town. The claims of town life were very exacting. So we can scarcely wonder that most of the townsfolk took little thought of matters that lay beyond their walls. Yet, within the narrow limits of the town, experience was rich and varied. Burghers now did things that in earlier times had been performed only by the monks. They learned the primary rules of courtesy, and the simple maxims of morals. Patiently they taught themselves. Gradually they built up a learning which the feudal nobility had been too proud, too indifferent, or too remote to give them. Their influence was generally on the side of peace. Art found in them patrons and executants. They employed, and themselves became, illuminators and painters, architects, bell-founders, carvers of delicate shrines and images, exquisite workers in the wonderful lost art of colored glass, en-

gravers of seals and medals, workers in brass and in the precious metals. They laid the foundations of a new society. It was the towns that furnished the first men of the Renaissance.

In a political way, too, the towns grew. Compared with the life of the continental countries that of England was tranquil and secure. The story of the English towns, though often one of lawlessness, is one of almost unbroken prosperity and privilege. English burghers gained charter after charter, each more liberal than its predecessor; they learned slowly but surely the lessons of municipal self-government. The affairs of the town, great and small, its prosperity, its safety, its freedom from crime, the gaiety and variety of its life, the regulation of its trade,—all these things were the business of the citizens themselves. Most of the English towns were situated on land belonging directly to the King. This gave singular advantages to them. The King was a lord of the manor too remote to do much meddling; he was too much occupied with national affairs to concern himself with these municipalities. So the political history of the towns is a long list of favors asked and received. Every foreign war in which the King was engaged was a heaven-sent opportunity for the townspeople to win new instalments of local liberty.

In our studies of feudalism and chivalry we have seen something of the aristocracy of birth. We have now to turn our attention to a new aristocracy, that of intellect, which had gradually been coming into existence, and which was destined to have important social consequences. When, as one of the results of the Crusades, the level of life in the West was raised, the instruction given in monastic and cathedral schools no longer sufficed to meet the needs of the time. Wherever new and needed instruction was given it attracted large numbers of students, many of whom came from distant countries. In medieval times, especially on the continent, it was necessary for such a group, consisting as it did very largely of aliens, to organize in order to protect itself. Such an organization eventually became known as a "university," a name formerly used to designate any kind of industrial or social organization.

How were the medieval Universities organized when they assumed a form that was to last for many centuries? The original name for school was *studium*; and when a school received, or even invited, students from countries other than the one in which it was situated it was known as a *studium generale*. On the continent there were two kinds of Universities. Some were organizations of the masters, while others were associations of the students. The government of a *studium* was carried on conjointly by

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"nations" and by "faculties." A nation was a group of students formed originally for mutual protection and social intercourse. It was not usually made up exclusively of students from one country. At Paris, for instance, the English nation included English, Irish, Scots, Germans, and students from the English possessions in France. Each nation was presided over by an officer called the proctor, and each had a deliberative assembly with which the proctor took counsel. Groups of the teaching body were known as "faculties." The head of each faculty was called the dean. As the studies increased in number and broadened in character the faculties naturally increased and became more sharply differentiated from each other. There were, for instance, faculties of arts, of law, of medicine, and of theology. These faculties differed very much from one University to another; but, because every student had to become a master in arts before he was permitted to undertake further study, the strongest of all of them was usually the Faculty of Arts. As time went on a need arose for a common head of the nations and faculties. Somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century such a ruler of the entire *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* came into existence. To him was given the title of rector, a very old name for the director of a school, still held by the heads of Universities in Scotland. The title used in England was that of chancellor. Both these titles have become more or less ornamental in Great Britain. They are now generally conferred upon some nobleman or statesman of distinction whose chief function is to look after the general interests of the institution of which he has been made the head, especially in its relations with the government. It would have been well had the chancellor exercised such a function effectively at an earlier time, for both Oxford and Cambridge suffered severely from confiscation of their lands and revenues in the period of the Reformation. Before the middle of the thirteenth century the chancellor at Oxford had come to possess judicial power; even over the townsfolk he shared such power with the mayor. This fact helped to increase the rivalry between "town and gown," rivalry that reached its climax in the riot of 1354 in which the townsmen killed many students, and because of which a new charter, greatly augmenting its privileges, was given to the University by Edward III.

Univer-
sity
Degrees

What degrees were conferred by the medieval Universities? We have seen that the craft guilds contained three classes,—apprentices, journeymen, and masters. In the Universities, too, were to be found the three classes,—the student, the bachelor or pupil-teacher, and the master or doctor. Generally one had to study

at least four and a half years for the title of bachelor; and the minimum for the title of master, or license to teach, was six years. One had to undergo a public examination before each of these titles was given. Master and doctor were terms that for a long time were equivalent. Each meant a man qualified to teach. The doctoral examination generally consisted of a private examination, which was the actual test, and a public one, which was very largely ceremonial in character, and in which an oration or lecture was delivered and a thesis defended.

The curriculum was made up, for the most part, of the so-called seven liberal arts and the three sciences of theology, law, and medicine. The seven arts were arranged in two divisions: the *Trivium*, which consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the *Quadrivium*, which was made up of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. These seven studies had come down through the intervening centuries from the Roman Empire. It would not do to judge the scope of any of them from its modern connotation. Grammar (which of course was always Latin grammar, for as yet the modern languages did not possess grammars of their own) varied in practice from the teaching of the rudiments of the Latin language to what might be called a liberal instruction in classical literature. Rhetoric often included not only composition in prose and verse but also the study of law. In the geometry of the time one studied geography and natural history as well as some of the propositions from Euclid without demonstrations. Arithmetic was long hampered by the cumbrous Roman notation. It included little more than the simple calculations needed in the common life of the time and the computation of the calendar. Not until the twelfth century did Europe gain possession of our present complete system of notation, which includes the zero. It came from India by way of the Arabs. Logic, or dialectic, had a wide range and served to introduce the student to many a hotly debated subject. It was the way by which the student approached the study of philosophy, a study limited in the main to Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, two or three works of Aristotle, and a few medieval commentaries upon that great Greek scholar whom the Middle Ages called the Infallible Doctor. Music had for its chief purpose the teaching of the plain-song of the Church, but it also aimed to show the relation of numbers and harmony, of which a half-mystical theory was much in vogue. Astronomy attempted to trace the courses of the heavenly bodies and was more or less involved with astrology. The three professional studies were theology, law, and medicine. Theology had not yet been organized into the philosophical and minutely articulated system

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that was to result from the labors of the scholastics at the end of the Middle Ages. It consisted, for the most part, of some instruction in the doctrines of the Church, in the writings of the early Fathers, in the *Scriptures*, and, above all else, in Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*. A great revival of legal studies had taken place in Italy, in the eleventh century; and from that time on, aided by students and teachers from the centers of learning in that peninsula, the study of civil and canon law underwent a continuous development. Likewise students, teachers, and practitioners of medicine who had studied in Italy did much to improve instruction and practice in that subject in western Europe. Thus it will be seen that the scheme of instruction assumed that a wide general culture, as wide as the faculties of the time could afford, should serve as a basis for the three professional studies. Such a scheme of studies, comprehensive in scope and systematic in conception, was by no means ill-suited to achieve the limited aim of education in the medieval centuries, to prepare men for the sharply defined and narrow purpose of life proclaimed to them by the Church. Until contact with the more cultured East stimulated the West to new thought, the curriculum of the seven arts and the three sciences adequately met the intellectual demands of western Europe. In due time there came a new burst of intellectual life, an outbreak of new thought, and then, of course, this intellectual fare no longer satisfied the appetites of eager-minded men.

Methods
of In-
struction

The methods of instruction consisted of lectures by the teachers, commentaries by them on the various texts that were used, and disputations in which the students took part. In the class-room and public discussions, especially, the students gained mastery of the subject-matter of their various studies and acquired much mental agility and dexterity. Such educational methods were well suited to the purposes of the medieval University. In that age, and for long after, Universities regarded themselves merely as custodians of knowledge. Their function was mainly to transmit the knowledge of the past to the future. For a time, in the thirteenth century, the complaint made by churchmen like Jacques de Vitry that students were always trying to learn or hear something new was well founded; and Roger Bacon and others pressed on eagerly to discover the unknown. But orthodoxy had its way, and Universities became satisfied with the mere transmission of knowledge. Only in our day have they come to include in their regular work the discovery of new truth, the extension of man's intellectual horizon, for which the systematic and patient research of modern science is necessary.

The beginnings of Oxford as a seat of learning are lost in the shadows of the past. Perhaps the first time the place could rightfully claim to be a *studium generale* was soon after 1167. In that year, principally because of the increasing animosity between the Angevin and Capetian Kings, the English scholars were driven from Paris by a royal decree. Before long Henry II, in return, forbade English scholars to pursue their studies abroad. As a consequence of these royal mandates the attendance at Oxford greatly increased. It seems altogether probable that the twelfth century saw the foundation of Cambridge University. Yet for some time after the close of the century it remained only an imperfectly and inadequately endowed community. The two English Universities, one in the east and the other in the west, were always more restricted to the study of the seven liberal arts than the great schools of the continent; in neither of them did any of the three sciences attain an independent organization. London, at the end of the twelfth century, gave signs of becoming the seat of an important University, but the development of Oxford and Cambridge interrupted the expansion of the school as well as of several others. The London school, however, remained famous and efficient, an excellent example of the cathedral schools that were to be found in every part of Europe, and which, here and there, where circumstances favored, developed into Universities. Before the close of the Middle Ages the two English Universities acquired a European reputation, but they never were as cosmopolitan, either as regards teachers or students, as Paris. Their general atmosphere and character of their thought were distinctly English. Although the organization of the English Universities was modeled upon that of Paris, it was modified in several respects, the principal one being the establishment of distinctly separated colleges, such as All Souls College, Balliol College, and Brasenose College at Oxford, and Downing College, Emmanuel College, and King's College at Cambridge.

What was the character of the life at these *studia generalia*? One should not think of buildings in connection with the early Universities, for at first they had none. When they came to possess buildings the first ones were halls, or dormitories, for the students. All University quarters were called Latin quarters, for all instruction was given in Latin, and even in the leisure hours, even in the intimate talk of friends, the students were required to speak in that tongue. Grammar schools, in which Latin was taught, were to be found in many places, so that it was not often a boy had to go far from home for such instruction. When a student arrived at the University town he stopped at an inn, if

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Begin-
nings of
Oxford
and Cam-
bridge

Lack of
University
Buildings

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he could afford to do so. There sometimes the runners of the professors, who were dependent for their livelihood upon the fees they collected, called upon him and set forth the value of their courses. The teachers lectured in their own rooms, or in rooms they rented at their own expense; or, if they were very popular and their classes were large, in public squares, in church porches, in graveyards, or in the fields. One of the works of medieval charity was to build houses where poor students could live, and to endow them. That is how the halls, or hospices, were started. This brought into existence definite collegiate discipline outside the classroom, and thus wrought a marked change in the life of the Universities. Then lectures were given in the halls; and by and by buildings were erected for the purpose of giving instruction and housing the meager and slowly growing equipment of the school.

Lack of
Comfort in
University
Buildings

Even when the Universities came to have buildings there was still much discomfort. Usually the only room that was heated was the kitchen, and there were sharp rules, frequently broken, against the effeminate practice of going there to warm one's half-frozen fingers. Only on the great feast days of the Church that came in cold weather was a fire permitted in the dining room of the hall; and on such occasions the evening was spent in singing songs and listening to poems and stories. There was as yet no glass in the windows; only wooden shutters, or at best greased skins, and, later on, oiled paper. Glass windows were to be found only in cathedrals, in rich abbeys, in the castles of wealthy nobles, and in the dwellings of prosperous burghers. The seats were low benches, about a foot high. Some of the students, not many, took notes in books made of parchment, and afterwards, when it came into use, of the less expensive paper. For a long time these note books were the only books they had. Generally the students attended only three lectures a day, but some lectures were three hours long and others still longer. The first one came very early in the morning, if indeed it did not come at day-break.

Meals
and
Recreation

One went to the first lecture before eating. The first and main meal was at half-past ten or eleven o'clock. Recreation came after that. Then more lectures and private study. Somewhere about five or six o'clock supper was served; and that was followed by a social time, passed in the company of friends, and ended by the warning of the curfew bell. No work was done by candle light; the students could not afford it, and there was great danger of fire.

For a long time the students governed themselves. They came

to listen; they stayed as long as they wished; they lived as they wished; and only a small number of them took degrees. But gradually the control of the Universities passed into the hands of the teachers and administrative officers, and the bodies of rules governing the life of the students grew in bulk. Medieval students were a quarrelsome lot, and so rules were enacted ranging all the way from the keeping of dogs, tardiness at lectures, making unfavorable remarks about one's fellow students, and coming in late at night, to gross immorality and the gravest of crimes. Penalties consisted for the most part of a money fine, a diet of bread and water, the deduction of a pint or a quart of wine from one's table allowance, suspension, and expulsion. As the Middle Ages drew to a close flogging was inflicted as a penalty upon boys who were not over eighteen years of age. The violence of medieval life was by no means absent from college quadrangles, nor was it lacking in the frequent encounters between students and townsfolk. University records are full of accounts of such quarrels, not a few of which resulted in the death of several of the combatants.

The English Universities were far less cosmopolitan in their make-up than the University of Paris, and daring innovations of thought were less frequently to be found in them. Yet Abelard's great effort to enfranchise the human mind, to point out the possibility and the necessity of harmonizing faith with reason, affected in a greater or a lesser degree every center of learning in western Europe. In conjunction with the newly discovered writings of Aristotle (the *Physics*, the *Metaphysics*, and the *Natural History*) and the Aristotelian commentaries of Avicenna and Averroes, two subtle and suggestive Arabian scholars, that effort helped to produce in the English colleges many a thinker whose views were tinctured with heresy, and not a few leaders whose intellectual primacy was acknowledged everywhere in Latin Christendom. One other thing, national life and popular consciousness, was fostered by the Universities. Students from every shire, and from all the various classes of society, were there brought together.

From the first a lively interest was taken in politics at Oxford and Cambridge. The science of politics was a part of their curriculum. It was taught by Englishmen to students who were for the most part sons of the middle class of English society. The students of Cambridge sided with the barons against John, and in the next reign those of Oxford showed their hostility to the foreign adventurers of the court and gave their support to Simon de Montfort. Then they were foremost in the opposition to the

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of the
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secular activity of the papal curia. Robert Grosseteste (1175?-1253), whose political and ecclesiastical activities have betrayed more than one modern historian into the mistake of regarding him primarily as a statesman, in a memorial he handed in person to Innocent IV, declared that all the evils of the Church were due to the worldly concerns of the papal curia. Medieval science, gleaned from books, was a childish thing. In the thirteenth century one comes upon the faint beginnings of modern observation and experimentation. Grosseteste, who became Chancellor of Oxford, was enthusiastically praised by Roger Bacon, an able and severe critic, for his pioneer work as a scientist. He was a diligent and systematic inquirer in the fields of mathematics, physics, and natural science, in which he anticipated some of the hypotheses and discoveries of Roger Bacon. This inspiring teacher greatly stimulated the study of Greek at Oxford, if, indeed, he did not actually introduce it there. He desired that Greek should be known so that the books of the *New Testament* could be read in their original language and so that the Greek scientific knowledge might be added to the knowledge of his own and subsequent centuries. There was, as yet, no inkling of the value of Greek as the key to a vital and transforming literature. Whenever that was realized men were well on the way to the Renaissance. The contemporaries of Grosseteste were right in placing emphasis not upon his career as a statesman, but upon his inauguration of a fruitful literary and scientific movement. In philosophy, as well as in governmental theory, science, and language, were the workings of new thought perceptible. All through the medieval centuries there had been a close union between philosophy and theology, the former being merely the handmaid of the latter. But even those students who confined their studies to theology often permitted themselves to wander far in the field of heterodox speculation.

Alexander
of Hales

Alexander of Hales (?-1245), who lectured at Paris, was an Englishman who contributed to the intellectual progress of the time. He was the author of the first work based upon the newly rediscovered books of Aristotle and upon the Arabian commentaries. He did not succeed in utilizing this material to the fullest extent, but he became enough of an innovator to replace the rhetoric of his scholastic predecessors with augmentation and debate, and so he became known as the Irrefragable Doctor.

Duns
Scotus

Duns Scotus (1265-1308), a Franciscan student at Oxford, was so ingenious a dialectician as to earn for himself the title of the Subtle Doctor. He became one of the greatest critics of the era. He separated very sharply the field of reason from that of

faith. In the field of reason, he said, all things can be proved by logic; but logic is powerless to demonstrate many things in the field of faith; such things rest solely upon revelation. The old scholasticism, which failed to investigate the actual world in which we live, and was content instead with the barren conclusions of deductive logic, had long held sway in the schools and Universities. It had sought to subordinate philosophy to theology. But now it was undergoing a process of disintegration. A distrust of abstract conceptions which had so largely dominated medieval thought and rendered it stagnant was everywhere gaining ground; and in their place was gradually being substituted the love of reality, the habit of direct observation of the phenomena of nature, the feeble beginnings of inductive research. In this significant and fruitful change more than one conspicuous pioneer was furnished by England. The love of knowledge was growing slowly but surely.

Most significant of all in this widening of men's intellectual activities and horizon is the work of Roger Bacon (1214-1294), a far-sighted genius, one of the most powerful minds recorded in history, the full meaning of whose methods and accomplishments, however, was to be realized only in a far distant day. To his credit must be placed a number of brilliant anticipatory guesses of modern science; but greater than any of his discoveries, and more important than all of them combined, was the scientific method he employed. He devoted his life to the reformation of the existing methods of scientific thought. The science of the Middle Ages descended from the highest concept, that of pure being, down to individual things. It set its seal of disapproval upon the method of proceeding from the particular units of a class upwards. In other words, it declared the inductive method to be reprobate. For its own part it dealt only with a universe evolved from its own inner consciousness. If it dealt at all with the causal relation of earthly things it did so only in so far as that relation lent itself to the support of the *a priori* theories of the time. "Secular science intoxicates, but not with charity," said the great scholastic Bernard of Clairvaux; "it obstructs, but does not fortify." Quite the opposite was the opinion of Bacon. He warned his fellow men against servile subscription to the tradition of authority, declaring that it confined thought in an ever identical circle. "We must not give our adhesion to everything we hear and to all we read," he said; "on the contrary, it is our duty to examine with the most careful scrutiny the opinions of our predecessors in order to add to them what is lacking in them and to correct what is false and erroneous, though

Roger
Bacon
as a Free
Thinker

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with all modesty and discretion. For the truth is ever growing by God's grace. It is true a man never reaches perfection or an absolute certitude, but he is ever perfecting himself; that is why it is necessary not to follow the ancients blindly, for if they could come to life again they would themselves correct what they have said and would change their minds on many things. In like manner the learned men of today are ignorant of things the veriest schoolboy will know some day." To the writer of these words, more than to any other man, is the modern world indebted for the beginning of the experimental method which has been so powerful a means of extending its mental horizon.

Anonymous
Pioneers
of Free
Thought

These eminent scholars, upon whose work we have touched briefly, were by no means isolated phenomena in the thought of the Universities. They were its leaders, but not its only representatives. The names of many scholars who endeavored to come to know something more of the world in which we live, and something of the civilization of the Greeks and Romans, and whose eyes were turned to the future, have passed forever into oblivion. The faint prints of their tentative steps in the paths of learning and letters and science have long since been obliterated "by myriad feet passing far beyond them along those ways."

Character
of Early
Christian-
ity and
How It
Was
Changed

Closely connected with the Universities, though by no means confining their activities to those seats of learning, were the Franciscan and the Dominican friars. The simple society of the first Christians, in which property was held in common, in which all men were equal in sacred as well as secular matters, and in which faith was very simple, had disappeared long ago. It had been superseded by the highly organized medieval Church, with its subtle and logical creeds, its ravishing ritual, its incomparable architecture, its extreme centralization of power, its vast possessions, and its activity in the secular affairs of life. The anarchic conditions of the era of the barbarian invasions had given rise to feudalism. They were also largely responsible for the entrance of the Church into worldly activities.

Francis
of
Assisi

Here and there, throughout the medieval centuries, protesting voices were raised against the intricacy of the creeds and the secular activities of the Church, voices that clamored for a return to the simplicity of that first age of Christianity which through all the intervening years had exercised so compelling a charm in the hearts of men. One of these pleaders for reform was Francis of Assisi. He made no attempt to disprove the theological creeds that for twelve centuries had slowly grown by the process of accretion; nor did he denounce the accumulation of wealth by the Church, nor her participation in the affairs of

secular life. He did not even reprimand the dissolute conduct of some of the clergy. All he desired was to relieve the misery of the poor and afflicted, to help the needy in body and soul.

It was probably in 1210 that the Franciscan movement received the papal sanction. From that time on the Friars Minor, or Minorites, rapidly increased in number and soon spread over all Europe, and even penetrated into Asia. The friars, unlike the monks, did not seclude themselves in convents. It was their aim and their ideal to imitate the public life of Jesus, to take the vow of poverty, to give secular and religious aid to all who were in need, to earn their bread from day to day, and only when that was impossible to beg a scanty meal. But even before the death of Francis in 1226 the mendicant friars had begun to fall from their lofty purpose. It was inevitable that this should be so. The conditions were too severe for men to observe, and the ideal too high for them to attain. The loose confraternity he had desired soon crystallized into an Order, and, though the individual members continued to vow themselves to perpetual poverty, the Order began to accumulate property. Yet for long did the Franciscans minister with unprecedented zeal to the outcasts of society, to lepers driven by the frightened populace to dwell outside the walls of towns there to live in ditches and under the hedges as best they could.

In the meantime the Dominicans, another Order of friars, had arisen. Dominic (1170-1221), a Castilian canon, had preached for ten years at the command of the Pope among the Albigensian heretics in Languedoc. In the terrible war of extinction waged against those heretics, one of the most fearful wars recorded in history, Dominic continued his work, preaching everywhere, in the highways, villages, towns, and in the castles of that land. The Order of Friars Preachers had its origin in the little group of assistants who had flocked to his aid. In 1218 the new Order received the papal approbation. Its members rapidly increased, and soon they spread themselves from the west coast of Ireland to the plains of central Asia. It was their chief aim to convert heretics, but they also devoted themselves to infidels, pagans, and heathen; and, like the Franciscans, they were mendicants, begging from door to door. Both the Franciscans and Dominicans engaged in teaching in the Universities, where they displayed a bitter rivalry.

It was the Dominicans who first set foot in England. They established themselves at Oxford in 1221; and when the next century opened they could boast fifty friaries in England, most of them in towns, and a number in Ireland and Scotland. In

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The
Francis-
can Friars

The
Domi-
can
Friars

Coming
of the
Friars to
England

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1224 the Franciscans arrived in London and Oxford, and, although they were penniless when they came, it required only a quarter of a century for them to become possessed of half a hundred friaries, so eager were men to listen to a truth that for a thousand years had been well-nigh forgotten. In no other country did they produce so many remarkable scholars. It will be remembered that Roger Bacon, Alexander of Hales, and Duns Scotus were all English members of the Order. So, too, though his history is connected with that of the continent, was William of Occam. Up to this time there had been no systematic effort to fit young men for the work of preaching, to develop their powers of public speaking, and to enable them to refute the contentions of men outside the pale of the Church. For this task the Dominicans were well fitted. They were masters of dialectic in an age when logic and disputation were the most advanced of all the sciences. While the Franciscans were not unrepresented among the teachers in the Universities, and while their English scholars soon became the most learned body in Europe, it was to other work they chiefly addressed themselves. In the "Stinking Alley" of London, and in the wretched slums and by the open sewers of other cities, they built their priories of timber and plastered the crevices with mud; and there, living on charity and the vegetables from their little gardens, they performed for the outcasts of society the most menial offices, seeking to alleviate the suffering with medical skill for which they were famous, and preaching simple sermons that all could understand, fervent and emotional, that brought consolation to all who heard, that fanned into flame the dying embers of hope. Little wonder they were received everywhere with enthusiasm. They came to succor the poorest of the poor whom the town clergy, either through disgust or despair, had abandoned to their fate. They came to inspire the parochial priests with new zeal and to instruct them in new methods. They and the Dominicans were eagerly sought as confessors and almoners, and so their influence extended from the lowest to the highest stratum of society.

But these greatest of all the religious reformers of the time soon came themselves to be in need of reform. Many of them became corrupt in various ways. They became unscrupulous sellers of indulgences and relics, story tellers, meddlers, busybodies, and seekers of promiscuous sexual intercourse. They are pictured for us in all their ignorance, idleness, and shameless immorality in official documents of their own Orders, and in the pages of Gower and Chaucer. Chaucer describes the friar gaining influence over women by telling them his power of absolution

is greater than that of the parish priest, and by proving himself "an easy man to give penance." The friar was worse than useless, in the opinion of Gower. One of the things to which this writer most strongly objects is the way in which young boys were inveigled into joining the ranks of the friars. Nearly all the charges against the friars may be found in the poem, written by a secular priest, called *Piers the Plowman's Creed*. Most of the accusers of the friars were interested parties. The success and the power of the friars had given rise to envy. Yet it is true that many friars fell away from the high ideals of their founders. It is the fate of all great movements gradually to lose their vitality, or to become absorbed in other efforts to free the human spirit, after the death of their leaders. But there were always many friars sincerely devoted to the welfare of their fellow men.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the rise of the towns one should consult the industrial histories given in the reading list at the end of the preceding chapter. Among the special books dealing with the subject are Edwin Benson's *Life in a Medieval City*; John R. Green's *Oxford Essays*; F. A. Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England*; Charles Gross's *The Gild Merchant*; E. R. A. Seligman's *Two Chapters on Medieval Gilds*; Frederick W. Maitland's *Township and Borough*; C. H. Stubbs's *Cambridge and Its Story*; M. D. Harris's *Story of Coventry*; and Alice S. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*.

For original sources see Edward P. Cheyney's *English Towns and Gilds*.

For the Universities, in addition to the general histories, see H. Rashdall's scholarly *Universities in the Middle Ages*; the popular little book by R. S. Rait entitled *Life in the Medieval University*; the second volume of H. O. Taylor's *The Medieval Mind*, and the recent scholarly and interesting book on *The Rise of Universities* by Charles H. Haskins, the best book on the subject in English for the college student. Albert Mansbridge's *The Older Universities of England* tells the story of Oxford and Cambridge.

For the friars, aside from the general histories, see Father Cuthbert's *The Friars and How They Came to England*; Augustus Jessopp's *The Coming of the Friars*; Mandel Creighton's *Historical Lectures and Addresses*; A. G. Little's *Roger Bacon Essays*; and H. O. Taylor's *Medieval Mind*.

Attention may also be called again to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; G. G. Coulton's *Chaucer's England*; and J. J. Jusserand's *English Way-faring Life in the Middle Ages*.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CHANGE

(1327-1400)

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First
Years
of the
Reign
of Ed-
ward III

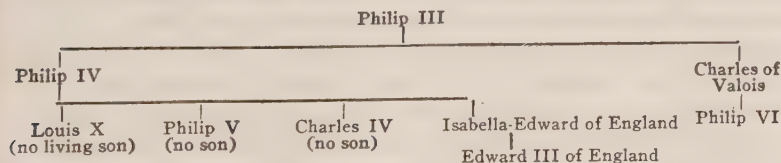
EDWARD III (1327-1377) was only fifteen years old when he became King, and so during the first four years of his long reign the government was carried on by his mother, the adulterous Isabella, and her paramour, the greedy and insolent Roger Mortimer. In this dismal period a wise but unpopular act was performed when, in 1328, at Northampton, a treaty was signed with Scotland, by which the independence of that country was acknowledged and Robert the Bruce recognized as its King. This formal surrender of the claim to feudal superiority over the northern portion of the island served but to increase the indignation of the English which had been aroused in the preceding year by the treaty signed at Paris yielding to the French all England's possessions in southwestern France save only a strip extending from Bayonne to Bordeaux. Nor was the home government of Isabella and her lover any more successful than their conduct of foreign affairs. Many of the ablest and most powerful nobles were greatly offended by the unscrupulous measures of Mortimer in seeking his own advancement. Finally, through a secret passage, a band of soldiers was let into a castle where the Queen and her guilty associate were staying, the favorite was arrested and soon afterwards put to death in the most ignominious manner, while the Queen was compelled to retire to the seclusion of the country. The young King, a bold and enterprising lad, then took the reins into his own hands and did not relax his grip until, more than half a century later, old age caused him to become the prey of unworthy favorites. Possessed of military skill and desirous of winning fame as a leader in foreign warfare rather than as a capable administrator, it was not long before he interfered in Scottish affairs. Robert the Bruce had been succeeded by his son, David II (1329-1371), a child of five years, and the claim of Edward Baliol, leader of the "disinherited" barons whom Bruce had driven into exile because of their opposition to him, furnished the English King with an opportunity for which he was waiting. The decade of intermittent

warfare that followed, despite its victories, failed to effect the English purpose; but it permitted the development of new military tactics, such as the combination of archers with other foot-soldiers, that went far to win the earlier battles of the Hundred Years' War.

To that prolonged struggle we must now turn our attention. And first we must ascertain its causes. For a long time France had been preparing to become a vigorous nation. Gradually the great feudal principalities had been weakened, the process of centralizing political power in the hands of the King had been furthered, and slowly there had been developing a sense of unity among the people. But England still possessed Aquitaine, as the two provinces of Guienne and Gascony had come to be called; and with that stretch of land in the hands of an alien sovereign the geographical unity of France was obviously incomplete. So it was the ambition of Philip V (1328-1350) to wrest the district from the English. This was the fundamental cause of the war. There were three more immediate causes. First, the bitter rivalry of the French and English sailors resulted in constant quarrels in the Channel. Second, the French had frequently given assistance to the Scots in their wars with the English, and the latter were becoming convinced that their desire some day to conquer Scotland could be fulfilled only after France had been crushed. Third, the English were determined to resist the encroachments of France in Flanders. The independence of the leading towns in Flanders was of prime importance to England. English wool, the chief product of the kingdom, was woven into cloth in Flemish looms and from that cloth much of the clothing of northern Europe was made. The export tax on wool was the largest single source of revenue the English Crown possessed down to the sixteenth century. The horizon had long been darkening. At last the storm broke. One other thing should here be noted. Edward III, through his mother, had a claim to the French Crown. If a woman could inherit that Crown, then Edward certainly had a right prior to that of Philip. The French, of course, balked at

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Causes
of the
Hundred
Years'
War



the idea of an English King in Paris; and so it was declared that a woman, unable herself to inherit the Crown, cannot even

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transmit the Crown. Edward put forward his claim soon after the war began as a measure of saving the face of the French vassals who fought for him as their lord. As a result, the personal relations of the two Kings were embittered; and the animosity of Philip increased when Edward gave refuge to his mortal enemy Robert of Artois; and that of Edward deepened when once more the French gave assistance to the struggling Scots.

First
Period
of the
War

The first period of the war (1338-1360) was marked by the dramatic naval victory of the English in 1340 at Sluys, by the battle of Crécy, in 1346, in which they were even more overwhelmingly successful on land, by the crushing defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross in the same year and the signing of peace with the northern neighbor, by the year-long siege and capture of Calais in 1346-1347 that gained command of the narrow seas, by the brilliant victory at Poitiers, in 1356, in which Edward's eldest son, the Black Prince, commanded the English forces and in which the French King, John II (1350-1364), was captured, by the terrible hardships of the French peasantry, and by Edward's reckless expenditure, resulting in bankruptcy and the repudiation of his debts. Hostilities ceased with the Peace of Bretigny, in 1360, but only for a time. England agreed to end the alliance she had formed with Flanders, and France that with Scotland. But, in return for his renouncement of his claim to the throne of France and to all territory north of the Loire, the English King was recognized as full sovereign without homage of Calais, Guienne, Gascony, and Poitou. So the fundamental cause of the war remained.

Changes
in
Military
Weapons

The striking military triumphs of the English presaged important social changes. Hitherto the feudal cavalry had been the principal factor in deciding military encounters; but now soldiers of common birth, armed with a new weapon, demonstrated their superiority. For some three hundred years the cross-bow had been the principal missile weapon in Europe. It was a rather clumsy weapon, aimed from the side of the archer, and needing to be wound anew after every discharge. The Venetians and the Genoese were especially skilful in its use, and many thousands of the latter fought under the French banner in the battle of Crécy. But, in the long-bow, the Welsh had produced a far more effective weapon; and Edward I, at no inconsiderable cost, had learned its utility in his battles in the west. The English adopted the new weapon, and they were finally assured of its worth by their success with it against the Scots. It was about five feet long, and the arrow it shot was a cloth-yard long. Drawn to the right ear, and aimed from the eye, it could send a shaft much farther than could

the cross-bow, and with greater accuracy. Then, too, it could be discharged with greater rapidity than the weapon it displaced. So the English archers, who had used it from their boyhood days, were able greatly to thin the ranks of the enemy before the two armies came to close quarters. There were other factors in the English success. The English armies were better organized than those of France. Their archers, all of whom had volunteered for service, were paid almost twice as much as they could earn at home, and were given, in addition, a share of the booty. The supply of arms and food was more regularly provided for than in the past, and this added in no slight degree to the superiority of the English forces.

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The rise of national feeling and the strengthening of the national force produced and made effective the opposition to the interference of the Papacy in affairs deemed to be essentially national. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the Papacy had been unusually active, in continental countries as well as in England, in bestowing benefices (ecclesiastical positions to which an income is attached) upon men of its own choosing, and also in encouraging the trial of cases in the curia at Rome rather than in the courts of the kingdom. Some papal appointments to benefices were made before the office had become vacant. Such grants of right of succession were known as "provisions." Papal provisions were numerous, especially after the time of Edward II, a period in which, with very bad results, episcopal elections became exceedingly corrupt. Some of the "provisors" were foreigners, chiefly Italians; but four-fifths or more of them were native Englishmen. Provisions were given most often at the behest of the King; sometimes they were granted at the request of other members of the royal family, of bishops, and of barons. The immediate results were better than those of the corrupt elections; but the Pope was not a mere tool, he exacted a price, he appointed a fair number of his own candidates. The papal appointees were usually Italians. All provisions caused money to be taken out of the kingdom, because they were obtained only by fees paid to the Pope. This caused an outcry in the Commons. The opposition of that body was an expression of national feeling against the Papacy, which then had its seat at Avignon. In 1306 the Statute of Carlisle declared provisions to be a grievance of the patrons and founders of the churches, and it forbade tallages of religious houses being sent out of the country. In 1351 Parliament enacted the first Statute of Provisors, providing for the free election, as in former times, to ecclesiastical offices. The statute was not enforced for the simple reason that the King

Check of
Eccle-
siastical
Encroach-
ments

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did not want to enforce it. He continued to profit by the system, and he had other favors to ask of the Pope. Likewise lords and bishops, who were looking for pluralities, supported the system. Not all the ecclesiastical positions were filled with provisors. There were still elections. Sometimes disputes arose over such elections, and when the quarrels were tried in church courts they could be determined by the Pope. Accordingly in 1353 the first Statute of Præmunire, a word that means to forewarn, forbade appeals to be taken in such cases to courts outside of the realm. Loss of all civil rights and property, and imprisonment during the King's pleasure, were the penalties imposed for infraction of the law. Other statutes, especially one in 1364 and another in 1389, intended to effect the same purposes, followed these. They were more or less confused in character, and all of them were poorly enforced. In 1393 a much more vigorous measure, commonly referred to as *the* Statute of Præmunire, was enacted. It outlawed all persons connected with infringement of the laws against papal appointments and associated with illegal payments. Seven years later punishment was provided by statute for all ecclesiastics who accepted papal exemption from obedience to their proper superiors in England.

The
Black
Death

One of the most important events of the fourteenth century was a great series of epidemics known as the Black Death. We are not sure that all the pestilences grouped under this name were the same, but it seems certain that in some of them the disease was the bubonic plague. After devastating western Asia, the disease appeared in Sicily in 1346 and rapidly overran the whole of Europe. Late in the summer of 1348 it broke out in Dorsetshire and swept on to Bristol and Oxford, whence it made its way to London. Early in the following year it reached the northern border, and, in due time, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, as well as England, were devastated. There were outbreaks in 1361 and 1368, doubtless of the same disease, though they were not always spoken of as the Black Death. The swiftness with which death put an end to suffering was a great kindness to the infected, but it filled the hearts of survivors with a sense of utter helplessness and fear. So quickly did it work that sometimes the penitent and the priest who had heard his confession were buried together. About half the population was swept away before the plague had spent itself.

Intellectual
and
Religious
Results
of the
Black
Death

So terrible a visitation was bound to have far-reaching results. From this time onwards, apparently, a spirit of reckless bravado spread among the people, a defiance of authority, a feeling that in this brief life all men are equal or at least are entitled to equal

opportunities, a new conception of liberty that in many cases passed over into license. The forms and ceremonies of orthodox religion were observed, as they are today, but many people became profoundly skeptical. The Black Death may rightfully be considered as a watershed in the history of England. It came when the credulity and piety of the medieval centuries were already passing away, when men were beginning to reason for themselves and becoming more materialistic in their outlook. Leaders of individual thought had appeared in such men as Langland, Chaucer, and Wycliffe. They were forerunners and spokesmen of men who do their own thinking, who are concerned with the realities of things in this world, whose chief interest is in the improvement of this present life. The change from the medieval to the modern world was already under way when the dread disease fell upon England on its way from China to Connemara. That which was coming would have come had the plague been halted before it crossed the Channel. But the plague accentuated this change. And beneath its effect upon the political and economic life of the nation lay the intellectual and spiritual change which more than anything else dissipated the atmosphere of medieval society.

More apparent and understandable, if less fundamental, were the economic and social effects of the Black Death. Despite the expansion of commerce and the growth of town life, England was still essentially an agricultural country. For several centuries the farmlands had been worked on the manorial system, but the sudden disappearance of a third or more of the peasants by which that system had been carried on threw everything into disorder. In their efforts to get the demesne lands tilled, the lords of manors endeavored to exact in full the service due them by the villeins; they tried to make the villeins perform their days' service instead of allowing them to commute it as they had done in the recent past; and they sought to hire the landless men for the old wages of two or threepence a day. The villeins, also, had suffered from the social dislocation, for prices had gone up rapidly. They desired, therefore, to get better terms from their lords. They resented the continuance of the old duties. And the landless men, who wherever free competition prevailed were able to secure a considerable advance in wages, united to secure what they wanted, disputed with the landlords, and asked and often got twice as much as they had received in the days gone by. It would be wrong to attribute the rise in wages solely to the plague. The upward movement had begun before the population had been seriously lessened. For ten years before the visitation wages had been

Economic
and
Social
Results
of the
Black
Death

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Struggle
between
the
Masses
and the
Classes

steadily rising. But the great upheaval doubtless accentuated the change. Yet the lords of manors gained greatly in some respects. More holdings escheated to them. Manors increased in size. The land came into the possession of fewer lords.

Under the conditions of free competition the struggle between lords and peasants, which rapidly became embittered, would have resulted in the success of the latter. These conditions were removed in 1350 by the King. Being himself an extensive landlord, he sympathized with the lords of manors and therefore issued an ordinance forbidding workmen of any kind to demand more than they were wont to receive before 1349. When Parliament met again in the following year this was confirmed by a regular statute, the first of the famous series of laws known as the Statutes of Laborers. This law required the acceptance of wages virtually the same as those paid before the Black Death. All workmen who refused to accept them were to be imprisoned, while employers who, in order to secure workmen, secretly paid higher sums were to be punished by heavy fines. Later additions to the statute were made to intimidate the laborer, by adding to his punishment, if he resisted or ran away, whipping and branding with red hot irons. And landholders were empowered to seize all vagrant able-bodied men and compel them to work at the statutory wages. As some compensation for the low pay of the workmen, Parliament tried to reduce the price of commodities to their former level.

Failure
of the
State
Regulation
of
Wages
and
Prices

After a generation of friction the attempt of the state to regulate wages and prices, while perhaps not wholly ineffective, resulted generally in failure. The laborers were too numerous and too shrewd to be overawed. If the pressure put upon them became too great they ran away to the towns, where workmen were needed as much as in the countryside; or they went to districts where the statute was only loosely enforced. In many cases, despite penalties of the law, the lords of manors, rather than let their crops go ungathered and their cattle untended, offered higher wages than the statute permitted. But even this did not suffice to secure the labor necessary to the working of the ancient manorial system. So, gradually, the landlords came to realize that the only solution of the difficulty was to abandon the old custom of farming the demesne by the compulsory service of the peasants and to divide the entire manor into farms, each of which was to be rented to a free tenant for a stipulated sum, and by him to be cultivated. In the course of the next half century these free tenant-farmers, who were known as copyholders, could be found almost everywhere; while the peasants who, in return for the

right to cultivate certain acres for themselves, worked upon the lord's demesne grew ever fewer in number. It is true the struggle between the landlords who clung to the medieval system and their peasants extended well on into the fifteenth century, and that the Statute of Laborers, in the futile effort to make it workable, was frequently reënacted; but gradually the struggle turned in favor of the laborer, and finally brought into existence the sturdy and prosperous farming yeomanry who for several centuries were the strength of the nation.

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In due time we shall come to see that one of the most significant transformations of life in the last two hundred years has been the change from a rural to an urban existence. The faint beginnings of that change in England are discernible at this time. All through the medieval centuries England was essentially an agricultural community; the great bulk of her exports were wool and other raw material. But, despite the ravages of the plague, the continuance of war, and the friction caused by the efforts to enforce the Statute of Laborers, the second half of the fourteenth century witnessed no slight progress in the towns. Improvement of the weaving industry, stimulated in the eastern counties by the King's invitation to Flemish settlers, was gradually making the country something more than a mere producer of food and raw material. The discontented peasantry flocked in large numbers to the towns where the growing industries were calling for more hands. English commerce, too, now that the victory of Sluys had secured command of the sea, and the ravages of the plague were being repaired, witnessed a revival and expansion. English sails began to appear as far south as Portugal and as far north as the Baltic Sea. Previously to 1343 it had been possible to conduct all English manufacture and commerce with small silver coins. Gold coinage was begun in that year; and within a generation the English "noble" (having the current value of six shillings and eightpence), issued in generous quantities, found its way into all the markets of western Europe and, although there were much earlier gold coins struck on the continent, it became the forerunner of the gold issues of the Netherlands, Scotland, and even parts of Germany. It is in the later years of Edward III that we find the first English merchant princes who were to be a notable feature of the succeeding reigns. The Poles of Hull, whose descendants rose in three generations to the highest rank of the aristocracy, were among the early representatives of their class. Chaucer may serve in a more modest way as an example of the rise of the burgher class. The son of a wine-seller, he became the father of a knight, and the ancestor, through

Progress
of the
Towns

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female descendants, of several baronial families. The second half of the fourteenth century is the first period in English history in which we are able to notice a distinct rise in the importance of the commercial as contrasted with the landed class. The latter, owing partly to the manorial troubles after the plague, found their rents stationary or even diminishing, while the price of commodities from which the former made their wealth had permanently risen. It is not easy for landholders to organize. They are very likely to be individualists. And so they are unable to meet the competition of the widely organized and highly specialized industries. Then, too, the town, by offering more varied opportunities and greater gains, lures from the country its most capable and ambitious men. Thus it is that the country has become the home of conservatism, while the town is the nursery of new thought and bold adventure.

Continu-
ance of
the War
with
France

We must now return to the story of the protracted war across the Channel. With one-third of the territory of France in the possession of the English, much of which chafed beneath its foreign yoke, it was not to be expected that the Treaty of Bretigny would insure a lasting peace. Hostilities soon broke out again. In this second period (1360-1380) the English were to taste the bitterness of defeat. The French King Charles V (1364-1380), who well deserved the surname "Wise," avoided pitched battles, and, keeping his soldiers secure in fortified towns, left the English to be wasted by want and disease and to be harassed by guerilla attacks. It was in this period that the Black Prince, stricken with fever, returned to England to die. We are not certain that the popular name of this hero of chivalry goes back beyond the sixteenth century, and it is thought to have been derived from the color of his armor. The war, broken by brief intervals of peace, dragged on its weary length until the middle of the fifteenth century. Something of its further progress, of the waning success of the English, and of the wonderful career of Jeanne d'Arc, we shall see in due time.

Three
Phases
of the
New
Thought
of the
Time

The reverses suffered by England in the war, the increased taxation, the corruption of the courts, the repeated violations of the rights of the people by royal officers in many parts of the country, the ignorance and immorality of the clergy, and the new thought of the time slowly filtering through the various strata of society, all combined to hasten and accentuate an era of domestic discontent and strife. Three distinct movements, which however reacted upon each other, were the principal features of the time: (1) a movement of protest against the maladministration of governmental affairs; (2) a movement against the dogmatic teach-

ings of the Church and the inefficiency and corruption of the clergy; and (3) a movement on the part of the peasantry and the proletariat for more equitable economic and social conditions. We shall consider these movements one by one.

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Let us first consider the discontent with the conduct of the government. Edward III, who for some time had been falling into dotage, was now no longer in control of either military or political matters. The leaders of the protest against the mismanagement of governmental affairs declared John of Gaunt (1340-1399), Duke of Lancaster and fourth son of the King, to be responsible for the reverses in France; and they asserted the King's favorites were the cause of the maladministration at home. The attack upon Lancaster and the royal favorites found its chief vent in the so-called "Good Parliament," which met in 1376 and resulted in the imprisonment of the favorites and the forfeiture of their possessions. The importance of this action lies in the fact that it is the first instance of an impeachment of the King's ministers for unlawful deeds while in the service of the King. In addition to this, the King was compelled to answer in the affirmative a long list of petitions which, if properly carried out, would have removed most of the practical grievances of the nation. Then a council of twelve peers, nominated in Parliament, was appointed to control the King. It was in the midst of this work by the "Good Parliament" that the Black Prince, who had lent his encouragement to these reforms, died; and so, when their strongest supporter was out of the way, Lancaster found no difficulty in persuading the feeble-minded King to repeal the reforms. Then a new Parliament, from which the opponents of Lancaster had been carefully excluded, completed the work of annulling the measures of political and social progress. In the same year, 1377, Edward III, victor of Sluys and Crécy, engrossed by the charms of a greedy mistress, sank into an unhonored grave, and thus the incompetent and reactionary Lancaster came into control of governmental affairs and the movement against their misconduct met with temporary defeat.

Protest
Against
Bad Gov-
ernment

The movement against the dogmatic teachings of the Church and the inefficiency and corruption of the clergy was due in no small part to the growing urban culture, a culture essentially secular in character and destined to replace the clerical culture which had characterized the Middle Ages. It was also stimulated by the French domination of the Papacy, still resident at Avignon. When thus the Papacy became to all outward seeming the mere creature of France, it lost in large measure the respect and allegiance of other countries; this was especially true of England.

Protest
Against
the Cor-
ruption
of the
Clergy
and the
Greeds
of the
Church

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Its revenues diminished; and to offset this it resorted to increased taxation and to irregular practices. We have seen how England endeavored to meet these encroachments with the various Statutes of Provisors and of Præmunire. Upon the religious life of the time, as well as upon the Church itself, the "Babylonish Captivity" of the Papacy had a deplorable effect. True several of the Avignonese Popes were not unworthy men themselves; but their court was only too often a center for scandal. Avignon became a cosmopolitan city given up very largely to politics and to pleasure. The moral state of Christendom matched that of its temporary capital. Everywhere immorality was increasing; it was rampant among the clergy as well as the laity. In such a time as this reformers were bound to appear in many places; and heresy was sure to find a host of eager listeners.

John
Wycliffe

John Wycliffe (1320?-1384) was but one of the many heretics and reformers of the age. At first a leader in philosophical disputations at Oxford, and then a popular preacher in London and elsewhere, he gradually became involved in the politico-ecclesiastical controversies of the time. From trenchant criticism of the ignorance and corruption of the clergy he passed to a systematic attack upon the worldly character of the entire hierarchy. It was not at the outset the dogmatic but the political elements in the papal system that called forth his disapproval. He argued against the papal overlordship of England acknowledged by King John. Afterwards he publicly proclaimed the revolutionary doctrine that good conduct is the only defensible title to power and to property, that an immoral clergy has no such title, and that the decision as to whether or no the property of ecclesiastics should be taken from them rests with the civil power.

The
Papal
Schism

In 1378 the "Great Schism of the West" began. A French Pope, Gregory XI (1370-1378), restored the Papacy to Rome, but when he died it was readily seen that only by the election of an Italian pontiff could the permanence of the papal residence in the Eternal City be assured. The conclave resulted in the election of Urban VI (1378-1389), an Italian, who at once began measures for the reform of the curia and the Church. But so tactless was he, and even brutal, that he soon offended a large number of the Cardinals. Still more important than their personal dislike of Urban were the deep-seated motives of political interest that made the French Cardinals view with disfavor the new Italian Pope. Six months later, declaring that the pressure of the Roman populace in its demand for an Italian pontiff had prevented a free election, some of the Cardinals chose Roger of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII and took up his residence at

Avignon. There were thus two Popes at one time, and the schism in the Papacy, which was to last forty years, greatly accentuated the deplorable results of the long Captivity. And it increased Wycliffe's opposition to the Papacy and its claims.

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From the schools Wycliffe carried his propaganda, a fundamental thesis of which was the substitution of the authority of the *Bible* for the Church, into the streets and highways. For this purpose he chose a number of secular priests who were to supplement the services of the Church by giving instruction in the vernacular. These itinerant preachers, who included a good number of men who held or who had held respectable positions in their colleges at Oxford, went up and down the land in secular clothes and lived on poor fare. They carried the teachings of Wycliffe into the remotest districts; and the feeling of disaffection against the rich prelates and the ignorant and immoral priests, which everywhere was increasing, they directed to a definite purpose.

The
'Poor
Priests'

Wycliffe with others made a translation of the Latin version of the *Bible* into English. There were already many renderings into the new tongue of various parts of the *Bible* and translations into French had long been available; but the two noble versions associated with Wycliffe's name are the first two complete renderings into English of which we have knowledge. It is impossible to say to what extent, if any, Wycliffe took part in the work of the earlier version, completed some time before 1384, the year of his death; and it seems quite certain he had nothing to do with the revised one, probably finished about four years after his death. The second version is far more readable than the first, and attained great popularity.

Wycliffe's
Trans-
lation
of the
Bible

It was not only to the common people that Wycliffe appealed. In a series of Latin treatises he presented radical theological views to the world of learning. The *Scriptures*, he declared, are the sole authority in all religious questions. The King, and not the Pope, is the vicar of God upon earth; in all external matters he is to control the priesthood; only in spiritual matters is the priest above the King, and in those matters his power comes direct from God. Each of these propositions was sufficiently radical and serious to arouse the enmity of the churchmen, but his crowning heresy relates to the sacrament of the eucharist. The bread and wine, he declared, are not changed into the body and blood of Jesus; while it is true the body and blood are present in the bread and wine, they are there by no miracle of transubstantiation but only as heat is present in red hot iron.

Wycliffe's
Theologi-
cal
Opinions

Such attacks were certain to antagonize the theologians. Power-

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Opposition
to
Wycliffe

ful support, especially by John of Gaunt, had been given to Wycliffe in his attack upon the political aspirations of the Papacy and in his denunciations of ecclesiastical immorality; but the civil authorities saw no practical end to be gained by giving their support to heretical opinion. So the great reformer was required to "keep silence on the subject." The support of the government was still further lost to Wycliffe when it was realized that his followers were implicated in the great uprising of the peasants. The social revolution compelled the conservative elements in Church and State to draw together, for the protection of "their common interests." A few of Wycliffe's more prominent followers were arrested and imprisoned until they recanted, but the reformer himself remained at large unmolested. He went to live at Lutterworth, of which he was the parish priest, where his last years were spent in writing many pamphlets in Latin and in English. In these he became still more radical, for he reached the position that the individual needs no priestly mediation between himself and God, that the sacraments, while desirable, are not necessary to salvation.

The
Lollards
and Their
Teachings

Wycliffe's followers were known as Lollards, a name of contempt, which may have meant an idler, or a mumblor, or one who sings softly, probably the last. They strove to inculcate the ideal of poverty and spirituality. They contended that the visible Church, which had become the greatest landed proprietor in the entire continent, which collected tithes greedily and took money from starving peasants for baptizing and burying, could not be the primitive Church of the time of Jesus. Their most prosperous period was the decade immediately succeeding their leader's death. They held before themselves the ideal of a life of poverty without begging, and the preservation of the advantages of a systematic organization with such personal freedom as would enable them to mingle freely with the poor and lowly. Their doctrines were, of course, condemned by officials of the Church in England, but they found support in the Universities, in many a country manor house, and in the homes of well-to-do burghers. Staff in hand, and dressed in long russet gowns, the picturesque "poor preachers" spoke in English to the people from the doors of village taverns, at the cross-roads, in market-places, and in the crowded alleys of the towns. Temporal possessions, they proclaimed, inevitably make the Church lose sight of its true mission, they drive into forgetfulness the primitive virtues of faith, hope, and charity. There is no need of a mediatorial priesthood, auricular confession leads to nothing but clerical arrogance, transubstantiation is a miracle that never happens, and all the paraphernalia of ceremony, altars

and incense, vestments and crucifix, serve only to detract from the simple worship that prevailed in the apostolic age. Their efforts were not confined to religious reform. Inevitably their insistence upon the simplicity of the life of the first Christians as the ideal for all succeeding ages led them to denounce many things in the daily life of their own time. Such trades as those of goldsmiths and armorers, for instance, they declared unnecessary and undesirable. And though we cannot connect them definitely with the social revolution that shortly took place it would seem that their teaching must have done much to prepare for it.

So successful were the Lollards that in 1395 they were emboldened to petition Parliament to reform the Church in accordance with their teachings. But Richard II, who had hitherto desired to mitigate the aggressive action of the clergy toward the heretical preachers, declared himself strongly against the petition and its promoters, and from that time on Lollardy declined in power. The strength of all those who were interested in social and religious reform lay in the Commons, in which the representatives of the shires took the leading part. Twice the Commons petitioned the Crown to seize the temporalities of the Church and apply them to such national purposes as taxation and maintenance of the poor. But this anti-ecclesiastical policy was only sporadic, and in 1401 the court party were able to secure the enactment of the notorious statute *De heretico comburendo*, which enabled any bishop or his representative, without the sanction of a synod, to pronounce sentence of heresy, and required the sheriff to execute it by burning the offender without waiting for special permission of the Crown. Yet the Lollards grew bolder as they declined in power. In the first years of their activity they had generally recanted when summoned before ecclesiastical courts supported by secular authority. Numbers of them, usually members of the lower classes, now refused to retract and so were burned at the stake. Laws were passed making it illegal to preach without a bishop's license and putting the translation of the *Bible* and other Lollard books under the ban. When at last, in 1418, the papal schism came to an end redoubled efforts were made to stamp out heresy. From this time Lollardy began to disappear from the fields and the streets, and to take refuge in all sorts of out-of-the-way places of concealment. There was no more wayside preaching, but instead there were secret gatherings in houses, in huts, in ditches, and in the woods, where the *Bible* was read and sermons preached. Only in such secret and subterranean ways was it possible to continue Lollardy. Many of the poorer parish priests, and also many private chaplains, were secretly in sympathy with

Persecution
of the
Lollards

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Discon-
tent of
Peasants
and
Townfolk
with the
Economic
and
Social
Conditions

the Lollards. The movement, which continued down to the sixteenth century, did much to shape the religious life of England. The greater subordination of the clergy to the State and the increasing demand for a translation of the *Bible* which could be read by the common man were things bequeathed to a later generation by the Lollards.

Having seen something of (1) the movement of protest against the maladministration of governmental affairs and (2) of the movement against the interference of the Papacy in national affairs and the corruption of the clergy, we must now retrace our steps for the purpose of making a brief study of (3) the movement on the part of the peasantry and the proletariat for more equitable economic and social conditions. Things were going from bad to worse in the war with France. Great numbers of troops and large sums of money were wasted in the unhappy struggle. The long series of "petty disasters" to the English forces, the constantly increasing taxation, and the palpable mismanagement of governmental affairs, which did not improve despite frequent displacements of ministers and councilors, combined to produce a spirit of belligerent discontent. In many of the towns the municipal governments had passed into the hands of a few men who levied taxes, imposed fines, and, in short, governed solely in their own interests with a total disregard of the fellow townsmen. Another grievance of the townfolk was the restrictive gild regulation which made the lot of the unskilled laborers difficult in that it prevented them from passing from one employment to another. The peasantry were made restless by the continued efforts to enforce the Statutes of Laborers; and their dissatisfaction, as well as that of the proletariat, was fostered by the popular preachers, who went up and down the land discussing in a very free manner the conditions of the time. Only a few of these itinerant priests, it would seem, were followers of Wycliffe, but the irritation of the people must have been noticeably increased by the communistic teaching of the Lollards. Curious rhymes were repeated from mouth to mouth, starting from no one knew where, but expressing in popular language the sense of misery and hardship, and increasing the widespread sullen irritation among the lower classes. One preacher called attention to the natural equality of all men by crying:

When Adam delved and Eva span
Who then was gentleman?

It was a time of change. Medieval conditions were slowly vanishing and their place was gradually being taken by modern condi-

tions, which, in the course of time, were to give rise to problems as grave as those that today confront the nation. It will thus be seen that the revolt of the common people which took place at this time was due to causes that reached back through many years and were very complicated in character. It was the first expression of the peasants in politics.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the imposition of a new kind of tax, the so-called poll tax. Up to this time taxes had been laid upon land, upon the personal property of all free-men, and upon imports and exports. Now, however, a direct tax was laid upon each person above twelve years of age. It was imposed upon all classes alike, and upon rich and poor. When the new tax was first levied in 1377 it required every adult to pay a groat. Two years later, however, a graduated tax, ranging in its assessment from ten marks for John of Gaunt to fourpence for laborers and villeins, was imposed. Even this was condemned as falling too heavily upon those least able to pay. In the early part of 1381 a third poll tax, at the rate of three groats upon every person over twelve years of age save only beggars, with a vague stipulation that "the strong should help the weak," was imposed. Against this unjust tax the common people sought to defend themselves by the simple method of failing to report all the members of their families. Even London, by far the wealthiest community in the kingdom, sent false returns. The government thereupon sent out commissioners to revise the returns, by a house-to-house visitation, and collect the missing groats. Their appearance led to a series of riots, which quickly spread from one end of the island to the other and in a few days developed into a formidable rebellion. The poll tax was no more than the spark that fired the mine; it merely provided a good general cause of complaint upon which all malcontents could unite. In this social revolution it was the aim of the peasants to get rid of all villein-service, and to compel their lords to grant a commutation of all manorial customs and obligations for a small rent. It was the aim of the proletariat to break down the local oligarchy, who monopolized all municipal offices and oppressed the meaner citizens, and to wring charters from lords who had hitherto refused to grant them. Coupled with these political, economic, and social aims was the desire to punish "traitors," of whom the most cordially hated were the Chancellor (Archbishop Sudbury) and the Treasurer (Sir Robert Hales), the two persons most responsible for the levy of the poll tax.

The disturbances began on May 30, 1381, in Essex. Then they broke out in Kent, and from there they spread into central England. In the west and north there were only isolated and occa-

The
New
Taxes

Uprising
of the
Peasants

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sional outbreaks in some of the more turbulent towns. Manor-rolls were burned, unpopular bailiffs and landlords were hunted down, and a special attack was made upon the commissioners of the poll tax, and upon the justices, who had been particularly active in enforcing the Statute of Laborers. The uprising in Kent was better organized than elsewhere; and there a leader was found in Wat Tyler, a quick-witted adventurer of uncertain antecedents, who chose as his chief assistant the preacher John Ball. The Kentish mob streamed along the highways from Canterbury to London, where two of the gates were opened by malcontents of the city, who then joined the invading horde. The King and his ministers took refuge in the Tower, while the rebels sacked and set fire to a number of buildings including the palace of John of Gaunt. Finally Richard rode forth to parley with his revolutionary subjects. The rebels at first demanded no more than that the King should declare an end to villeinage, and that all manorial dues and services should be commuted for a rent of fourpence an acre. To this the youthful monarch immediately consented. But Tyler with some of his followers rode to the Tower and there put to death the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and several other members of the court. Then the mob made its way through the city, burning houses and murdering lawyers, officials, foreign merchants, and other unpopular persons. On the following day the rebel leaders invited the King to a second conference in which their demands were increased. All differences of rank should be abolished, all church lands should be confiscated and divided among the laity, all game laws should be done away with, and "no lord should any longer hold lordship except civilly." In the course of an altercation with one of the King's attendants Tyler was killed by the Mayor of London. Instantly realizing the gravity of the situation, Richard rode forward exclaiming to the rebels: "Take me for your leader; from me shall you have all you seek." He led them beyond the walls into the fields, where they were induced to disperse. When some days later he was asked to fulfil his promise he made the harsh reply: "Villeins ye are, and villeins ye shall remain." Then the royal forces scattered the rebel bands remaining in the south-east, and the minor outbreaks in other parts of England were quickly put down or subsided of themselves. The immediate results of the rebellion were in many cases distinctly unfavorable to the common people. Not only did villeinage continue in the countryside and the municipal oligarchy in the towns, but in many places the old bonds were actually tightened. In 1388 Parliament enacted a law forbidding any servant to pass from one hundred to another without

a warrant under the King's seal and seeking to enforce in every particular the Statute of Laborers. CHAP. IX

The development of a sense of national unity continued despite all social disturbances. In all phases of life it was becoming increasingly manifest. Foreign influence lingered only as a legacy. The English tongue, which ever since the Conquest had lurked in farms and hovels, among villeins and serfs, in the out-lying districts, in the distant monasteries, among the lower clergy, among the poor and lowly and ignorant, had emerged triumphant, and was now the only tongue intelligible to the great mass of the people in the towns as well as in the countryside. But, freely intermixed with French as it had come to be, it was virtually a new language. When Wycliffe and his followers wrote and preached in English they did so in order to appeal to all classes of men. The literary use of the native tongue, its use for poems, stories, letters, and other affairs of life, was no longer, as in the preceding age, a reluctant concession to the needs of the common people. English had been substituted for French as the medium of instruction in the schools. Latin, it is true, was still the language of the Church, the Universities, and the Law. Records, too, were kept in Latin; and French was still understood and spoken by many of the nobles and merchants. But all of these also understood English; and for the great majority of the people English was the sole vehicle of communication. In 1362 a law was passed requiring that the pleadings in the courts should for the future be carried on only in English "because the French tongue is much unknown." In the following year the Chancellor's speech at the opening of Parliament was for the first time given in English.

English
the Pre-
vailing
Language

Literature responded to this change in the language. Among the first writings of the time in the vernacular that rose to the level of literature is a group of four poems, of uncertain authorship, the first of which is *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, the poetic narrative of a minstrel steeped in the glamour of Arthurian romance. The second and third, *Cleanness* and *Patience*, are alliterative religious poems. And the fourth, an elegy called *The Pearl*, is a poet's lament for a little girl "who lived not on earth two years," a poem of wistful and abiding charm making a simple and direct appeal to the heart. Uncertain, too, is the authorship of the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. We are now rather sure that no such man lived at that time. The book is probably the work of more than one person, and it seems to have been written originally in French. It was translated into many languages and acquired great popularity. The rendering into English, done probably at

Early
Writings
in
English

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the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, is exceptionally felicitous and has won for the translator the not altogether undeserved title of "the father of English prose." It is the first book of English prose primarily intended for entertainment as well as instruction.

Further
Writings
in
English

Among the most significant of the writings of this age is the *Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*, a long poem in which the misery of the peasants and their dreams of amelioration found expression. It is probably the work of William Langland (1332?-1400?), a man who with his own eyes saw the corruption and injustice of the time and gave utterance to his indignation in passionate protest. The growth of a national literature may be seen distinctly in his writings. Far less interesting is the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower (1325?-1408), an endless didactic work, interspersed with tales, mostly borrowed from Latin literature, of which one is dramatized by the amusing craftsmen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but valuable to its time because of its careful art and sweet and fluent versification.

Chaucer

With Chaucer we come to the first perceptible influence of the Renaissance upon English literature. He was the only English man of letters before the sixteenth century who knew Italian literature. The Italians who visited England, and Englishmen who visited Italy, were interested, not in literature, but in scholarship. They were only grammarians and rhetoricians; but they prepared the way for the leaders of the great intellectual awakening which began in England with such humanists as Linacre, Colet, and More. Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400) lived in his youth in London, the city of his birth, near the famous bridge over which travelers to and from the south of England were accustomed to pass. For some years he was a page in the household of a princess; and in 1359 he went to war in France where he was taken prisoner. To his ransom Edward III contributed, and then he entered the royal service. In December, 1372, he went to Italy as one of three commissioners to conduct a commercial treaty with the Genoese. He was back in London at the end of the following May and his accounts show that he visited Florence, the cradle of the Italian Renaissance, and that probably he went to Padua and there made the acquaintance of Petrarch. His life from that time on was that of a clerk in the Chancery, dependent upon royal patronage, prospering or not as the winds of favor blew. He fared well on the whole, and found himself with plenty of leisure to devote to literature. When he died he was buried in the great abbey at Westminster, where his tomb became the first monument of the Poet's Corner.

More than to anything else it is to the genius of Chaucer that the literature of the fourteenth century owes its distinction. The development of his literary power may be studied in three stages. In the first period his poems were translated from the French or based upon French models. This foreign influence was no temporary phase, for he always delighted in the literature of France. He was not interested in the older literature of his own country; and he seems to have cared little, with the possible exception of that of Gower, for the work of his contemporaries in England. But he knew and loved the *Roman de la Rose* and lent his talent to the task of translating it. Even in the final years of his literary activity he was much indebted to his contemporaries in France. In undertaking the translation of this poem of the life and thought of the troubadours he was in full sympathy with the taste of his time; for the poem, with its gallantry, its passages steeped in the mood of mysticism, its presentation of economic and social troubles, its scholastic methods of thought, its childlike acceptance as truth of everything that is written, and at the same time its shrewd and indiscriminate criticism of much that the age of credulity had accepted without doubt or question, reflected the life of its time and won for it great numbers of readers in every land in Latin Christendom. In this period Chaucer was not without close and loving observation of the real world; but his poetry is frequently difficult to distinguish from that of other "courtly makers" of France. There is in it much of the formal gallantry which was then the mode.

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Chaucer's
First
Period

Much of the new literature of Italy, like that of France, moved among the conventionalities and artificialities of an unreal world of romance; but it was of wider range, of fuller tone, of far greater emotional intensity, and, at its best, was the expression, not of elegant ingenuity, but of creative thought and feeling. The prose of Boccaccio, rapid, vivid, and well put together, influenced the development of Chaucer's literary power and quickened his habit of observing and recording human life. The Italian books which he can be proved to have been familiar with are few in number, but they were sufficient for his purpose. His study of them was a factor of great importance in directing his interests and unfolding his style. Before he began to read them he had been engaged in making his own literary experiments; and, while he learned much from their technic and appropriated not a little of their subject-matter, he improved upon them and used them in his own way with triumphant success. The power to weave a plot out of his own imagination seems never to have been his; but he could take what was little more than an anecdote and give to it

Chaucer's
Second
Period

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Chaucer's
Third
Period

body, life, and color with a skill fully atoning for whatever inventiveness he lacked.

When the classical and foreign influences affecting him had been assimilated by his thoroughly national temperament, his stories naturally became more expressive of his own personality. In their humor and freedom they may be said to foreshadow the strong national temper of the writings of Henry Fielding. The atmosphere and *mise-en-scène* of fourteenth-century England is to be found in abundance in these later stories. In them one may see chivalry in its final glories of extravagant dress and manners, knights on gaily caparisoned steeds professing, if not always performing, deeds of an idealism growing ever more fantastic. In them one may see human nature in that infinite variety that custom cannot stale. The dramatic use of the picturesque groups he saw on the road to Canterbury, the realistic character sketches of the *Prologue* and the *Tales* told along the way, embody "the final revelation of what a medieval poet saw in life this side of the grave."

Continuation of
the War
with
France

This activity of literature was carried on despite the constant withdrawal of men of the best abilities for the pursuit of war, and despite the disturbed condition of society at home. Our story of the Hundred Years' War was interrupted at the close of the second period in order to see something of the internal affairs of England. A third period (1380-1413) began almost simultaneously with the outbreak of the social revolution in England. And so unjust were the social conditions in France, as well as in England, and so oppressive were the financial burdens, that there, too, the people rose in rebellion. But the time was unpropitious for such attempts to secure a lessening of social injustice. Like the efforts of the common folk in England, the uprisings of peasants and proletariat in Normandy, Paris, Flanders, Auvergne, Languedoc, and the old Swabian Duchy were defeated and punished with unspeakable cruelty. Richard II (1377-1399) was only ten and a half years old when his grandfather, Edward III, died. For some years the government was carried on by a Council appointed in Parliament; but, as we have seen, the times were turbulent, at home as well as abroad, and the members of the Council failed to meet the difficulties of the situation. It was the youthful, high-spirited King who, in 1381, met the rebels under Tyler. In 1389, having declared himself of age, Richard dismissed the ministers selected for him, replaced them with well-approved men of his own choice, and for the next eight years conducted the government along the old lines in a fairly satisfactory manner, following the old customs, calling Parliament frequently, asking only for

moderate taxes, welcoming the enactment of good laws, making a long truce with the enemy across the Channel, and seeking to preserve the rights of individuals and classes. The troubles of France resolved themselves for a time into a quarrel between two factions of the relatives of the youthful King of that country, and so it required but little effort on the part of England to retain her continental possessions. CHAP. IX

Freed from the distraction of war, so expensive in men and money, Richard found it possible to devote himself to domestic affairs. This was especially true when in 1396 peace was concluded, by the terms of which England kept Calais and a strip of the coast extending from Bordeaux to the Pyrenees. But now an unfortunate change, the reasons of which we do not know, came over the King. Perhaps it was the absence of the restraining influence of his first wife, the admirable Anne of Bohemia, who had died in 1394; and perhaps he was infuriated by the pin-pricks and even plots of the barons. In the year of his wife's death Richard punished the nobles who had been opposed to him in the days of his minority together with those who had been antagonistic to him in more recent years, putting some to death and sending others into exile. Then in the remaining years of his reign he conducted the government in an unwise, arbitrary, and illegal manner. Taxes were extortionate, the expenditures of the court became flagrantly extravagant, and the elections to Parliament were manipulated so as to make that body wholly subservient to the royal will. Finally he caused the murder of the most fractious leader of the barons, his own uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and banished his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt. Shortly afterwards he confiscated the latter's extensive estates. Henry had already distinguished himself by his chivalrous character and knightly adventures, and in consequence had become well known and popular. He had shown a desire for good government, he had fought with the Teutonic Knights in Lithuania, and had journeyed to Jerusalem. Taking advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland the exiled noble landed in 1399 at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and as he marched through the country his little body of retainers swelled to an army of considerable size. Richard surrendered without a blow, signed an act of abdication, and was imprisoned in the castle of Pontefract, where, seemingly because of inadequate protection against the rigor of winter, he died in February of the following year. Thus passed away a pathetic figure among the Kings of his country. Tall and handsome, effeminate, with a touch of literary taste, a precocious boy, an impulsive man, easily elated and as easily depressed, he

Last
Years of
Rich-
ard II

CHAP. IX fell because in his determination to make himself absolute he failed to recognize the strength of the national will for constitutional government.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

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The best translation of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles*, one of the most interesting contemporary narratives, is that by Lord Berners. Other original source material will be found in Edward R. Cheyney's *England in the Time of Wycliffe* which is one of a number of similar pamphlets published by the University of Pennsylvania.

See also W. W. Lawrence's *Medieval Story and the Beginnings of the Social Ideals of English-Speaking People* in which typical masterpieces of medieval literature are described in the light of recent research and their significance for modern times indicated.

CHAPTER X

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

(1400-1485)

IT is true that Henry of Bolingbroke, who was the first member of the House of Lancaster to sit on the throne, had secured his position primarily with the aid of the military power he was able to command. But Parliament had taken part both in the deposition of his predecessor and in his own election, and this served to increase the prestige of that body and to make the King dependent upon its good will. The formal deposition of Richard was based upon his assumption of arbitrary authority, and this gave sanction to the theory that rulers may be removed for incapacity and for unconstitutional conduct. Of all this Henry IV (1399-1413) was well aware. And he knew also that the situation called for the greatest circumspection, that there was a tacit understanding that the House of Lancaster would receive the support of Parliament only as long as its representatives who occupied the throne continued to govern in accordance with the constitution.

What was this institution that had thus won so singular a triumph, and what were the powers and privileges it now claimed? When Simon de Montfort rebelled against his King and succeeded for a time in making himself master of the realm he summoned to a Parliament meeting in 1265 not only bishops and barons, but also two knights from every shire, and representatives from a number of boroughs. This Parliament is notable as being the first one in which both knights of the shire and representatives of towns sat in the same body with the Great Council. Ten years later burgesses and citizens, summoned through the sheriffs, sat in Parliament; and in 1295, for his celebrated "Model Parliament," Edward I summoned two knights from every shire and two burgesses from every city and borough. Bishops attended the Model Parliament, it is true, and sat with the secular lords; but the inferior clergy displayed jealousies, and so were afterwards permitted by the King to meet in their own convocations at York

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The
New
King's
Depend-
ence upon
Parlia-
ment

Growth
of the
Power of
Parlia-
ment

CHAP. X

and Canterbury. It was owing to this secession of the clergy that eventually the present bicameral form of Lords and Commons became established. The knights of the shire were united to the members of the Lords by social ties and class interests; but they took their seats, in the first Parliament of Edward III, with the Commons. This, together with the withdrawal of the clergy, who in all probability would have been subservient to the bishops, greatly strengthened the Commons and facilitated the development of national liberties. Summoned merely for the purpose of voting subsidies to the Crown, the burgesses for some time failed to realize the opportunity which their presence in Parliament afforded them to acquire political power. Yet in 1322, under Edward II, it was definitely enacted that "the matters to be established for the estate of the King and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, should be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament, by the King, and by the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and by the commonalty of the realm, according as had been before accustomed." Thus there was definitely asserted, by an authoritative statute, the right of Parliament, and therefore the right of the common people as far as they possessed the exceedingly limited franchise of the time, to share in the making of the laws and in the control of governmental administration.

VII
Summary
of the
Powers
Acquired
Thus Far
by Parlia-
ment

The powers which, by the opening of the fifteenth century, Parliament had acquired may be grouped into four fundamental divisions: (1) the consent of Parliament as necessary to new laws; a power which was as yet but imperfectly secured; (2) the imposition and collection of taxes only with its consent; (3) the right to impeach the King's ministers; and (4) the right to inform the King of its views in all important measures of government, including foreign wars and treaties. In addition to these powers, several important privileges had been acquired by the members of Parliament. They were free from arrest while going to Parliament, while taking part in its deliberations, and while returning home. They could also say anything they thought proper in debates in Parliament without fear of subsequent punishment. Many of the rights and privileges which all modern legislatures possess are derived from the powers which, in the years between 1295 and 1400, had been won by Parliament in England.

Rebellions
Against
the New
King

Henry IV was faithful to the institution with whose aid he had secured the Crown and complied for the most part with its demands. But his reign, which lasted fourteen years, was full of trouble, both at home and abroad, and left him weary and exhausted. Very early the chief partisans of his predecessor rose

in rebellion and attempted his capture, but he defeated them and put many of them to death. It was this uprising that sealed the fate of Richard II. Provided with insufficient food and inadequate protection against the winter's cold, the unhappy King died in his dungeon. Far more formidable was the rebellion of Owen Glendower. The conquest of Wales by Edward I had been followed by a long period of peace. Liberal charters and market privileges had been granted to many of the towns, and in these municipalities the English tongue became prevalent. The tradition of national independence still lingered in Wales, especially in the countryside, which was decidedly Cymric in language and feeling; but castles had been built in many places and were occupied by English nobles, known as Lords Marchers, whose duty it was to enforce obedience to the English rule. When the English courts refused to return to Owen certain lands taken from him by one of the Marcher barons he seized the districts by force of arms. Then, with great rapidity and success, he roused his countrymen against the King, destroyed castles, set fire to towns, and made devastating raids into the neighboring counties of England. Adapting his tactics to the difficult character of the country, and aided by the inclemency of the weather, he succeeded three times in driving the English King "bootless home and weather-beaten back." Proclaiming himself Prince of Wales he established a regular government, made a formal alliance with France by which he secured the aid of French troops, and induced several English nobles to throw in their lot with his. But early in 1405 the tide turned. Henry of Monmouth, the former Prince of Wales, succeeding where his father had failed, defeated the rebels repeatedly and in 1409 virtually put an end to the revolt. Owen escaped to the mountain fastnesses and probably died there in 1415 of starvation. With this bold chieftain, who in his lifetime had been endowed by the superstitious with magical powers and who still figures in the legends of his country as a great hero of romance, the dream of an independent Wales paled into impossibility; but seventy years later, such was the irony of events, a Welsh prince, in the person of Henry VII, ascended the English throne and played no small part in preparing the way for the conditions of modern life. With the end of these rebellions, dynastic rivalries began to give way to the struggle between great landholders that ultimately developed into the Wars of the Roses.

In his youth Henry IV had been a crusader, and he had now become one of the most devout and orthodox of Kings. He was therefore naturally inclined to listen to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most reactionary of churchmen,

Persecution of Heretics

CHAP. X

who, in the preceding reign, had been one of his associates, who had placed the crown upon his head, and who was bent upon the extirpation of the Lollards. When Arundel had pressed upon Parliament the enactment of the statute *De heretico comburendo*, by the authority of which any bishop or his representative could pronounce sentence of heresy and require the sheriff to burn the offender at the stake, Henry signed the detestable document. He did not initiate the revival of persecution, nor does he seem to have given it his personal approval, but he was compelled to give his support to it by the apparent necessity of retaining the good will of the clerical party. The first victim was William Sawtre, a London priest, earliest of the Lollards to be put to death, who, in March, 1401, was burned at St. Paul's Cross. There were other burnings from time to time throughout the reign, most of the victims being priests and members of the middle class, those of higher rank being spared for the sake of policy.

Increased
Persecu-
tion of
Liberal
Religious
Thinkers

In the last four years of his reign Henry, worn out with the many troubles that had beset him and stricken with an incurable disease, was a chronic invalid. The domestic politics of these years consisted of the struggles of two factions, one supporting the Prince of Wales, who was eager to grasp the scepter, and the other grouped about Arundel, who supported the failing King. At last the long illness of the King resulted in death, and his son, Henry V (1413-1422), ascended the throne. At once the new King's demeanor changed. He sought to put an end to the old feuds by pardoning all who had opposed either himself or his father. The sense of moral responsibility became strong within him and he developed genuine piety. Unfortunately his piety, together with the fact that he was fully aware the power of the Lancastrian party rested in no small degree upon ecclesiastical support, led him into the most uncompromising orthodoxy and a fierce determination to stamp out heresy. He renewed the persecution of the Lollards, who, despite persecution, were strong in the ranks of the middle class and had many adherents in London. Unlike his father, he was not content with burning preachers and merchants, but sought out their leaders among the nobility. The most powerful of these leaders was Sir John Oldcastle, who by reason of his marriage to an heiress had become Lord Cobham, and who was regarded by the King as one of the most trustworthy of his soldiers. Henry, faithful to his servant, tried to persuade him to return to the fold of Mother Church, but in vain. Convicted of heresy, Oldcastle escaped from prison and put himself at the head of a conspiracy to seize the King and perhaps to establish some sort of popular government. The plot failed

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and Oldcastle escaped to the west where he remained in hiding for nearly four years. At last he was discovered, taken to London, and there put to death. Many heretics lost their lives in the course of this renewal of persecution, yet Lollardy seems to have appeared in new places, and books and pamphlets, of which *The Plowman's Prayer* and *The Lanthorne of Light* are examples, were written and passed from hand to hand. The ending of the papal schism and the burning of Huss at the Council of Constance encouraged the clerical party in England to adopt even more stringent measures against the heretics, and so from this time on Lollardy was forced to disappear from the open places in town and country, where once it had boldly proclaimed its word, and seek refuge in houses and other places of concealment. The persecutions were carried on down to the reign of Henry VIII, but, despite all opposition, the teachings of Wycliffe and his followers continued to spread and did much to shape the Reformation movement in England.

Above all things else Henry V, who in the wars in Wales had given ample proof of his military skill and daring, was a soldier. Little wonder, then, that he decided to profit by the state of anarchy prevailing in France. His exorbitant demands for the cession of territory being refused, the fourth period (1413-1429) of the Hundred Years' War began. He invaded France in 1415 with a small but efficient army, captured Harfleur, and won the remarkable victory of Agincourt. So depleted by disease and war had the English forces become, however, that he was compelled to return home; but two years later he crossed the Channel again, this time with a powerful army, and conquered all Normandy. He took advantage of a quarrel between two factions in France and allied himself with one of them, the Burgundians. With this aid he was able, after a long series of sieges, to conquer most of the French strongholds north of the Loire; but in the midst of the fighting he was carried off by disease. The military genius of this much-admired King brought only misfortune to his countrymen, for his successes persuaded them to continue for yet another generation the futile endeavor to conquer France, an endeavor that laid waste to France and exhausted and demoralized England.

Henry VI (1422-1461) was only a baby nine months old when his father died; yet, a few weeks later, when his maternal grandfather, the King of France, died, he was proclaimed King of that country as well as of England. The government was carried on by the King's Council, at the head of which were the King's two uncles, the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Glou

Renewal
of the
War with
France

Siege of
Orleans

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Jeanne
d'Arc

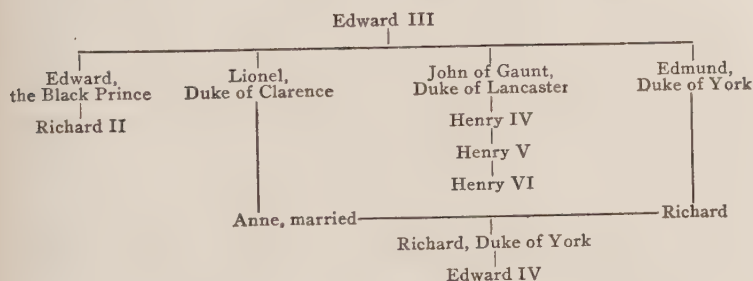
cester. For a time, under Bedford, the success of the English in France continued. Siege was laid to Orleans, the gateway to the central provinces; and the youthful and incompetent Dauphin began to consider the abandonment of the struggle and flight into a foreign country. Such was the mournful situation when there appeared upon the scene Jeanne d'Arc, the savior of France.

We do not know a great deal about Jeanne before she was drawn into the whirlpool of the war. She lived at Domremy, a little village in the green and narrow valley of the Meuse, on the highway from Dijon to Flanders. All through her childhood and youth she must have been familiar with the sore plight of her country. One summer noon in her father's garden she had a vision of the Archangel Michael, and to the frightened little girl the angelic visitor returned again and again. Other heavenly visitants appeared and bade her go to the help of the Dauphin. For several years she kept the apparitions a secret and continued her work as a true peasant's daughter. At last, at the end of April, 1429, after many humiliating experiences, she was received by the Dauphin and sent with a little army of about three thousand men and several of the ablest French captains to put an end to the weary siege Orleans had suffered for seven months. In this way did the fifth and last period (1429-1453) of the war open. She infused new courage into the hearts of the demoralized French soldiers and compelled the English to abandon the siege. The effect of this victory upon the morale of the French was profound. The downcast, downtrodden, and despairing country was thrilled with a fierce confidence in its new leader, the boastful assurance of the English began to disappear, and the whole course of the war was changed. When the Dauphin was crowned at Rheims and thus became King Charles VII, Jeanne was eager to press forward in the work of driving the English from France, but she was overborne in the matter. Indecision and delay lost valuable time, and court intrigues made further success of the French army virtually impossible; and at the end of May, 1430, Jeanne was captured in the siege of Compiègne. The story of her trial need not detain us long. For three months, with an interval of sickness, the unlettered peasant girl of nineteen years, enfeebled and harassed by the brutal treatment of her jailers, confronted the learned theologians and legists who sought her death, and her simplicity, sincerity, and native shrewdness enabled her to evade the most ingenious attempts to convict her of wrong-doing. On May 30, 1431, the fagots were lighted in the old market-place at Rouen, and the last word Jeanne uttered with her blistering lips was the name of Jesus. For her country

Jeanne brought together its shattered elements, made it hale and whole, and into it she breathed the spirit of her sweet and tender heart, her noble and unconquerable soul. All that the English accomplished by her judicial murder was the delay of their final expulsion by a score of years. After the last battle of the war, at Castillon, in 1453, the only parts of France remaining in their possession were the port of Calais and the Channel Islands.

In the meantime there had been much mismanagement of governmental affairs in England. A rising of Kentish men under an adventurer named Jack Cade, in protest against this maladministration, was quickly suppressed; but, soon afterwards, the opposition to Henry and his ministers found a formidable leader in Richard, Duke of York, who had a double claim upon the

Causes
of the
Wars
of the
Roses



Crown. When Richard declared his intention of impeaching Somerset, one of the men generally considered responsible in large part for the failure of the war in France and the bad government at home, Henry persisted in retaining the unpopular minister in office. In thus resisting the popular will the King helped to bring about the Wars of the Roses. Then, too, in the opinion of a large part of the nation, the claim to the throne of the House of York was superior to that of the House of Lancaster. With many of the participants these factors were the determining ones in bringing about the coming struggle. Above all other things, however, the Wars of the Roses were a great struggle between two factions of the nobility. The feudal aristocracy had increased in wealth and power. The practice of "livery and maintenance" was more prevalent than ever before. Long ago it had been the custom of the knighthood and gentry to swear to follow in times of disturbance the lord whom they believed best able to protect them. They wore his livery, usually a badge, by which the relationship might be known, and joined his forces when trouble broke out. In return they received his support of their own interests and his promise to "maintain" them against their en-

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emies. At this time large numbers were the pledged followers of a few of the greater lords. An alliance of several of these powerful nobles was, therefore, a serious danger to the King. In the face of such alliances he could depend only upon the followers of the lords of his own party. The pernicious practice was a prolific cause of strife of all kinds in which the Wars of the Roses were only a part. Thus it was that the various baronial families were united by common interests and ambitions and separated by mutual jealousies and distrust. Richard of York did much to alleviate the situation, but the forces of the time, and the Queen's personal antagonism to him, overcame his sincere desire for peace; and so the struggle, which was to last a generation, began.

Wars of
the Roses

The civil war may be said to have started in 1455 with the first battle of St. Albans. It was not a period of continual fighting, but a series of short wars interrupted by longer intervals of peace under an ineffective government. Richard of York was killed in 1460 at the battle of Wakefield, and then his party declared his son Edward to be King. This youth of nineteen years, a born general and leader of men, was crowned as Edward IV (1461-1483), and, ably assisted by the Earl of Warwick, known as the King-Maker, succeeded in driving Henry, whom he deemed to be a usurper, with his wife and son and principal adherents, into Scotland. In 1471 Edward, Prince of Wales, son of the deposed King, was mercilessly butchered in battle, and his father was put to death in the Tower of London. These cruel deeds having put the last descendants of Henry IV, the first King of the House of Lancaster, out of the way, the remaining twelve years of Edward's reign was a time of peace. Edward IV distrusted Parliament, and so he summoned it as infrequently as possible. He lessened his dependence upon that body by filling his coffers by devices often unconstitutional, sometimes tyrannous, and at other times treacherous. Such things were overlooked by the majority of the people because the government was fairly efficient and taxation was far slighter than it had been in all the long years of foreign and domestic war.

Changes
in Life
in the
Country

Despite the wars of the fifteenth century the condition of the country folk had slowly but steadily improved. Villeinage was gradually disappearing because it was found more profitable and satisfactory to permit the soil to be cultivated by tenant-farmers at a moderate rent. The old system of allotting strips of land to villeins was falling out of favor. Separate farms were enclosed with a fence or hedge and let out to tenants. Large numbers of yeomen thus came into existence. There was also an-

other cause of enclosures. The demand for wool constantly increased. Some landlords found it profitable to discharge their villeins and turn arable land of their manors into great sheep pastures, tended by only a few men. This was a less popular form of enclosure. Murmurs on the part of displaced laborers rose against it, but as yet there was no such widespread discontent as that which was to break out under the Tudors, because for a time most of this labor was easily absorbed by the towns.

Change was also taking place in the life of the towns. Industry was prospering and trade was brisk. Less wool was exported than before, but more cloth was woven at home. Cloth woven at home was, indeed, becoming the staple product of the island. Woolen manufacture was no longer confined to the eastern counties, into which it had been introduced in the preceding century. It was now carried on in other parts of the country, especially in Somersetshire, Yorkshire, and some districts of the Midlands. The guilds were enjoying the period of their greatest power. In addition to regulating the conditions of labor and trade, they took part, as we shall see, in the artistic activities of the time. Commerce with foreign countries was rapidly growing in bulk and a fair proportion of it was conducted by Englishmen themselves. For two hundred years after the Norman Conquest the sea-borne trade of the island had been predominantly in foreign hands, but since the great naval victories of Edward III the islanders had engaged more readily in ocean-going enterprises. Fishing boats went as far north as Iceland. Shipbuilding increased, wharves were built, and many commercial treaties giving entrance to foreign ports were concluded. Hitherto there had been only foreign commercial associations, such as the Hanseatic League of the north German towns, but now Englishmen formed similar organizations. The first of all English trading companies was the Merchants of the Staple, an exceedingly close corporation engaged in the export of wool. Standard products were gathered at certain towns, known as "staples" or "staple towns," and there sold or sent abroad. The Eastland Company began the difficult task of planting English outposts in the Baltic in face of the opposition of the Hanseatic League. But more important was the Merchant Adventurers, which dated its privileges from a grant made in 1407 by Henry IV. It set up its factories in the northern countries of the continent, and began to compete successfully for the trade of that part of the world. All the principal ports of England were filled with ships, some engaged in commerce and others in fishing. Foreign trade was as yet carried on chiefly by foreigners. Venetian galleys came almost every

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in Life
in the
Towns

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year to several of the island ports to sell goods from Italy and the East, and to buy wool and other articles in England. Hanseatic traders, coming from their own flourishing cities to trade in England, established permanent dwellings and warehouses in the island, the most important of which was the Steelyard in London. Flemish merchants carried on much of the wool trade with Flanders. Officials of continental banking companies lived in the island. They lent money to the government, to prelates, and to nobles; and they carried on other phases of the banking business. The island had lagged behind in manufactures, in commerce, and in finance, as compared with some of the countries on the continent; but its people were now learning from the foreign weavers and other skilled workmen who had come to live among them, and as time went on they became even more proficient than their teachers. This, too, was the period in which the island towns attained their greatest degree of self-government. From time to time townsmen obtained more liberal charters from the royal government, and they used the representation they had in Parliament to obtain favorable laws and permissions for their trading and industrial interests.

Develop-
ment of
Poetry

For a long time after Chaucer the country produced scarcely any literature that does not seem hopelessly tame; but every maker of verse throughout the century reveals at times traces of the master's influence. The most interesting and original poetry of the fifteenth century was composed in popular forms for the ear of the common people and was doubtless written in a very spontaneous manner. There were three kinds of such literature,—songs, ballads, and plays. Such of the songs as have come down to us make us wonder at the age that could produce such masterpieces of simplicity as our own sophisticated time is unable to duplicate. No one knows the age of our oldest ballads, our simple tales in verse; but we are sure very few of them, in their present condition, go back beyond the fifteenth century; and we are certain, too, that many of the best of them were written in that century. All the ballads have faults, passages of dulness and intrusions of trivialities; but the best of them tell their story in a very straightforward manner and are filled with primitive human passion. The hero of several of them is Robin Hood. We may pause to note this runaway peasant, because at the end of the medieval period he was the ideal of the common people, just as the ideal of the upper classes was King Arthur. A lover of the green-wood and of a free life, he was a skilful bowman and a great hunter; a hater of all the idle monks and worthless priests, he adored the Virgin with true devotion in woodland chapel and

at wayside shrine; brave and adventurous, he gave to the poor as often as he robbed from the rich. As the ideal knight was found in the King of far-off and fabled times, so was the ideal yeoman, a hero racy of the soil with no foreign flavor about him, found in Robin Hood.

For a long time plays dealing with legends of the saints and other religious subjects had been produced under the auspices of monks and nuns. As time went on these cloistral dramas were blended with secular performances of medieval *joculatores*, who, after the Norman Conquest, had succeeded the less accomplished gleemen of Anglo-Saxon days. In castle and convent, on village green and in city square, these wandering minstrels sang, danced, performed tricks, and acted rude plays. But important as these two elements were in the rise of the miracle plays in England, the chief contributing cause was the development of the dramatic character of the ritual of the Church. When a dramatic manner was employed to present vividly to an unlettered people scenes of the *Bible* and legends of the Church its use was highly successful. Thus the liturgical drama, or miracle play, was gradually created. At first these plays, the work of the clergy, were written in Latin and performed only in churches; but long before our present period many of them had been written in the vernacular, and, as they grew in length, as their paraphernalia increased, and as the spectators became more numerous, they were performed outside the walls of the sacred building, in the churchyard or in the market-place of the town. The gradual secularization of the medieval drama, its control by gilds and schools that acted plays in honor of their patron saints, and the constant augmentation of the profane element, thus became inevitable. Four more or less complete cycles of miracle plays, in addition to several scattered remnants, have survived. Every one of these cycles is a series of separate plays, each play representing a distinct part of the biblical story, combined into a collective whole designed to illustrate biblical history from the creation to the day of judgment. Side by side with the miracle plays there grew up the moralities. The love of allegory had always been a marked feature of English literature, and so it was but natural that allegorical dramas, known as moralities, should be developed and meet with popular favor. In these allegorical plays, of which *Everyman* is one of the best, abstractions such as Beauty, Strength, Discretion, Vice, and Virtue were personified, and the conflict between good and evil in the life of man was dramatized. Gradually historical characters and types of contemporary life were included, and thus the way was prepared for the regular drama;

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Develop-
ment of
Exposi-
tion and
Narration
in Prose

but both miracle plays and moralities continued to be written and acted well on into the age of Elizabeth.

English prose had thus far received only slight consideration. Wycliffe had written in the vernacular, it is true, but his style, creditable for the time, is clumsy; and that of the translators of Mandeville, while often touched with charm, by no means reveals the possibilities of the new vehicle. Reginald Pecock (1395?-1460?) did much to improve prose as an exact and artistic medium of expression. He was a clerical adherent of the House of Lancaster and wrote in opposition to the Lollards. But he was by no means merely a reactionary ecclesiastic; his religious views were far in advance of his age. In his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* he asserted that the Bible is not the only standard of right and wrong; and he said the clergy should "bi cleer witte drawe men into consente of trewe faith otherwise than bi fire and swerd or hangement." In his *Book of Faith*, admitting that where reason hesitates one's allegiance should be given to authority, he argued, nevertheless, that where reason speaks in an unmistakable voice one should obey it even in defiance of the Church.

Introduc-
tion of
Printing

The problem of the dissemination and preservation of literature, and, later, its production, was profoundly affected by the invention of printing. Between the writing of books and the printing of them with movable type there was an intervening process. Books were printed from engraved blocks. An entire page was engraved on a single block. The invention of printing with movable type was a gradual process. It resulted from a long series of experiments carried on by various craftsmen in different places. Gutenberg was the first European to succeed in casting and setting type and in inventing a press for them. He set up his printing press in 1450 in the city of Mainz. By good fortune William Caxton (1422?-1491), an intelligent and scholarly Englishman, was engaged in Bruges, where he became acting governor of the Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries. There he became much interested in the new art of printing, set himself to learn it, and printed several books. By 1476 he had established himself as a printer under the shadow of the great Abbey of Westminster, where for fifteen years he worked with a loving zeal and extraordinary industry as a writer and printer. Among the books that came from his press were Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*.

The
"Morte
d'Arthur"

This last book was given to the world for the first time by Caxton. It is a translation and a revision by Sir Thomas Malory (?-1470) of the old Arthurian romances from the French. The

translation is done with consummate art, in prose of exquisite simplicity and unfailing charm; and the rearrangement is made with the instinct of genius. It is unquestionably the best and most complete version of those old stories in any tongue. Malory was the master of a narrative prose that, for simplicity, directness, and force, remained unmatched until Bunyan. His book is the beginning of prose fiction in England; though, because it gave no inkling of the methods of the modern novel, it became the inspiration of poetry rather than of prose.

There was, too, for a brief time an outburst of literature in Scotland. That country had developed a strong national feeling in the days of Wallace and Bruce; and this feeling had found expression in long poems on the deeds of those two heroes. In the period of which we now speak, however, this feeling was no longer, except in the folk ballads, very noticeable in the poetry of the northern land. On the other hand, literary sympathy was perceptibly making for unity of feeling with England. By the peaceful conquest of the English language the two peoples were eventually united to form, with the Welsh, the British nation. For many years the country north of the Cheviot Hills went through a gradual process of Anglicization. The people of the Lowlands thought of themselves as Scots. They regarded their southern neighbor as an enemy. But they spoke English, though not quite like that of London, and with the culture that came to them through the language they looked down upon the Celtic-speaking men of the Highlands. And then Chaucer's poems raised the level of the English language and hastened the linguistic unity of the island. Despite its remaining differences, the language of the Lowlands was felt to be essentially the same as that of Chaucer. But before we attempt to deal with the literature of the northern kingdom we must briefly recount its political history.

When last we gave our attention to the story of Scotland we saw that under David II the lords who had been disinherited by his father, Robert the Bruce, led by Edward Baliol, rose in rebellion against the young ruler. The partisans of Baliol succeeded for a time; the child King had to be sent for safety to France, and, in return for her aid, the southern shires were surrendered to England and homage was done for the whole kingdom. Then the followers of Baliol quarreled among themselves and some went over to the party of the absent King. Under these conditions it was that David, then a lad of eighteen, returned to his kingdom; but, in 1346, at the battle of Neville's Cross, he was defeated and captured by the English; and then, preferring the peace of an easy captivity in England to the tumult of his

Similar-
ity of
Language
in Scot-
land and
England

Turbu-
lence of
Life in
Scotland

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own wild country, he acknowledged the English King as lord paramount of Scotland. Permitted, later on, to return home, he acquiesced in a plan by which, if he died childless, Scotland and England were to be united under Edward III, the former country retaining its status as an independent country and holding its Parliaments within its own borders. Such a union would doubtless have saved Scotland from a long period of civil and foreign war, from the troubles that befell her under the fateful Stuart dynasty. But the northern country rejected the proposal, and when the childless David died, the first Stuart King, Robert II (1371-1390), grandson of Robert the Bruce, succeeded to the throne. A long truce with England was followed by the inevitable renewal of war. The reign of the weak and invalid Robert III (1390-1406) witnessed the beginning of the tragedy of the Stuarts and of Scotland. For nearly two centuries the reign of every member of that family who succeeded to the throne was filled with plots and battles conceived and precipitated by the rival forces. The dreary and unprofitable details of all this scheming and fighting we shall pass over and stop to notice the things done to advance the cause of civilization.

Begin-
ning of
Effective
Govern-
ment in
Scotland

James I (1406-1436) was educated by able tutors during his long captivity in England. He was perhaps more cultured than any other prince of his age. His poem *The Queen's Quhair* reveals unmistakable literary power. With his reign constitutional government may be said to have begun in Scotland. A system of statute law, similar in some respects to that of England, was introduced, and greater power was acquired by Parliament. Thus did the indefinite authority of the King begin to decline and the unbridled license of the nobles suffer curtailment. The reign of James II (1436-1460) also was a period of some importance in the legislative history of Scotland. Laws were enacted regulating the tenure of land, the coinage was made more systematic, the administration of justice was greatly improved, and some provision was made for the protection of the poor. Very little governmental progress took place under the weak and incapable James III (1460-1468), who was "ane man that loved solitude and desired nevir to hear of warre, bot delighted more in musick, and policie and building nor he did in the government of the realme." Yet with his artistic tastes he encouraged the men of letters of his Kingdom.

Eleva-
tion of
Life in
Scotland

With the reign of James IV (1488-1513) there began the modern period of the history of Scotland. In the course of his reign the court of the northern Kingdom began to display some degree of refinement; and the country made itself felt in the politics of

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the continent to a far greater extent than ever before. Literature was encouraged by the court, some attention was paid to education, and the conditions of daily life were greatly improved. The University of Aberdeen was founded in 1495; and in 1496 Parliament provided for compulsory education. Commerce and industry developed, and so the merchants, who had long been relatively a rich and powerful body, gained additional importance.

We have already spoken of James I as one of the four Scottish poets of this time to whom we shall pay attention. Robert Henryson (1430?-1506?), the second one, was the first purely lyrical poet north of the Cheviot Hills. His use of the classical fables of talking beasts and birds is admirable. The animals are made very human; the stories are full of wit, humor, and the kindly nature of their author. Many are the faithful and loving pictures of nature in these fables,—the little nest of the field mouse, the moors, the stubble fields, and the warm storeroom of the burgher's house where the town mouse, with her mincing airs of patronage, has her hole. William Dunbar (1460?-1520?), a court-haunting priest, seems to have been unduly praised, though Scott declared him to be the greatest poet of his country before Robert Burns. Not all the Scottish nobles of the time were wild and turbulent warriors. One of them, at least, Gawain Douglas (1474?-1522), was a bishop and a poet. He was a man of wide and accurate learning, with a decided literary gift, and his translation of Vergil's epic is the first rendering in our language of a great classic.

Literature
in
Scotland

In the latter half of his reign Edward IV (1461-1483) lived a lazy life. Much of the important business of the state was turned over to his youngest brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. When he died he left two sons and a daughter. The eldest son, a boy of thirteen, was crowned as Edward V. But Gloucester aspired to the throne, and, there seems no good reason to doubt, caused the young King and his brother secretly to be put to death in the Tower of London. The many troubles of the reign of Richard III (1483-1485) culminated in an insurrection led by Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who represented the Lancastrian party, and who was supported by many Yorkists. The nation was deeply disgusted with the unscrupulous usurper, and when, on August 22, 1485, the two armies clashed at Bosworth Field the royal army was defeated and Richard was slain. It was a Yorkist peer, Lord Stanley, who placed the crown on the new King's head; and the support of the Yorkist party was insured by Henry's promise, shortly afterwards fulfilled, to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV and sister of the murdered princes. A

End
of the
Yorkist
Dynasty

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new dynasty was on the throne, the power of the old baronage had been broken, and the end was in sight of the Wars of the Roses.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

Much new information regarding the development of the constitution will be found in J. F. Baldwin's *The King's Council in England*. Two other books that also embody results of recent study of constitutional history are C. H. McIlwain's *The High Court of Parliament and Its Supremacy*, and A. F. Pollard's *Evolution of Parliament*.

To the political histories the following should be added: W. Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*; J. Gairdner, *Life and Reign of Richard III*; C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V*; F. C. Lowell, *Joan of Arc*, still the best book on its subject; Charles Oman, *Warwick the King-Maker*; J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*; C. L. Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*; K. H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*; J. H. Wylie's *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, and also his *Reign of Henry V*. A very interesting original source of information relating to the latter part of the period covered by this chapter is the collection of family correspondence known as *The Paston Letters*, the best edition of which is that by James Gairdner.

Agrarian problems and commercial expansion became very important in this period. To the general industrial histories may be added A. D. Innes's *England's Industrial Development*; and useful special works are H. R. F. Bourne's *English Merchants*; Henry Bradley's *The Enclosures in England*; S. Kramer's *English Craft Gilds and the Government*; W. E. Lingelbach's *Merchant Adventurers of England*; and J. E. Winston's *English Towns in the Wars of the Roses*.

A book dealing with the beginning of the Renaissance in England is Lewis Einstein's *Italian Renaissance in England*; and in Rufus Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* will be found an excellent chapter on the Lollards.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

(1485-1558)

WHEN the first Parliament of Henry VII (1485-1509) had recognized him as King, and when, in fulfilment of his pledge, he had married Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter and heiress of Edward IV, he could claim the throne by right of conquest, election, and inheritance. Yet only his courage and ability enabled him to retain it. For a dozen years after his accession the Wars of the Roses, initiated and sustained by the rivalries and jealousies of the nobles, continued to disturb the land, while determined efforts were made to displace him from the high position to which he had attained. All the resolution, ingenuity, and resources of the first Tudor were needed to rid the land of the prevalent lawlessness. Fortunately the power of the feudal baronage had been greatly weakened in the long struggles, and so the task of restoring law and order was not as difficult as it would otherwise have been.

Only the two principal outbreaks against the royal authority can be mentioned here. The first formidable uprising was instigated by several Yorkist nobles who put forward as Edward of Clarence, nephew of Edward IV, whom Henry at his accession had imprisoned in the Tower, an Oxford lad named Lambert Simnel. In 1487 an army of considerable size, made up of English exiles, German mercenaries, and Irish sympathizers and adventurers, met the royal forces at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, and was defeated. The youthful pretender was taken prisoner, and, in contempt, made to serve as a scullion in the royal kitchen. Another serious revolt was that which sought to palm off Perkin Warbeck, a handsome Flemish lad, as Richard of York, one of the murdered princes, and place him on the throne. Receiving support from several continental princes who were opposed to Henry, and encouraged by the rebellion of several thousand Cornishmen who objected to the heavy taxes, he landed, after three other futile attempts at invasion and rebellion, in 1497, in Devon-

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End
of the
Wars of
the Roses

Uprisings
Against
the New
King

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shire. But his followers were easily discouraged, and, having been promised his life, he came forth from the Abbey of Beaulieu, where he had taken sanctuary, and surrendered himself to the King. Imprisoned in the Tower, he planned, with Edward of Clarence, the true male heir of the House of Plantagenet, to escape. The plot was betrayed and both were put to death. It may be said that the Wars of the Roses came to an end when, in 1497, the Cornish rebels, led by a discontented baron, were defeated not far from London, and when the army that had flocked to the banner of the new pretender melted away upon the approach of the royal forces. Discontent still smoldered here and there, but from that time forward the new dynasty was no longer in serious danger.

Royal
Marriages

Henry's reign had still a dozen years to run, and in that time of comparative quiet he did much to better the condition of England and to improve the relations with foreign powers. In furtherance of this political program each of his two sons, Arthur and Henry, and each of his two daughters, Margaret and Mary, was married to some member of a royal family. Arthur, a mere lad of fifteen, was married to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile; and when Arthur died a few months later a match was arranged between Catherine and his brother Henry. It had been necessary to obtain a papal dispensation for this marriage of the Spanish princess to her brother-in-law, and this exemption was to prove of great importance in history. The marriage of Margaret to James IV of Scotland eventually resulted in the union of the two countries. Mary was only a child at her father's death, but later on her brother, who had become King, carried out his father's policy and gave her in marriage to Louis XII of France.

Character
of the
New King

Henry VII was cool and cautious in character, industrious and systematic, shrewd and persistent. Far more than any King who had preceded him he was a man of business, and he devoted himself unsparingly to the many problems of administration that confronted him. The weakened state of the feudal baronage presented an exceptional opportunity for the centralization of power, and to this policy Henry devoted himself with unswerving determination. Gathering about him a set of able and faithful men, who, like their master, were more or less unscrupulous in the methods they employed to attain their ends, he proceeded to carry out measures for the prosperity of his people and to render himself as independent as possible of the control of Parliament.

Henry VII devoted himself immediately and intelligently upon taking up the reins of government to the overseas commerce of

his country. Two commercial treaties were signed with Flanders. One, known as the *Intercursus Magnus*, was signed in 1496; and the other, called by the Flemings the *Intercursus Malus*, in 1506. The latter gave to British merchants trading privileges not hitherto enjoyed by them in the Low Countries. Free trade in the realms of John of Denmark, making English merchants less dependent upon the Hanseatic League, was generously provided for. Then a treaty with Florence, permitting English ships to enter the harbors of that "republic" and there exchange English wool and metals for products of the peninsula and of the distant East, brought to an end the monopoly long possessed by the Venetians. Nor was it alone in furthering the interests of commercial activities already well established that the new King displayed his competency. He did much to encourage English exploration of the new world revealed to Europe by Columbus. Sailing in 1497 under letters patent that authorized him to raise the English flag over any new lands he might discover, John Cabot (1450-1498), an Italian navigator who had settled at Bristol, discovered Newfoundland and the seas about it abounding with fish; and, on a later voyage, he skirted the coast of the continent from Labrador to the Delaware, a region that, more than a century later, was to become one of the most important scenes of British colonization.

At home the policies of enforcing law and order and of centralizing political power in the hands of the King, rendering him as independent as possible of Parliament, were pursued in systematic and sometimes unscrupulous manner. For the purpose of suppressing disorder a law was passed in 1487 establishing the institution afterwards known as the Court of the Star Chamber. It was made up of a small number of members of the King's Council. It took charge of cases with which the ordinary courts seemed unfitted to deal, chiefly the misdeeds of men powerful enough to intimidate the local courts. It met in a room known as the Star Chamber, in which several kinds of governmental activity continued to be carried on. It was born of the resolve of the King to put an end to practices inimical to the royal power. Henry was determined, in particular, to end the abuse of livery and maintenance, which had been rife in the recent civil wars. Only men actually engaged in the household of their lords were permitted to wear liveries, and so the bands of armed retainers maintained by ambitious barons were gradually diminished. In this work of subordinating even the most powerful offenders the new court, which necessarily had to be small and to keep its proceedings private, proved to be very efficient and thus rendered an indispensable service to all law-abiding citizens. As time went

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Growth
of Com-
merce
and En-
courage-
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Explora-
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Enforce-
ment of
Law and
Order

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on other branches of the King's Council were formed; but "it is particularly the Court of Star Chamber which is to be regarded as the institutional continuation of the original medieval council." It was not really a court that was established in 1487, but a jurisdiction belonging to the King's medieval council. The law of 1487 merely gave a certain definition and sanction to this activity of the historic King's Council.

**New
Financial
Imposi-
tions**

The skill and ingenuity displayed in providing for the financial needs of the Crown were so successful that the frequent summoning of Parliament was rendered unnecessary. All the old sources of income, such as those derived from the crown lands, feudal dues, and duties levied upon imports and exports, were cultivated in the most careful manner. Foreign subsidies were secured; and the peace and prosperity of the times in themselves caused an automatic increase of the royal revenues. In addition to these measures, which, with the possible exception of the foreign subsidies, were all legitimate measures of reform, Henry resorted to extortions thinly disguised under such terms as "benevolences." In this he was greatly aided by Cardinal Morton (1420?-1500), Archbishop of Canterbury, his chief adviser. To those who lived extravagantly Morton intimated they could easily spare a goodly sum to the royal treasury, because, evidently, they were exceedingly well-to-do; and to those who lived frugally he suggested that their savings were such as to enable them to make a handsome donation to the royal coffers without missing it. This dilemma became known as Morton's Fork. It was the dread of all who were favored with a visit from the wily prelate. But bad as was the activity of the Archbishop, the legal plunder of Richard Empson (?-1510) and Edmund Dudley (1462?-1510), two "fiscal judges," known as the King's "horse-leeches and skin-shearers," was far worse. By their keen and relentless searching out of all technical breaches of the law, and by their imposition of fines, not with reference to the guilt of the accused, but solely with regard to his ability to pay, these servile instruments of the royal will "turned law and justice into rapine." So bent upon rendering himself independent of Parliament was Henry, and, in his later years, so avaricious did he become, that he accumulated a far greater amount of money than any of his predecessors.

**The
King's
Inde-
pendence
of Parlia-
ment**

As a result of all this ingenious and unscrupulous money-getting, and of equal thought and care in guarding expenditure, Henry was able to dispense with Parliament to an extent undreamed of by any preceding ruler. In the twenty-four years of his reign that body was summoned only five times. Three of

these assemblies took place in the first seven years of that period; and only one was held in the last twelve years. And even when Parliament did meet it displayed little of its former independence and aggressiveness. Among the Commons a member who was also an official of the King was generally chosen as Speaker, and in him the King found a useful instrument for putting his wishes into effect. For the most part the people seem to have been indifferent to this decline in the power of Parliament. The financial extortions were, of course, resented by those who suffered from them, but the general public regarded the King as a benefactor who, by his "strong government," had delivered the country from anarchy. The long era of foreign war and civil strife had passed away, industry and commerce were expanding beyond all precedent, and so cautious and silent had been the usurpation of power that no public protest was registered against the establishment of what was virtually an absolute monarchy.

General
Character
of the
Renaissance

This time of peace and prosperity was very favorable for the spread of the Renaissance from Italy and the intervening countries into England. The name "rebirth" does not accurately describe the great movement that ushered in the modern world. Only in part did the Renaissance consist of a recovery of the intellectual and artistic inheritance of Greece and Rome. To a far greater extent it was a development of that inheritance and the utilization of it in all the channels and aspects of life. It would be fatal to think the Renaissance was merely an attempt to recover classical art and literature; or, indeed, to deem that attempt to be its most important constituent. The effort to restore the remains of ancient thought and art was indispensable, it is true. At least the modern era would have been greatly delayed without its aid. The spirit of the medieval centuries was one of intellectual constraint, while that of the classic times had been one of intellectual freedom. The passage from the one to the other was like the passage from a prison to fields stretching unbounded to the blue sky. The inheritance of the past, however, was merely a point of departure. Far from being no more than a renewal of antiquity, the Renaissance was a new life that grew out of the conditions of the time, a life such as the world had never seen before. The men who made the Renaissance were not those scholars who developed into pedantic classicists, who turned their backs to the future and looked only into the past, who slavishly copied the forms and tongues that were dead and disdained the work of helping to create the languages and literatures of the rising nations of the time. Rather was the Renaissance the creation of those Italians, and, later, those men of

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other countries, who, despite their ardent admiration of the ancients, gave expression to their own personalities, voiced the national sentiment of their own time, looked keenly and lovingly into the world about them, and scanned with eager eyes the far horizon of the future. The revival of individuality, due only in part to the recovery of ancient art and thought, the ability to think and feel one's own thoughts and emotions, was the greatest of the many factors that gave rise to the Renaissance. It caused men to question the authenticity of external control. It inspired them to develop their own latent powers. It made them ready to question the conventional standards of conduct. It filled them with a vivid apprehension of life and a zeal for activity of all kinds. Endowed with confidence in their own powers, they faced without fear every problem confronting them. They "dared to be themselves for good or evil without too much regard for what their neighbors thought of them." The energy which their intense individuality created found a wide range of expression, from superlative intellectual activity and artistic creation to the depths of pagan sensuality. It was the seemingly illimitable vitality of the individual force of princes and Popes, of statesmen and scholars, of poets and painters that made the Renaissance one of the most remarkable eras in the history of the world. We have now to do with the gradual penetration of English society by the fundamental ideas and point of view of this new historical era.

First
Period
of Human-
ism in
England

(4) In 1372-1378 Chaucer paid three visits to Italy; and, as we have seen, he came under Italian literary influence. Something, too, he knew of the classical writers. But the time was not then ripe for a revival of letters and a development of literature on an extensive scale in England. Chaucer lived in the midst of the Hundred Years' War; and when that prolonged struggle came to an end England was distracted by almost a half-century of civil war. Yet in all this tumultuous time a thin stream of learning may be discerned stealing its way quietly through the descending years. Lydgate was acquainted with the more important of the Latin writings of Petrarch and Boccaccio. The life of Thomas Arundel (1353-1414), Archbishop of Canterbury, in the disorderly time of Richard II was one of constant trouble; yet he managed to conduct a correspondence with Colluccio Salutati, a Florentine humanist and master of an exquisite style in Latin prose. Then we hear of an Augustinian friar, Thomas of England, lecturing in Florence in 1395, and collecting "books of the modern poets." A few Greek and Italian humanists found their way to the land of "the backward Britons." Chief of them was Manuel Chrysoloras (1350?-1415), a man of wide learning,

a gentle-hearted visionary given to meditation, an inspiring teacher who for the first time in the West gave a scholarly and sympathetic presentation of Greek culture. In 1418-1423 Poggio (1380-1459), the most diligent and fortunate of all the searchers in the monastic and municipal libraries of the continent for classical manuscripts, spent several years in England. The journeys to the continent of Englishmen interested in learning and literature gradually increased in number. Adam de Molyneux (?-1450), at one time Secretary of State, who lost his life in the lawlessness of the times, found opportunity amid all the cares of office to take part in the revival of letters. He was, perhaps, the first Englishman to master the art of writing a Latin letter in the polished style of the period, adorned with classical quotations as was the fashion of the age. And it may be said that with him began the gradual development of English scholarship that modified and displaced the intellectual conditions of the Middle Ages. In the person of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (1391-1447) England at last was blessed with a princely patron of letters. Painting and poetry, sculpture and scholarship, had owed their revival and development in Italy very largely to the support of the numerous princes of the peninsula. Still more was it necessary in England, where as yet a man of letters could not hope to find a large audience, that those who devoted themselves to art or literature should be maintained and encouraged by generous and appreciative patrons. The Duke was educated at Oxford, and, though from his youth he had led a dissolute life and was continuously involved in diplomacy and war, he became at an early age an indefatigable collector of books, a real student and lover of literature, and a liberal patron of learned men. He employed Italian scholars in England and in Italy to teach and to translate the classics; and he also assisted and encouraged English students and men of letters. And then he left all his books to the collection known later on as the Bodleian Library. With the death of this restless, eloquent, and popular but unprincipled noble, the first period of humanism in England came to an end. English scholars had already come to realize that the proper function of learning is not to be merely a handmaid to theology, but to enable man to direct his life more intelligently and with more satisfactory results to himself and to society. But the times were out of joint, and learning necessarily fell into abeyance.

About a dozen years after the death of the literary Duke, an Englishman, who with his combination of culture and cruelty reminds us of many an Italian despot, made a journey to the peninsula and there distinguished himself among the scholars of the

Second
Period
of Human-
ism in
England

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time. John Tiptoft (1427-1470), Earl of Worcester, was an eager student, a man of cultivated taste, an accomplished Latinist, and an orator whose eloquence moved a Pope to tears. So many books did he buy when he was abroad that he was said to have spoiled the libraries of Italy to enrich those of his native land. Among the other men who journeyed to Italy in this second period of English humanism, several distinguished themselves as scholars and collectors. William Grey (?-1478), Bishop of Ely and Lord Treasurer, who after having studied in the famous school of Guarino da Verona at Ferrara, in which the ideals and methods of humanism had completely displaced those of medieval scholasticism, devoted himself to the collection of manuscripts and employed scribes to make copies of such books and manuscripts as were not for sale. John Free (?-1465), perhaps the best of this little band of scholars, though but a poor wandering student, also attended the school at Ferrara, but unfortunately he died before returning home. There, too, studied Robert Fleming (?-1485), who took back with him to England a goodly number of books and manuscripts; and John Gunthorpe (?-1498), one of the school's most learned scholars, who also returned home laden with books. All these scholars were Oxonians; they were all members of Balliol College; and so it would seem that, at least to a slight extent, the medieval traditions of the University had been replaced by others corresponding more closely to those of our own time. Thus far these scholars had been interested chiefly in Latin letters and literature, but now the value of Greek thought gradually became apparent and men began to devote themselves to the study of the language in which it was to be found. With the death of these men the second period of English humanism was brought to a close. It was a time of preparation. England was not yet ready to appreciate and accept the new humanism these men had glimpsed. Some of them, therefore, engaged in the work of governmental administration, and others passed the remainder of their lives in uneventful retirement. But books had been brought home for the use of future students, and, above all else, the necessity for study in Italy had been amply demonstrated.

Third
Period
of Human-
ism in
England

Another generation of Oxonians now took up the task of spreading the new learning and the new attitude towards life in England. First of the workers in this third period of English humanism, and perhaps the first Englishman who looked beyond Rome to Athens, was William Selling (?-1494), a Benedictine monk, who, in his studies in Italy, paid special attention to Greek, and took back to England many manuscripts. In the school at

Canterbury, which he strove to make a center of learning, and where, for the first time in England, something like adequate facility was afforded for the study of Greek, he inspired his nephew, Linacre, with a love of classical learning. When the value of Greek thought was realized a great change took place in the studies of English scholars. They ceased to be mere styl-ists and became concerned with subject-matter as well as form; and, in consequence, they gradually exercised a profound influence upon the thought and life of their country.

What made a man a humanist? What is humanism, or, at least, what was it at the time of the Renaissance? Its aim was to interest men in all things pertaining to human life, to destroy the shackles medieval authority had imposed upon the mind of man. It lacked the piercing spiritual vision of the Age of Faith; but, in its purest form, it was by no means devoid of the element of religion. It sought to unite the feeling for beauty with the spirit of religious exaltation, not in moods of rapture and ecstasy that made the individual unconscious for the time being of the world in which he lived, but in a manner more expressive of the daily and normal life of man. It was a revolutionary movement having for its purpose the liberation of thought. It emphasized the ideal of the self-development of man and of his individual responsibility, as opposed to the ideal of self-surrender and vicarious redemption. It sought to break the bonds of medieval religion, to break the fetters of medieval philosophy, and it therefore met with opposition from the representatives of that religion and that philosophy. Medieval religion had depreciated human nature, while humanism sought to rehabilitate it. Humanism varied from one country to another according to the national characteristics upon which it was imposed. Italian humanism was concerned with the development and enrichment of the individual life. It was to help the individual to think, to act, to will for himself, in opposition, if need be, to any external authority, tradition, or precedent. It was to help him to love the world as his home, to regard it no longer as a place of exile to be despised in anticipation of a life to come, but daily to win it anew by means of his own personal faculties. It did not take upon itself the duty of conducting a propaganda for a general social or religious regeneration. It was content that the culture it fostered should relieve the individual from the pressure of external authority, that it should result in his intellectual emancipation, and that it should give him free rein in the pursuit of his own inclinations and desires. But the humanism of the graver nations of the north was concerned from the first with the task of social regeneration. In

What
was
Humanism
at That
Time?

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the German lands, for instance, it was religious in its essence, not merely esthetic; and in England it desired to effect reform by means of the spread of education among the masses. English humanists were interested in the welfare of society at large. They studied for the enlightenment of their fellow-men, translated, wrote, and taught. Very early English humanism displayed the practical tendency, the desire for the improvement of general education, that differentiated it from the humanism of Italy.

Three
Leading
Humanists

Thomas Linacre (1460?-1524), after leaving the school at Canterbury, studied at Oxford and then went to Italy. There he was privileged to share the instruction given to the sons of Lorenzo the Magnificent by the poet Politian. He won the degree of doctor of medicine with unusual merit at Padua; and then, steeped in the learning of the Renaissance, he returned to Oxford, where, for a time, he became one of a brilliant circle of scholar-reformers. It is with this precise and fastidious student that modern English scholarship begins. In London he became physician to Henry VIII and to most of the leading statesmen and prelates of the time, upon all of whom he exercised considerable influence. Like all the other English humanists of the time, he was a man of learning and not of literature. The time had not yet arrived for an outburst of literature that should give expression to the spirit of the dawning age. Linacre taught Greek, and had among his pupils Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. He composed a Latin grammar in English, and wrote a book on Latin composition; while from Greek into Latin he translated, with accuracy and elegance, several works of Galen and Aristotle. William Grocyn (1446?-1519) seems to have been over forty years of age before he went to Italy to pursue the study of Greek and Latin. When in 1491 he returned to England he did much to spread the new Greek learning among the scholars at Oxford. This sterling scholar, to whom Erasmus could refer as "the friend and preceptor of us all," but in whom the modern spirit was always mingled with medievalism, gave so liberally of his income to the support of struggling scholars that he was obliged to borrow money himself and even to pledge his household goods as security. A third humanist who studied with Linacre and Grocyn in Florence was William Latimer (1460?-1543), who made so little public use of his learning that Erasmus spoke of him as a miser hoarding his gold.

When John Colet (1467?-1519) went abroad he stopped first at Paris, where he found Guillaume Budé, the leading French man of letters of the time, though not the leading French writer. Then he made his way to Italy, where he supplemented his

studies in the canon and civil law, and in the writings of the early fathers of the Church, with the rudiments of the Greek language. There, too, he came to know something of Greek thought. It is in him that English humanism definitely assumed its essential character. He was much more of an innovator than most of his contemporaries. In his lectures at Oxford he substituted for the medieval and allegorical method of interpreting the *Bible* that of endeavoring by critical study to obtain the literal meaning of the text, the exact meaning the writer meant to convey to his readers. In this he exerted a marked influence upon Erasmus, who speaks of him as the leader of the little group of scholars at Oxford. When he became an ecclesiastical official in London he continued his practice of lecturing upon the books of the *Bible* in the spirit of the new learning, bringing them from the background where they had been hidden by the medieval commentaries and allegorical method of interpretation, placing them in the light, and "investing them with a sense of reality and sacredness which pressed them home at once to the heart." Because of this, many of the contemporary clergy declared Colet to be little better than a heretic. Yet men of all ranks continued to flock to hear him. When Colet inherited his father's wealth he refounded the school attached to St. Paul's in London. It was placed in the control of the Company of Mercers, and thus became the first educational institution in English-speaking lands under secular management. This keen and kindly reformer went so far in his heretodox opinions as to disapprove of auricular confession and the celibacy of the clergy; and he did much to call attention to the need of church reform. Yet he entertained no thought of revolt from papal authority. In the disintegration of medieval conditions, in the introduction of the mental attitude that made possible the dawn of a new era in his country, he must be counted as one of the most powerful of all the personal forces of the time.

Sir Thomas More (1478?-1535), whose genius was said to be "excellent above all his nation," was another of this group of English humanists. Subtly compounded of wit and gravity, of strength and tenderness, of cheerfulness and religious fervor, his character is one that makes an unfailing appeal to men of every place and time. The course of his studies at Oxford did not run smoothly. Humanism, the new learning of the time, or rather the new attitude towards life, was not accepted immediately, universally, and without question by scholars who had been trained in medieval ways of thought. It sought to emancipate men from the authority of medieval ecclesiasticism and learning, and so most of the jurists, doctors, grammarians, and theologians who

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John
Colet
as the
First
Exponent
of the
Essential
Character
of Eng-
lish
Humanism

Sir
Thomas
More

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were advocates of that authority were hostile to it. This was particularly true of those who taught in the schools. Only in our own time have schools endeavored to give new thought to the world. At this time Universities were merely custodians of truth already known. Their sole function was to pass the accumulated lore on to succeeding generations. They were not the cradle of the new intellectual activity that was bringing about such momentous changes. Nor was humanism brought in by a sweeping movement of the popular mind. In the beginning it depended upon the support of powerful and wealthy patrons. It made its way slowly. It had to pass through a militant period; but finally it was victorious, and then Greek, together with the improved study of Latin, became the foundation of all future English scholarship in the field of letters. The fact that More studied Greek was in itself sufficient to make him suspected of being inclined towards new and dangerous ways of thinking. His father became alarmed and sent him to London to study law. But, although he early distinguished himself in his profession, the young humanist never abandoned the studies dear to his heart. The two forces of scholasticism and humanism, of authority and reason, struggled for the possession of his mind, and for a time the humanistic influence succeeded in keeping him in the little group of leaders working for social progress. His legal ability enabled him to rise high in the royal favor until finally he was made Chancellor. With his career as an official we shall have to deal later on; at present we are concerned with him only as a humanist. His *Utopia*, published in 1516, holds an honorable place in the long line of pictures of an ideal state of society that begins with Plato's *Republic*. Through the veil of humor one may read an indictment of the social conditions of the time,—the poverty of the laboring classes, the severity of the criminal law, high prices, the frequency of war, and the licentiousness and greed of the rich. And there, too, one may read suggestions, some of them paradoxical, others merely ingenious, others obviously tentative, but many of them set forth in all sincerity, to guide men toward a better and a juster organization of society. The marked differences between rural and urban life were to be lessened as much as possible, towns were to be made sanitary and inviting, the naked places of the earth were to be made green and shady with trees; monasticism was to be abolished; no one was to be idle, six hours each day was to be the maximum time for manual labor so that all might have leisure for intellectual progress; religious toleration, save that all were to believe in the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, was to be practised.

So great was the power exerted by Erasmus upon the scholars of the age, in England as well as upon the continent, that only the influence of Voltaire upon the eighteenth century can be compared to it. He went to England when he was thirty-three years of age. "England pleases me as no other land has yet pleased," he wrote to one of his friends; "the climate I find most agreeable and healthful; and I have come upon so much accurate and elegant scholarship, both in Greek and Latin, that I hardly care now to go to Italy, except for the sake of seeing the country." Upon every occasion he urged the study of Greek. "You are an eloquent Latinist," he wrote to one of the daughters of Sir Thomas More, "but, if you would drink deeply of the well-springs of wisdom, apply to Greek. The Latins have only shallow rivulets; the Greeks, copious rivers running over sands of gold." He made friends wherever he went, in Oxford, Cambridge, and London; and his witty and satirical attacks upon obscurantism, upon the old learning still in possession of the religious houses, the Universities, and the learned professions, his method of scientific research, and his advocacy of ecclesiastical reform, won adherents to the cause of humanism and incited imitation.

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Influence
of Eras-
mus in
England

In this work of the humanists the new attitude towards life received explicit and sustained expression. The number of English scholars who went to Italy, or who in their own land came under the humanist influence, was constantly increasing. And, unlike their predecessors, they were not content merely to bring back books and then engage in governmental administration or to devote their lives to individual study. Favored by the cessation of foreign and civil war, they became teachers. They imparted to their countrymen the knowledge they had gained of classical literature, science, medicine, and biblical criticism; and, more important still, they trained the eager students who flocked to them in the modern method of study.

The
Human-
ists as
Teachers

Eventually Greek won its way as an accepted study in the curricula of the Universities. In 1515-1516 Richard Foxe (1448-1528), Bishop of Winchester and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, founded Corpus Christi College at Oxford, in which the new learning was recognized, among other things, by the inclusion in its faculty of a public lecturer in Greek, and the securing of Luis Vives, an eminent Spanish humanist, to read Latin and interpret the *Bible*. The public teaching of Greek met with opposition, but the King sent a letter commanding that all the students should be permitted to study the language. Some time later two other colleges, Christ Church, of Oxford, and Trinity, of Cambridge, became centers of the new learning.

The
Study
of Greek

CHAP. XI English scholarship, now firmly established at Oxford and Cambridge, in several of the minor schools, in some of the households of the nobility, and in a number of episcopal palaces, gradually rose to the level of the Italian model, and, for the most part, succeeded in keeping itself free from the excesses of the resuscitated paganism of the southern peninsula. Thus far the Italian Renaissance had made itself felt only in the field of letters. Later on we shall consider its influence in literature written in the vernacular, and in many aspects of the social intercourse of men.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

The general history of the time is continued in H. A. L. Fisher's *Political History of England*. For the particular period there is James Gairdner's *Henry VII*; and much first-hand information regarding the conditions of the time may be found in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. Among the special works are Annie Abram's *English Life and Manners in the Middle Ages*, and also her *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*. Mandel Creighton's *Historical Lectures and Addresses* contains an essay on *The Early Renaissance in England*. P. S. Allen's *The Age of Erasmus*, Lewis Einstein's *Tudor Ideals*, and Frederic Seebohm's *The Oxford Reformers* are very helpful in coming to know something of the new interests and studies of the time. Excellent chapters and extensive list of references dealing with British history from this time forward are to be found in the twelve volumes of *The Cambridge Modern History*. And from now on *The Cambridge History of English Literature* is of increased usefulness to the student of history.

For original source material see James Gairdner's edition of *The Paston Correspondence*; A. F. Pollard's *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources*; and Isobel D. Thornley's *England under the Yorkists*.

CHAPTER XII

THE REVOLT FROM ROME

(1485-1558)

THERE was reason to expect for the Renaissance rapid progress under Henry VIII (1509-1547). The young King was genuinely interested in learning and literature. But political and ecclesiastical affairs soon became of paramount importance. For two years after his accession governmental affairs were managed by the King's Councilors. The King's Council had suffered greatly in power and prestige during the Wars of the Roses. It experienced a revival under Henry VII, but not without change in its character. More or less definite bodies began to be formed out of its members. One such body was the Court of Star Chamber. In the reign of Henry VIII an inner ring was formed, known ever since as the Privy Council. It was this inner ring that came to be the real government of the times. It probably had between one and two score members. They included great officers, bishops, lords, and minor officials, assisted by judges and other men of learning, with a clerk to keep the papers. The business of the Privy Council was both great and small, minute and extensive. The Council contained diverse elements, but undoubtedly it made for assiduity, secrecy, concentration, and stability in governmental affairs. But while the young King remained busy with sport and other pleasures the government passed largely into the hands of one man.

Thomas Wolsey (1475?-1530) was the son of an Ipswich butcher of rather unsavory reputation. He was educated at Oxford, where he was not always a law-abiding youth, and either before the close of his undergraduate career or soon afterwards he was ordained a priest. He was made chaplain to Henry VII and employed in diplomatic service; and when that monarch was succeeded by his son, the energetic and successful servant was made Almoner and showered with ecclesiastical preferments. Later on he was promoted to be Chancellor; and then he became the controlling factor in both the domestic and foreign policy of the government. Unmatched in administrative skill and energy among the men of his day, he conducted the affairs of England with France and with

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XII

The
Privy
Council

Wolsey
and His
Adminis-
tration

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the Empire with assurance and temporary success, and became Archbishop of York, Cardinal, and Legate of the Pope. Yet all this did not satisfy the ambitious prelate and statesman. He aspired to the Papacy itself; and in furtherance of this ambition, departing from the strictly national policy of Henry VII, he involved his country in the international disputes of the continent that culminated in 1513-1514 in a war with France. But, despite the Emperor's promise and the activity of his own agents in Rome, the elections of 1521 and 1524 failed to place him in the coveted position; whereas the assistance given to Charles V did much to destroy the balance of power between the Empire and France and thus greatly diminished the influence of England in continental affairs. Wolsey realized his mistake too late; he endeavored to retrieve it in the war of 1528 with the Emperor, but he did not succeed. This misguided activity did much to unsettle the established plans in domestic affairs. The hoarded gold of the late King quickly disappeared, and when, in 1523, Parliament was summoned for the purpose of granting subsidies it had to deal with a monarch and a minister whose position was weakened by the need of money. Parliament refused to sanction any new impositions, and so Wolsey resorted to forced "loans." These loans, together with his holding of Parliament at arm's length, his development of the Court of the Star Chamber, his intelligent administration of justice, his stern maintenance of order, his restriction of feudal power, his suppression of certain monasteries, and his monopoly of ecclesiastical power, made him very unpopular in all the quarters of these vested interests, so that when the King began to be dissatisfied it was a man with many enemies the ungrateful monarch had to face.

Henry's
Desire
for a
Divorce
and the
Fall of
Wolsey

Why should the King wish to get rid of Wolsey? In the first few months of his reign, Henry had married Catherine of Aragon, widow of his brother Arthur. A special dispensation for this had been granted by the Pope, because marriage with a brother's widow is forbidden by the Church. Not until 1516 was the union blessed with a child that lived. That year saw the birth of the Princess Mary. More than a decade had now gone by and still the King's ardent desire for a son was ungratified. It seemed to him certain he could not have a legitimate male heir to the throne as long as Catherine was his wife; so he began to think of a divorce. But what should be the grounds of the divorce? Pretexts were not far to seek. Even before his father had betrothed him to his sister-in-law there had been heard theological scruples as to the legality of the proposed marriage. It is, however, rather difficult to discover that these scruples had

troubled the King very much during the eighteen years of married life that had now gone by. The war in 1528 with Charles V, who was Catherine's nephew, renewed the irritation of Henry with all things Spanish and Imperial. It seems untrue that Wolsey suggested the divorce. When the Cardinal found the King determined upon a separation he urged that the matter be left to the decision of Rome, and that, when divorced, Henry should marry Renée, daughter of Louis XII of France. Henry, however, had become infatuated with Anne Boleyn (1507?-1536), a weak and vain woman with fascinating black eyes, who strove to be the King's wife as well as his mistress. This infatuation had served to complicate the question of the divorce. The King's new passion was not the cause of the separation from Catherine. Anne Boleyn fell a victim to the royal solicitation some months before her marriage to the King. Henry possessed her already. It was a new wife he desired, not a new mistress. He had made up his mind that, if it were possible to do so, he would leave the throne to a son. He listened to Wolsey's suggestion that the divorce should be sought in Rome and not in England, and so negotiations with the Papal Curia began. Clement VII seemed favorable and despatched Cardinal Campeggio, the most learned canonist of the day, as co-delegate with Wolsey to decide the question. But the Emperor's defeat of the French in Italy put a new complexion upon the matter. Charles V may not have cared very much for his aunt, but the disinheritance of her daughter Mary, his cousin, and the possible succession to the English throne of the son of a French princess, were things not lightly to be considered. So the imperial influence was used against the proposed separation. Campeggio received new instructions "not to proceed to sentence under any pretext without express commission, but to protract the matter as long as possible." That was the policy he pursued in the one year of his residence in London. When he was recalled without having granted the divorce, Wolsey's hold upon the King was at an end. Upon compulsion the great statesman relinquished all his offices except the Archbishopric of York, and in return he was given a large pension. Summoned to London to answer a charge of treason growing out of some communications to France and the Empire, he died on the way. There is no question as to the great ability of this handsome, learned, eloquent, and industrious man, who for sixteen years exercised a power "never before or since wielded by an English subject"; but, in the words of one who knew him, he was "the proudest prelate that ever breathed"; and his personal example of lavish display and loose morals must have exercised no

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the King
from His
Wife and
Marriage
to His
Mistress

slight influence upon the prince who grew to maturity under his guidance. Seldom did any one man dominate the Privy Council as did Wolsey. His position of supremacy was always dangerous, and we are not surprised that in the end it proved fatal.

Henry had been irritated by the Papacy as well as by the Empire, and so when he came upon an argument making for emancipation from papal control he immediately viewed it with favor. Such an argument he found in one of the writings of William Tyndale (1492?-1536), an English priest, who, having translated the *New Testament* into his native tongue and enriched it with polemical commentaries as a cure for the ecclesiastical corruptions of the time, had found it necessary, because of clerical opposition, to go to Germany to get his work published. For many years he was an exile, yet he was one of the greatest personal forces in the changing religious conditions of the time. In future years the Puritans were much indebted to his writings for their thought. In his *Obedience of a Christian Man* is to be found the root idea of the supreme authority of the King over the Church in governmental matters that was to become a fundamental feature of the English revolt from Rome. "This is a book for me and all Kings to read," said Henry VIII, when he first came upon it. On the fall of Wolsey in 1529 Sir Thomas More was raised to the Chancellorship. He conducted the affairs of the office in a just and expeditious manner; but he firmly declined to approve the proposed divorce, and so, with much reluctance, his resignation was accepted. In 1529 a suggestion by Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), a theological lecturer at Cambridge, as to the settlement of the divorce question had come to the attention of the King. The suggestion was that the canonists and the Universities should determine whether marriage with a brother's widow was illegal; if they should declare such a union to be uncanonical the appeal to Rome was unnecessary, for the marriage could be declared null and void by any ordinary ecclesiastical court. The suggestion had met with the instant approval of the King. "I will speak to him," he is reported to have said of Cranmer. "Let him be sent for out of hand. This man, I trow, has got the right sow by the ear." So Cranmer drew up a treatise supporting by quotations from ecclesiastical authorities the procedure he had outlined, and then he defended it before the two Universities. In 1530, after a committee of each University had by a narrow margin rendered a verdict acceptable to the King, he was sent to Rome as a member of an embassy whose duty it was to "dispute and ventilate" the matter of the divorce, but, as was to be expected, no decision was obtained from the Curia. In

1533 Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and papal confirmation of the appointment was secured under a threat of legislation by the English Parliament hostile to papal interests. In promoting Cranmer, the King was actuated by his dominant desire of securing a divorce, of securing the legitimation of Anne Boleyn's expected child. The new Archbishop could be relied upon to carry the matter forward skilfully and without loss of time. Apparently at the suggestion of the King, it was determined to have the validity of the marriage decided in the Archiepiscopal Court. Catherine declined to appear, and, declaring her to be contumacious, the Court, on April 23, 1533, decided that the marriage was null and void from the first. Thus did "the long and squalid episode" come to a close. Five days later, despite its notorious unpopularity, the accommodating Archbishop pronounced the marriage between the King and his mistress (which had been secretly celebrated somewhere about January 25, 1533, seven and a half months previous to the birth of their child) to be valid, and on June 1 he crowned the latter as Queen. Henry was well aware that a break with Rome was now inevitable, but trusting to his own diplomatic skill as well as to that of his chief advisers, and favored by the circumstances of the time, he faced the issue with assurance of success.

It was only in governmental matters, not in creed, that Henry differed from the Papacy. In 1521 he had upheld the Church against Luther and in return he had received the title of "Defender of the Faith." Since then his dislike for Protestantism had undergone no modification; but he had come to realize that popular antipathy to the Papacy as a foreign power was so widespread, and that dissatisfaction with the financial exactions and the ignorance and corruption of the clergy was so pronounced, as to make it possible for him greatly to extend his power at the expense of the Pope. In this he was supported by Thomas Cromwell (1485?-1540), who, after an adventurous career on the continent as soldier and trader, had entered the service of Wolsey and had come to be the Cardinal's most confidential adviser. Swift and sly, cruel and corrupt, ingenious in devices and ingratiating in conversation, a master of detail and ruthless in determination, he was the very servant for the work at hand.

The Parliament which first met on November 13, 1529, packed and bribed by the Crown, proved to be wholly in sympathy with the royal purpose. So subservient, indeed, was it to the royal will, and so momentous were the measures it enacted that the seven years of its duration constitute "one of the few epoch-making periods of English legislation." In 1531 the Convocation

Thomas
Crom-
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Parlia-
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Support
of the
Royal
Proceed-
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of Canterbury and also that of York voted large sums to the King under threat of having the clerical recognition of the legatine authority of Wolsey punished under the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, a threat altogether unjustified inasmuch as the King himself had recognized that authority; and, in the same year, the two Convocations, though by no means unanimously, voted to acknowledge the King as their "Singular Protector, Only and Supreme Lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even the Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy in England." On May 15, 1532, the general Convocation of the clergy agreed (1) to enact no new constitutions, canons, or ordinances without the royal permission, (2) to submit the existing body of ecclesiastical law to a committee chosen by the Crown for the purpose of eliminating all provisions found to be contrary to divine law or to the law of the realm, and (3) to abide by the laws approved by a plurality of the committee and sanctioned by the Crown. It was on the day following this "submission of the clergy" that Sir Thomas More relinquished the seal of the Chancellor's office. There is nothing to regret in this curtailment of the power of the Convocation, for the great majority of its members were narrow-minded men of little learning who thought the most important part of ecclesiastical reform was the suppression of heresy. In the following year the Statute of Appeals was passed. It abolished all appeals to the Roman Curia; all spiritual cases, it decreed, were to be "finally and definitely adjudged and determined within the King's jurisdiction and authority and not elsewhere." Soon after the enactment of this statute, again acting under pressure of the royal power, Convocation declared Henry's marriage to Catherine to have been illegal. Thus the "submissive" clergy were irretrievably committed to the divorce.

Separa-
tion
from
Rome

Tidings of the new marriage spurred the timid pontiff into activity. Henry was excommunicated. But the King appealed from the papal authority to that of a General Council of the Church, and proceeded with measures that led to the final severance from Rome. When Parliament met again, on January 15, 1534, some forty vacancies in the Commons had been filled under the careful supervision of the Crown; and, greatly to the gratification of the King, hardly a third of the prelates were present in the Lords. The situation, despite the reluctance of some members of Parliament and the evident disapprobation of extreme measures by the populace, was very propitious for the royal purpose. On March 19, 1532, a bill permitting the King to abolish annates, or "the first-fruits of benefices paid on every vacancy to the Pope," had been passed by Parliament. Henry had kept the

statute as a diplomatic weapon to assist in the compulsion of the papal approval of the divorce. That sanction had been denied, and so a second act, going further than the first one, made illegal the payment of all other dues and fees to Rome, removed all nunneries and monasteries from papal visitation, and forbade every ecclesiastic of any rank whatsoever to take an oath to the Bishop of Rome. A third act reaffirmed the restraint of appeals and restated in a more inclusive form the "submission of the clergy" previously consented to by Convocation. A fourth eliminated the qualifying clause of "as far as the law of Christ allows," inserted by Convocation in 1531, and declared the King to be the "Supreme Head of the Church in England." And a fifth declared the heirs of Henry by Anne Boleyn to possess the lawful succession to the Crown and required every subject of the Crown without exception to take oath to observe the entire statute upon pain of misprision of treason.

Clement VII now abandoned his policy of hesitation and delay and rendered a decision in favor of the Spanish princess and English Queen. Thus did the position of Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) receive a recognition too long delayed. Legally and morally, as she well knew, that position was incontestable, and the papal verdict added nothing to it. But the definite decision of the highest court in the Church, of which she was a devout member, must have brought consolation. The daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella was not a beautiful woman; she has, indeed, been described as ugly; but she was good and true, and, if we may believe a contemporary writer, she was "more beloved by the islanders than any other Queen that has ever reigned." Her culture attracted the attention of Erasmus; and she gave no little evidence of ability to assist in the government of the realm with sound judgment and prompt decision. In every respect she was infinitely superior to the woman of easy virtue for whom her husband forsook her. In August, 1531, she had been separated from her daughter, and she had seen Mary, who had refused to give up the title of Princess, reduced to the position of an attendant in the retinue of Anne Boleyn's child. Alone and helpless in confronting the absolute power of her unscrupulous husband, she met all attempts to persuade and intimidate her to relinquish her rights with a firm and courageous refusal, and she endured her many wrongs and humiliating misfortunes with resolution and forbearance. She died on January 8, 1536, and when the news of her death reached her husband, he and the woman with whom he was living celebrated the event with dance and dissipation.

Catherine
of Aragon,
Queen of
England

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of the
Separa-
tion
from
Rome

The abolition of the papal authority would not have been possible had it not been supported to a considerable extent by popular approval. All through the later mediæval centuries, in every country of western Europe, the belief had been widespread that, because of its wealth and worldliness, the Church had departed from the simple and democratic character of early Christian society, that beneath the papal system the spirit of the lowly carpenter's son was no longer visible. The stately ritual of the Church, its sacraments, the adoration of the saints, and to a considerable extent its more abstract dogmas, still had the approval of the great mass of the English people. But the financial exactions of the Papacy and its secular activity ran counter to the newly created national spirit that would brook the interference in domestic affairs of no foreign power. So, at first, it was only the governmental authority of the Papacy that was ended in England; it was merely the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome that was denied. The Archbishop of Canterbury, it was held, could, under the control of the Crown, direct the spiritual welfare of the faithful with as authentic an authority as the man whose episcopal predecessors, by various worldly means and at various convenient times, had secured prestige, then primacy, and finally supremacy, over all the other bishops of the Church. The severance of the papal bonds did not mean that England was at last to enjoy religious freedom. It meant nothing more than that for the former dual authority of Pope and King there had been substituted the undivided despotism of the latter.

Punish-
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Disap-
proval
of the
Divorce

The popularity of his repudiated wife was very annoying to the King; and she and her daughter would doubtless have been put to death had it not been quite evident that such a crime would have provoked a most serious rebellion. Annoying, too, was the refusal of a number of persons to subscribe an oath to the Act of Supremacy. Chief among those put to death for adherence to Catherine's cause was Elizabeth Barton, "the Holy Maid of Kent," a nun who claimed to have received in a vision the heavenly disapprobation of the royal divorce. But greater personages than the Maid of Kent paid the extreme penalty for incurring the royal displeasure. John Fisher (1469?-1535), Bishop of Rochester, who had been chiefly instrumental in persuading Convocation to insert the qualifying clause, *quantum per legem Dei licet*, when that body acknowledged the King as Supreme Head of the Church in England, who refused to subscribe to the parliamentary Act of Supremacy which omitted the clause, and who, as the confessor and advocate of Catherine, was inflexible in his belief in the validity of her marriage, was condemned for this refusal and

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beheaded. Sir Thomas More had declined to attend the coronation of Anne Boleyn, and from that time he had been a marked man. He, too, refused to acknowledge the Act of Supremacy; and he, too, suffered death on the executioner's block. A strict surveillance of public opinion was then maintained. This was unnecessary as far as the abrogation of the papal power was concerned, but the widespread and deep-seated resentment of the treatment of Catherine and her daughter was repressed only by harsh intimidation.

In 1535 Cromwell was appointed visitor-general of the monasteries. Wolsey had taken some preliminary steps in reforming the monasteries, and the new inspector, who was altogether unaffected by any moral iniquity, was quick to see in the incompleteness of the task an excuse for confiscating the monastic property. The King was in chronic need of silver; the monks and the friars, despite the financial embarrassments of some of them, were very well-to-do, and they were thought to be much richer than they were. Then, too, by their independence of the bishops and their direct dependence upon the Pope, as well as by their international organization, they stood in the way of that complete absolutism upon which the King and his minister were bent. It is not possible successfully to deny the grave need of monastic reform, but it is equally impossible to affirm with truth that the commissioners, in their swift and ruthless visitations, in the iniquitous methods they employed, were animated by a desire to effect reform and to render justice. Acting upon the reports of the visitors, Parliament, in 1536, declared the lesser monasteries corrupt and transferred to the King the entire property of some three hundred and seventy-six houses. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were also visited; much was done to rout the scholastics with their "frivolous questions and obscure glosses," to proscribe the study of canon law, and to install teachers of Greek, Hebrew, and the civil law, and both institutions were relieved from the payment of first-fruits and tenths. Thus was a distinct impetus given to the new learning, that, slowly but surely, was creating a thought and feeling antagonistic to medieval conditions.

Three months after the coronation of his second wife the King took a new mistress; and then in rapid succession he took several others. But these facts did not deter him from bringing Anne Boleyn to trial for infidelity. In that trial no witnesses for the prosecution were produced, and no counsel for the defense was permitted. The unfortunate lady of light loves, who had failed to produce the much-desired male heir, together with all her reputed lovers, was executed, her marriage decreed to be invalid,

Confiscation
of the
Property
of the
Lesser
Monas-
teries

Execution
of Anne
Boleyn

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of Faith

and her daughter declared to be illegitimate. On the day following her death Henry was betrothed to Jane Seymour, and ten days later his third marriage was performed.

In England at this time there were three streams of heretical opinion. The first consisted of lingering traces of Lollardy; the second was incident to the new humanistic studies; and the third was the result of the infiltration of Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anabaptist doctrines from the continent. Taken altogether, however, the holders of heretical opinions were far too few to make any departure from the ancestral creeds a politic venture. Henry was well aware of this fact, and he was, moreover, temperamentally opposed to the dogmas of Protestantism, and so, some statement of creed being necessary, he issued, in 1536, Ten Articles of Faith, that, though betraying a slight Protestant influence, contravened no single Catholic creed. His action in preserving the faith and worship of the Mother Church was conservative; and yet the fact that dogma and ceremony had been selected and decreed by the secular sovereign of the country was a revolutionary fact. Here, for all who had eyes to see, was a completely independent State Church.

Extension
of the
Royal
Power
in the
North
and West

The dissolution of the lesser monasteries, together with an increase of taxes and the Protestant element in the Ten Articles, caused two uprisings in the north. The lesser one, in Lincolnshire, was easily put down; but the more serious one, in Yorkshire, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, lasted through the autumn and winter and was punished with summary vengeance. When quiet was restored the Council of the North was strengthened. It was an institution giving to the counties between the Trent and the Tweed a far more effective government than the patchwork of feudal and local authorities it had displaced. Wales and the Marches of Wales had been in much the same condition as the north of England. There, too, medieval franchises existed, especially the regalities of the Lords Marchers (the rulers of the counties palatine) who in former times had been granted unusual governmental powers in order to make more effective their work of guarding the frontiers. Such a situation was incompatible with the Tudor ideal of government, and so in 1534-1536, by the Statute of Wales, the usefulness of the Council of Wales was extended and that country incorporated with England. Peace and order in the west followed this act, which had been "facilitated by the passionate loyalty of the Welsh for the Tudor monarchy."

In the midst of these changes in political and ecclesiastical administration the official sanction of an English translation of the *Bible* is significant. It was not Tyndale's translation that met

with the royal approval, for that version, in its choice of words as well as in its commentaries, was too Protestant to suit Henry. The authorized translation was made by Miles Coverdale (1488?-1569), which, though its scholarship is distinctly inferior to Tyndale's, has considerable literary merit. It was the first complete *Bible* to be printed in English. All who could read intelligently were now able to learn something of the simplicity and democracy of the early years of Christianity. In 1538 a version of the *Bible*, derived from Tyndale and Coverdale, and known as *Matthew's Bible*, was ordered to be kept in every church in a place accessible to the parishioners.

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Complete
Transla-
tion of
the
Bible
into
English

On October 12, 1537, a son, afterwards Edward VI, was born to the King and Queen, and thus those who had seen in the lack of a male heir the wrath of God and who were hopeful of a reaction when the Princess Mary should succeed to the throne were refuted and disappointed. But twelve days later Jane Seymour died and Henry was free to contract a fourth marriage.

Birth of
a Son

Meanwhile the great monasteries, under fear and pressure, had been surrendering themselves one by one to the royal officials, and a vigorous assault upon the friaries had begun. And while the organizations and possessions of the regular clergy were thus disappearing a systematic destruction of relics and shrines was ruthlessly carried out. The shrine of Thomas Becket, reputed to be the richest in Christendom, was stripped of its golden lamps and candelabra and of its glittering jewels, and the body of the murdered prelate was "ignominiously burnt."

Despolia-
tion of
Shrines

But the hope of the Protestants, encouraged by such deeds, that Henry would abandon the dogmas of the Mother Church were doomed to defeat, for in the House of Lords, in 1539, the King argued in person against dogmatic innovation, and, as a consequence, the act of the Six Articles of Faith was passed by Parliament. By these Six Articles the following things were decreed: (1) that in the mass the bread and wine are miraculously changed into the actual body and blood of Jesus; (2) that communion in both kinds, that is, the giving of wine as well as bread to the laity which had become customary among continental Protestants, is unnecessary; (3) that, after ordination, priests may not marry; (4) that vows of celibacy and widowhood, whenever taken by man or woman, ought to be kept unbroken; (5) that private masses should be continued; and (6) that auricular confession is expedient and necessary. Heavy penalties were provided for the teaching or practice of beliefs contrary to the Articles. This "whip with the six strings" was a source of great

The Six
Articles
of Faith

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Confis-
cation
of the
Property
of the
Larger
Monas-
teries
and
Creation
of a New
Nobility

satisfaction to all who were opposed to explicitly Protestant opinions.

The same Parliament that sanctioned these creeds of the ancient Church put an end to the monastic system of the Middle Ages. By means of laws it passed on the subject all the remaining monasteries were dissolved and their property confiscated. The enormous wealth accruing to the Crown from the dissolution of the monasteries was squandered with reckless prodigality. Some of it was devoted to the creation of six new bishoprics, and still more was spent upon fortifications of the coast; but by far the greater part of it, about one-fifth of all the land in the kingdom, was bestowed with a lavish hand upon favorites and supporters of the King. It was not only members of the old nobility, greater and lesser, that were thus enriched. Merchants and business men of many kinds and a host of greedy adventurers were endowed with land and formed a new nobility, which, cherishing no remembrance of a feudal past and owing their advancement to the King, could be relied upon to support the Crown in all its claims. A powerful vested interest in the revolt from Rome was thus established. The most enterprising and ambitious section of English society was attached to the royal cause by the powerful ties of self-interest. So closely identified were the interests of the new nobility with the abolition of papal authority and the dissolution of the monasteries that when the period of the Catholic Reaction arrived it was powerless to undo the work of these ten years. Nearly all the new holders of the confiscated lands preferred pasture to tillage. They dispossessed large numbers of the peasantry when they enclosed arable land and devoted it to raising sheep. More than ever the country swarmed with sturdy beggars, and poverty and crime increased.

Execution
of Crom-
well

Trouble seemed to loom upon the horizon. The Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France, in whose mutual antagonism Henry deemed his security from foreign interference to reside, seemed to be forgetting their conflicting interests and even to be approaching something like friendship. Cardinal Reginald Pole, an Englishman of royal blood, whose refusal to acknowledge the invalidity of Henry's marriage to Catherine had made it impossible for him to return to his native land, was pleading with impassioned eloquence for a crusade against the English despot, who to him was a greater menace to Christendom than was the infidel Turk. Under these circumstances Henry was persuaded by Cromwell to marry Anne of Cleves, whose family interests were opposed to those of the Emperor, and who might be expected to secure for her husband the support of the Pro-

testant princes of Germany. But the unfortunate bride was not beautiful, and the marital epicure who became her husband, and who likened her to "a Flanders mare," conceived an unconquerable repugnance to her, and, when it was seen that no invasion of England was impending, she was clearly unnecessary. From that moment the fate of the minister who had prompted the marriage was sealed. There were few to support him; on every side he was detested as an upstart and tyrant. In 1540 he was beheaded. The only thing that can be said in mitigation of the many atrocious deeds of Cromwell is that they were done not for his own personal advancement but in what he judged to be the interests of his King and his country.

After the united Convocations of York and Canterbury had given their sanction to the repudiation of Anne a bill was passed by Parliament declaring "the pretended marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves" to be dissolved, and a month later Henry married Catherine Howard, "who, in the computation of the profane, is reckoned to be his fifth wife." Six months later, because of her licentious conduct both before and after her marriage, conduct in which her husband was a past-master, she was beheaded. Surfeited for a time by his matrimonial adventures, it was more than a year before Henry led to the altar the sixth and last lady he was destined thus to distinguish.

There were now three clearly defined ecclesiastical parties in England. The first, of which Stephen Gardiner (1439?-1555), Bishop of Rochester, may be regarded as the most conspicuous member, desired to go back to the ancient fold; the second, of which the King was the leading figure, desired to stand still; while the third, of which Cranmer was the most effective worker, desired to go still further. Things looked rather promising for the third party, the Protestant party, after the King's marriage in 1543 to Catherine Parr. Protestant opinions made gains in high places. But in the same year *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man*, popularly known as *The King's Book*, appeared. It had been approved by Convocation, Parliament, and Crown; and it sanctioned the point of view of the middle party. It was another attempt to define doctrine; but it failed to put an end to the increasing theological discussion. Two years later, in 1545, *The King's Primer* was published, the last of a long series of primers that reveal the changing and diverse theological opinions of the time. Torture and burning at the stake continued to be the fate of those whom the middle party deemed to be heretics; and, together with these punishments for radical and reactionary religious views, there were not a few beheadings for political

The
Fifth
and Sixth
Marriages
of the
King

Theologi-
cal Pam-
phlets
and Per-
secution

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purposes. The sky was by no means clear, and on the horizon the darkening clouds seemed to presage a storm. At such a time it was that Henry died. But before we dismiss him we must retrace our steps to see something of the history of Ireland and Scotland during his reign.

We have not glanced at Ireland since its conquest by Henry II. From that time onward the English power in the colony had increased, but the two races remained apart. Wars between the English and Irish and wars between the Irish themselves, who continued to display a complete lack of capacity for national organization, make monotonous the annals of the intervening centuries. Nor did the English feudal families who had obtained grants of Irish land refrain from attempting to undermine each other, and so the native chiefs were afforded an opportunity to recover their lost power which they did not fail to utilize. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century a "Pale" some thirty miles long and twenty miles wide was all that remained of the English colony, and the walled towns scattered up and down the island in which English garrisons were stationed were greatly depopulated and threatened with starvation. Affairs went from bad to worse during the Wars of the Roses. Several independent mints were established, the standards of the separate coinages varied from each other, imitation was an easy matter, and so the lawlessness of the time was greatly increased. When, in the reign of Henry VII, the Earl of Kildare, the most powerful of all the island chiefs, espoused the cause of Lambert Simnel, a severe defeat was inflicted upon the Irish in the battle of Stoke. "The Irish did not fail in courage and fierceness," says Bacon, "but, being almost naked men, armed only with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight." In 1495 a Parliament held at Drogheda by Sir Edward Poynings enacted a statute known as "Poynings's Act" which provided that all statutes lately enacted in England should be effective in Ireland but that none of later date was to be operative in the island unless Ireland was specifically named in it or unless it was adopted by the Parliament of Ireland. Still another article of Poyning's Act gave the initiative of legislation to the English Privy Council and left the Irish Parliament with the mere power of accepting or rejecting any proposed legislation. When Henry VIII came to the throne the English sphere of influence, or Pale, did not extend much farther than twenty miles beyond Dublin. Between it and the Irish districts there was a march of ill-defined width. The cities and walled towns may be said to have been neither Irish nor English but rather free cities that managed their own affairs as best they

could. This ambiguous condition and futile government were anathema to the English despot, who had a predilection for system and a passion for efficiency, so he assumed the title of King of Ireland, and set to work to relay the foundations of English rule. Monasteries were suppressed and their lands given to Irish chiefs and English leaders, whose interests thus became identified with the royal cause. All the Irish chiefs acknowledged Henry's secular and ecclesiastical supremacy and at the same time abjured the papal claims. From that moment the feudal and tribal systems, which had so long prevented centralization of power, were doomed and the old order began to give place to the new.

We have seen that with the reign of James IV (1488-1513) the modern history of Scotland may be said to have begun. Education was encouraged, literature flourished, feudal independence was diminished, and the material condition of the country was greatly improved. Under this brave but melancholy prince, who, it was said, always wore an iron belt beneath his clothes as penance for his share in his father's death, and who, in 1503, married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, the country became involved in the intricate maze of continental politics. To the causes of quarrel already existing between England and Scotland, and undiminished by the intermarriage of the two reigning houses, others, both private and public, especially fights between the ships of the two nations, and an alliance concluded in 1512 between Scotland and France, were added. Acting upon the advice of his French ally and his English wife, James, in 1513, made an attack upon the English forces. In the battle of Flodden, which was fought a few weeks later, Scotland suffered one of the most disastrous defeats in all her history. It cost her the lives of her chivalrous King and of the flower of her nobility. It penetrated the national heart with a deep sorrow.

Scotland
in the
Reign of
James IV

The long minority of James V (1513-1542), who was only seventeen months old when his father was killed, was distressful to the country and fatal to the Stuart dynasty. For fourteen years the intrigues of Henry VIII and the bitter jealousies existing between the different factions of the Scottish nobility produced a continuous series of conspiracies, treasons, and murders. To this were added theological disputes and an ecclesiastical conflict. At first the regency was invested in the Queen Mother, but a year later, when she married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, the Parliament (or, as it was then more commonly known, the Estates) transferred it to John Stuart, Duke of Albany. Angus was the paid servant of the English King, and he and his partisans were favorable to the English cause; whereas Albany and his

Scotland
in the
Reign of
James V

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faction were the advocates of alliance with France. Both parties struggled to gain and regain possession of the infant King. In 1524 Parliament declared James fit to govern. Four years later James drove Angus and some of his supporters into England. It was not long before the exiled nobles and pensioners of England went over to Protestantism and lent their aid to the spread of the new theological views among the clergy, barons, and burgesses of their native land. James, now alienated from the English sovereign, threw himself into the arms of France and became the champion in his realm of Catholicism. In 1538 he married Mary of Lorraine, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guise. Four years later Henry sent an army to invade Scotland and the disunited and indifferent Scots were easily defeated at the rout of Solway Moss. A month later James died, leaving as his successor a daughter, Mary, of whose birth a few days before he had just received tidings.

Regency
of
Cardinal
Beaton

Once more the unhappy country had to endure a long minority. Cardinal David Beaton (1494?-1546), Primate of Scotland and one of the late King's most trusted advisers, whose experience and astuteness fitted him well for the task, was the principal opponent of the plans of Henry VIII for the subjugation of Scotland, of Henry's manœuvres to marry his son to the infant Queen, and of his machinations to secure her person and the castles of her country. Had the Cardinal confined himself to this patriotic policy he would have earned the lasting gratitude of his countrymen; but unfortunately he carried on a vigorous persecution of the Protestants. The most distinguished victim of this persecution was George Wishart (1513?-1546), who had wandered up and down the land, in peril of his life, denouncing the doctrines of the Mother Church and the immorality of her clergy. He was burned at the stake. So deep was the effect of this cruel deed that Beaton became generally disliked, and his enemies became so emboldened that at last, under circumstances of horrible mockery, he was murdered in his castle of St. Andrews. With the death of the Cardinal the chances of the French and Catholic party were hopelessly lost.

Character
and
Secular
Activity
of
Henry
VIII

Henry VIII died on January 28, 1547. The public policy of this cruel and calculating monarch was always directed by his own personal considerations. He was a man in whom self-interest and self-indulgence were developed to a profound degree. Gifted with unusual insight into the political conditions of the time, keenly alive to the social sentiment of his own people, skilful in masking his real motives, determined to brook no interference with his will, unscrupulous almost beyond comparison, this im-

perious despot was an opportunist who hesitated at no expedient that promised success. Yet, in the unsettled times of the transition from medieval to modern life, the creation of a strong monarchy, despite its despotism, was an undeniable service to the nation. His secular activity, often overlooked in the study of his ecclesiastical revolt, was by no means unimportant. His building of ships and beginning of the so-called royal navy helped to make possible his daughter's victory over the Spanish Armada; and without that victory the liberation of the Netherlands and the development of English colonies in the newly discovered lands across the seas would have been greatly delayed. Within his realm, as we have seen, he dealt the final blow to political feudalism.

Henry VIII did much to increase the political importance of the House of Commons. For a long time after Simon de Montfort the representatives of shires and boroughs were reluctant to attend Parliament. The writs that summoned them were admonitions from the Crown. About the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the tide began to turn. New boroughs were created, and more burgesses were sent to Parliament. In 1533 a borough member was for the first time elected Speaker of the House of Commons. There is hardly a reference in the despatches of any diplomatist or observer to the proceedings of the Commons before the middle of the reign of Henry VIII; but from that time onwards one of the main sources of our knowledge of the House is the correspondence of the ambassadors from France, Venice, and Spain. Henry knew that many of the peers and most of the clergy were against him, and so with sedulous care he cultivated the Commons. In 1536 the Speaker is first recorded to have asked, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, for access to the King in person; and about a dozen years later the House began to keep its own *Journals*. At the accession of Henry there were 297 members of the Commons; they had increased to 458 by the end of the reign of Elizabeth. In the time of the latter ruler they came to have their own ideas of economic policy, of foreign policy, and of religious policy which they desired to see adopted by the Crown.

Henry
and the
Commons

Henry left a Council of sixteen to administer the affairs of the realm during his son's minority; but Edward Seymour (1506?-1552), uncle of the youthful King and later Duke of Somerset, was made Protector and soon became the real ruler. Somerset's sympathy with the general public led him to divest the government of much of the absolute character it had recently acquired. At his instigation the first Parliament of the new reign, which met in 1547, repealed all the heresy laws and most of the laws relat-

Influx
of Prot-
estant
Ideas

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ing to treason passed since the death of Edward III, and removed all restrictions upon the publishing of the *Bible*. In the same year the first *Book of Homilies* appeared, a collection of discourses on religious subjects prepared by Cranmer, that were intended to be read in the churches when the sermon was omitted. By promises of autonomy, free trade, and equal privileges with England, he tried to persuade the Scots to approve the plan of marrying the Princess Mary to his nephew and thus unite the two Crowns, but in this he did not succeed. Scottish sentiment, together with Catholic influence and French intrigue, swung the northern land the other way. A brief war between the two countries availed little, and Mary was taken to France, there, later on, to wed Francis II. All restraint was removed from public theological discussion, and, in consequence, Protestant refugees from abroad, together with many alien heretics, hurried back to their native land to do their share in spreading the doctrines for which they had suffered exile, so that, in the words of a conservative contemporary, England became the "harbor of all infidelity." The din and turmoil of theological debate, "accompanied by the ominous rumble of social revolution," convinced the Protector that, politically, at least, it would be better were the government to require ecclesiastical uniformity. So, in 1549, the first Act of Uniformity, a statute concerned more with forms of worship than with articles of faith, imposed the *Book of Common Prayer*, a careful compromise between the two extremes, whose stately and musical cadences still charm the sensitive ear. The Catholics rose against the *Prayer Book* in Devon and Cornwall; and about this time the forces that brought about the Protector's downfall began to make perceptible headway.

Changing
Economic
and
Social
Conditions

Somerset's sympathy with the common people caused him to attempt to use the governmental authority to put a stop to the increasing practice of enclosing with fence or hedge land previously open and cultivated under the old manorial system. These enclosures aroused the deep resentment of the tillers of the soil. They were of three kinds: (1) those formed by evicting tenants of small holdings and merging their holdings into a large one; (2) the conversion of arable land into sheep-runs; and (3) the enclosure of common land and wild land. The decay of the feudal baronage and the rise of a strong monarchy had made it no longer necessary or desirable for a territorial magnate to possess a large number of followers whose interests, because of their connection with the land, were coupled with his own. On the other hand, the high price of wool and the increased demand for that commodity at home and abroad made the raising of sheep far more

profitable and less troublesome than the old manorial system of farming. It is not possible to say what percentage of the arable land had been enclosed, but that great numbers of peasants had been displaced, oftentimes with much injustice, is certain, and that many of these evicted tillers of the soil had been driven to beg and steal is equally certain. Vagabondage grew apace. And the position of many of the hired laborers, a condition into which not a few of the tenants of small holdings had fallen, was little better than that of the wandering beggars. Prices of food products rose at an unparalleled rate, while wages remained almost stationary. In the towns, too, the poorer classes were adversely affected by the changing economic and social conditions of the time. The production of wealth was no longer regarded merely as a means of subsistence. It had become an end in itself, or a means of securing political advancement. Modern commercial greed had come into existence, and the opinion was spreading that the strong hand is its own justification. The pamphlets of the day are full of protests against the undue influence of money in the market-place, in courts of law, in Parliament, and in the royal palace. In the ruthless race for wealth the poor were exploited by the rich. The proletariat of the towns, who if they had ever had a share in the self-government of the municipalities had long ago lost it, were affected even more unfavorably by the rise in prices than were the peasants, and they suffered, too, from the rise in rents, from fraudulent manufactures, from the unscrupulous searching for labor in the cheapest markets, and from the employment, at lower wages, of apprentices in place of married journeymen. On June 1, 1548, Somerset appointed a commission to make a report of enclosures; but the country gentry succeeded in packing many of the juries that gave testimony and in intimidating others, and fraud was freely used in making the returns. Thus the efforts of Somerset to remove the causes of the antagonism between peasant and proprietor and between craftsman and capitalist were either openly resisted or secretly circumvented. They failed to alleviate the condition of the working classes, and they arrayed against their promoter many of the most powerful persons in the realm. Then, too, when the remedial measure failed, popular revolts broke out in all parts of the country in which thousands of persons were killed, and Somerset found himself divided in mind between his sympathy for the rebels, who in their struggle for a redress of grievances demanded the restoration of an agricultural system that was economically wasteful, and his duty to maintain law and order. And just at this moment France and Scotland declared war. Then his enemies, united

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ary Social
Laws of
Parlia-
ment

only by their common antagonism to him, removed him from office, imprisoned him in the Tower, trumped up a charge of felony, forged an instruction from the King, and had him put to death.

The Catholics, whose leaders had assisted in getting rid of Somerset, hoped for a reaction in their favor, but they were disappointed. John Dudley (1502?-1553), Earl of Warwick and afterwards Duke of Northumberland, who during Somerset's ascendancy had concealed his resentment and ambition, who was bitterly opposed to the ideas of liberty and the resistance to enclosures, who managed to pack the Privy Council with his supporters and to exclude his enemies from office and from access to the King, threw over the Catholics who had assisted him, and lent his influence to the cause of ecclesiastical change. At the same time he reversed his predecessor's social policy. Parliament gave express permission to the lords of the manor to enclose all the land they possessed, provided only that sufficient common land was left for their tenants. It was left to the lords to say what amount of common land was "sufficient." Enclosures were authorized to be made notwithstanding all the "gainsaying and contradiction" of the peasants. And combinations of the peasants to reduce rent or the price of grain were declared to be criminal, though capitalists were left free to combine for the purpose of raising prices. One other thing that may be noted here was the revocation in 1552 of all the special privileges long enjoyed in England by the powerful Hanseatic League.

Revolu-
tionary Ec-
clesiasti-
cal Laws
of Parlia-
ment

Though it was reactionary in its social enactments under the new leader, Parliament was distinctly revolutionary in its ecclesiastical proceedings. In 1552 it prescribed a revised edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* whose drastic alterations gave it the most decidedly Protestant character it was destined ever to acquire. In 1553 a new *Catechism*, also more decidedly Protestant than the former one, was drawn up; and in the same year the *Forty-two Articles of Faith*, which retained only two out of the seven medieval sacraments and denounced the mass as a "figment and a dangerous imposture," were given to the public.

Character
and
Reign of
Edward
VI

These and other arbitrary proceedings of Northumberland rapidly made him unpopular. He was well aware his life was safe only as long as he remained the actual ruler and was able to prevent the administration of justice. But the prospect of his continuance in power was not promising. Edward VI (1547-1553) had been a frail child, and his physical weakness had not been relieved by the strenuous schooling to which he had been subjected. This anemic youth, head of the Church as well as the State, who

was able to decline any Latin noun and conjugate any Latin regular verb when only seven years old, left hardly an individual trace upon the history of his country. It is well he did not, for he was a precocious fanatic, lacking in human sympathy and endowed with all the obstinacy of the dynasty to which he belonged. When it was realized that Edward was slowly dying, Northumberland conceived a plot to alter the succession to the Crown. It was a last desperate measure to retain his power and his life. He had his fourth son, Guilford Dudley, hastily married, about the end of May, 1553, to Lady Jane Grey (1537-1554), a great-granddaughter of Henry VII, a girl of sixteen, who became the unhappy victim of an ambition not her own. Then he persuaded the young monarch who was facing death that if the Crown should descend to Mary the work of the ecclesiastical revolution would be undone. Easily convinced of this, Edward broke his father's will and deeded the crown to Lady Jane Grey, who three days after his death, yielding after a stout resistance to the entreaties of her father-in-law and her husband, permitted herself to be proclaimed Queen. The nation soon rallied to Mary's cause. The treatment to which she had been subjected, together with her dignified and courageous conduct, had won for her widespread sympathy. Many of Northumberland's followers deserted him. The daughter of Catherine of Aragon entered London amid unparalleled popular rejoicings. Lady Jane willingly relinquished the Crown she had never desired; and on the scaffold Northumberland met the death he deserved. Unfortunately, in 1554, Lady Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, and her brothers took part in a rebellion against the Queen, and Mary having been persuaded it was dangerous to let Lady Jane live, the latter was beheaded amid the general compassion of the people. Thus was a gentle and innocent girl sacrificed to the selfish ambition of intriguers.

Mary (1553-1558) was the first Queen Regnant of England. She had been compelled by her father, whose only legitimate child she was, to confess that her mother's marriage was unlawful and that she herself was illegitimate. Three years before the close of his reign, however, she had been restored by statute to her place in the succession. At first her conduct as Queen was conciliatory. She displayed a generous clemency towards those who had taken up arms against her. Her chief advisers were Stephen Gardiner (1493?-1555), Bishop of Winchester, who, though he had supported the royal supremacy, was opposed to all innovations in doctrine, and the Emperor Charles V, who was her cousin. Upon the advice of the latter she married his son, Philip II, King of Spain, a most unpopular match. She was naturally

Reign of
Queen
Mary

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desirous of restoring the old religion, not only because of her genuine devotion to it, but also because she believed she could thereby remove the stain of illegitimacy upon her birth and restore her mother's good name. Parliament was induced to repeal all anti-papal legislation, and the realm was reconciled to Rome. True the holders of monastic lands were protected against the restitution of their property to its former owners, but a vigorous persecution of heretics was undertaken. Between the opening of 1555 and the close of 1558 some three hundred Protestants were burned at the stake, of whom the more important were Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. This deplorable cruelty, together with the Spanish marriage, turned the hearts of many people not only from the Queen herself but also from the Church. The marriage was a failure in every way. No heir was born to Mary. And Spain interfered with English trade, declined to assist the English in their struggle with the Scots, and succeeded in persuading them to make war upon France. In the course of the renewed hostilities with the old enemy across the narrow seas, Calais, the last British possession on the continent, was recovered by the French. Deserted by her husband, grieved by the loss of Calais, and disappointed by her failure to win English hearts back to the fold of her mother's Church, the lonely woman died of a broken heart.

Intellectual
Retrospec-
tion

Many things at this time were unfavorable to letters and literature. The dissolution of the monasteries, though they were citadels of scholasticism, was a temporary setback to learning. The destruction of books, in which the great libraries of London and Oxford almost completely disappeared, was enormous; centers of study, especially those of the Benedictines, ceased to exist; a large number of schools attached to the monasteries were abolished, and those supposed to have been established in the reign of Edward VI, nearly every one of which was a remnant of an old monastic foundation, by no means equaled the number that had previously existed. Evidence of the decline of learning may be found in the greatly reduced number of students in the Universities, and in the almost complete disappearance of Greek. Then, too, the unrest of the age and the many new activities opening to enterprising youth must be held accountable in part for the temporary intellectual retrogression.

Intellectual
Advance

Yet, though there was an unmistakable intellectual setback at this time, important gains were evident. The infiltration of the spirit and the method of the Renaissance continued. The scholastic method was finally discredited. The deductive method, as we shall see when we come to the study of Francis Bacon's writings, definitely gave place to the inductive. Enterprise was sub-

stituted for tradition. The impulse of a new life was everywhere apparent. The enthusiasm of the reign of the "Virgin Queen," with its notable accomplishments in art and literature and the general effectiveness of its management of ordinary governmental affairs, had been made possible. So vital a change required a long time for its fulfilment. The Renaissance came into full flower in England only in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, later than in any of the Mediterranean lands; but it was all the richer for its gradual growth, and it would have lacked some of its distinguishing characteristics had it been hastened by some artificial stimulus.

The printing press continued to encourage English prose writing and prose translation. English prose of a satisfactory character was of slow growth. Both in vocabulary and in construction there was alternate strife and union between the Latin and the Teutonic elements of the language, and the final blending of the two was only gradually accomplished. The most important example of translation at this time is that by Baron Berners (1469-1533) of the *Cronycles* written by Jean Froissart (1338-1410?), the greatest historian of his time, whose book is one of the most graphic accounts we have of any age. The style of the translation is not as spirited as the original, but it succeeds admirably in reproducing the French blend of simplicity and stateliness in a manner always clear and eminently readable. The most considerable historical work that had yet appeared in English, it exercised great influence upon sixteenth century chroniclers; and to lovers of romance it afforded reading no less delightful than the stories of the Knights of the Round Table. William Tyndale's version of the *New Testament* soon began to exercise a profound influence upon prose style; and important in this respect, too, were the writings of Archbishop Cranmer, which we have already noticed, and those of Latimer. The *Sermons* of Bishop Hugh Latimer (1490?-1555), which did so much to establish the principles of the ecclesiastical revolution in the minds and hearts of the people, written in a clear and vigorous manner, abound in information regarding the social conditions of the time. He was one of the ablest advocates of social reform. He sympathized deeply with the peasants and proletarians, and his fearless denunciation of the oppression practised by the powerful, together with his unquestionable sincerity, stamp him as one of the leaders of the time most worthy of our admiration. The continually increasing body of printed prose gradually gave to the language a uniformity and a stability it never before possessed. The Midland dialect of Wycliffe and Chaucer, standardized and national-

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ized, had now virtually reached the condition of modern English. With a larger and more varied vocabulary the improvement in prose writing became distinctly conscious. There was a direct and deliberate attempt to make prose still more suitable for literary purposes. One of the most conspicuous of these critical and pedagogical workers was Roger Ascham (1515?-1568), who in his *Toxophilus*, a book on archery, presented "Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue for Englishe men." *The Schoolmaster*, the book that made him famous, is not a general treatise upon educational method, as one might infer from the title, but the exposition of a plan for the private teaching of Latin. The method advocated is not one to be commended, but the book is notable because it contains the first plea in English for the substitution of persuasion and gentleness for coercion and flogging, and for replacing routine insistence upon deadening rules with a general culture of body and mind.

Develop-
ment of
English
Poetry

Italy exerted a two-fold influence upon English literature, for it combined the influence of the ancient and modern Mediterranean worlds. Knowledge of the thought and art of Athens and Rome came to England only indirectly, through Italy and through France, and it was colored and changed with qualities it had acquired in those countries. The influence of Italy may be seen in three distinct ways: it improved versification and the music of poetry; it furnished new verse-forms, such as the tragedy, the pastoral, and the sonnet; and it revealed the thoughts upon government and upon daily life of the ancient and the modern civilizations of the peninsula. These things were accepted by England; but she infused them with her own genius, and she changed them, in many instances beyond recognition. Out of the slough of formlessness into which verse had fallen it was raised by Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503?-1542), the acknowledged leader of the "company of courtly makers who," in their checkered careers as courtiers, "having traveled in Italie and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and stile of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Arioste, and Petrarch, greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie, from that it had been before." It is he who is the pioneer of the sonnet in England; but it is in freer verse forms that his undoubted lyrical gift shows to better advantage. Recovering some of Chaucer's melody as well as catching Italian tunes, Henry Howard (1518?-1547), Earl of Surrey, in his short and crowded life, carried on the task of formal perfection, introduced a new smoothness and fluency into poetry in his native tongue, wrote lyrics of impetuous eloquence, and made the first attempt at blank versè in English.

In the last year of the reign of Mary many of these verses made by accomplished men of fashion, that hitherto had existed only in manuscript, were made permanently accessible in print in *Tottle's Miscellany*, and with the publication of this collection it is not altogether incorrect to date the beginning of modern English literature. In it, amid all the imitations of continental poetry, one finds the beginning of our most idiomatic verse and a revelation of the potential lyric power of our language.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

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More special works dealing with political matters are J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII*; Edward P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in the Sixteenth Century*; Mandel Creighton, *Wolsey*; M. A. S. Hume, *The Wives of Henry VIII*; A. D. Innes, *Ten Tudor Statesmen*; R. B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*; A. F. Pollard, *Life of Cranmer*, his *Henry VIII*, and also his *England under Protector Somerset*; W. Roper, *Sir Thomas More*; M. J. Stone, *Mary I Queen of England*; R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*; C. A. J. Skeel, *Council of the Marches in Wales*; and C. Lucas, *The Beginning of English Overseas Enterprise*.

An abundance of original source material, in addition to that contained in works already mentioned, will be found in J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents*.

Agrarian topics are treated in I. S. Ledam's *The Domesday of Inclosures*; Gilbert Slater's *The English Peasantry and Enclosures*; and R. H. Tawney's *Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*.

Religious matters may be studied further in W. W. Capes's *History of the English Church*; James Gairdner's *History of the Church of England*, and the same author's *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*; and F. A. Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, and E. Taunton's *Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer*, both written from a Catholic point of view. Eileen Powers's *Medieval English Nunneries* is a recent study of conditions in the fifteenth century.

For educational matters see A. F. Leech's *English Schools at the Reformation*.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

(1558-1603)

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The
Spirit
of the
New Age,
and
the New
Queen

THE Age of Elizabeth was one of the greatest periods in English history. It was a great crisis of national life. Great national forces, vast human interests, but dimly comprehended even by those who were helping to bring them into being, were rising on every side. Among the forces that made this period so momentous were the new mental attitude, the intelligence and the aggressive enterprise of the middle classes, the continuing disappearance of the feudal nobility, the activity of the new nobility in politics, industry, and commerce, and the strong spirit of nationality that animated all classes of society with boundless enthusiasm and directed them to a common goal. This powerful emotion of nationality, together with the sense of the intellectual emancipation of the individual, and the will to do and dare, is the key-note of the age. In Mary's reign the English people became more hostile than ever to papal jurisdiction; their fierce resentment had been aroused against Spanish control, and their affection for the Catholic faith appreciably diminished. They were ripe for a strictly national policy in Church and State. And no other sovereign was better fitted to carry out such a policy than Elizabeth, who proudly boasted she was "mere English," and who throughout a reign of forty-five years remained more truly than any of her predecessors the embodiment of her people. Surrounded by suspicious relatives and rivals in the years of her life as a Princess who, presumably, might some day inherit the throne, she had subjected herself to a constant schooling in dissimulation, reticence, and self-control. Proud and passionate, and circumspectly despotic, this woman who seems to have won no man's heart, who left her attendants devoid of disinterested devotion, who was regarded by almost every continental community as a heretic and a bastard, set herself, without loss of time or wavering of purpose, though with many a shift of plan and frequent revelation of a mean and niggardly spirit, to defeat the intrigues of foreign powers, to resist their encroachments, and to develop, in every aspect

of which she was aware, the national life of her people. During the half-century that is known as the Elizabethan Age, England rose from a secondary position among the European kingdoms to a level with the mightiest of imperial powers, not by dazzling and deceiving conquests, for the shadowy dreams of continental aggrandizement were definitely renounced and only a faint and almost ineffectual beginning was made of the vast colonial possessions that were to be acquired, but by the steady and substantial growth of a great people.

From the first the new Queen relied upon the advice of Sir William Cecil (1521-1598), afterwards made Lord Burghley, as upon that of no other one man, though of course she was aided chiefly by the Privy Council, of which Cecil was a member. She made no mistake in doing so, for in temperament and training alike he was exactly the kind of minister most likely to meet successfully the needs of the situation in which his country was placed. Above all things else it was necessary that England should be kept as free as possible from the maze of European politics, that she should have time to grow and gather strength. A safe line of conduct, in Church as well as State, a *via media*, had to be found and followed. The careful manner in which Cecil had threaded his way through the difficult times of Edward and Mary had developed an unusual ability to avoid trouble. He was not an original thinker, he had no creative power, but he possessed unwearying patience, he could match most of his opponents in craft and subtlety, and he was eminently cautious. Sir Francis Walsingham (1530?-1590), one of the ablest of the new men whom Cecil brought forward to counteract and replace the conservative and aristocratic party in the Privy Council and to assist in giving opportunity and encouragement to the new forces that were to shape the national career, was quite the opposite in temperament of his friend and co-worker and still more so of the cynically cool and cautious Queen. More than any other man he was outspoken in opposition to the political double-dealing of Elizabeth. Inclined to look upon the dark side of the situation, open and direct in speech, anxious always to strike before the opponents of his country were themselves ready to strike, he was yet one of the most skilful diplomats of the age and was responsible for not a little of the success of Elizabeth's administration. Never did he display hesitation in his employment of spies; and more than anyone else he seems to have been responsible for the wide and frequent use of torture as a means of extracting information. He had much in common with the Puritans and did all he could to further the cause of Protestantism.

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beth's
Attitude
Towards
the
Question
of
Religion

The first question to be settled was that of the state religion. England had been forcibly driven in the direction of Protestantism and then as arbitrarily flung back into the fold of Catholicism. It seems likely that Elizabeth was not committed personally to either of the two great camps into which western Christendom had become divided. She was well versed in Italian scholarship as well as Italian statecraft, and most of the Italian scholars who found themselves no longer able to subscribe to the dogmas of the ancestral Church declined to associate themselves with any of the Protestant Churches, in which, they declared, no greater freedom was to be found than in the fold they had forsaken. With two of these rationalists and free-thinkers Elizabeth had personal acquaintance. From Bernardino Ochino, for a time pastor of the Italians who attended the Strangers' Church in London, she had received religious instruction, and had translated one of his pamphlets; and to Giacomo Aconzio, whose little book entitled *Stratagemata Satanae*, in which all dogmatism is counted a Satanic snare, is a plea for liberty of conscience in the state and tolerance in the church, she had extended her patronage. She was devoid of the religious temper. She was attached, as far as can be ascertained, to not a single one of the leading dogmas of either Catholicism or Protestantism, and so, with the aid of the experienced and cautious Cecil, she sought to effect a compromise between the two extremes. This it was possible for her to do because a large number of her people were more or less indifferent in the matter of religious faith, because, for good or evil, the spirit of compromise is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the English people, and because the great majority of her subjects were very tenacious of their nationality and adverse to continental dictation from whatever source.

Ecclesi-
astical
Changes

In 1559 a new Act of Supremacy, giving to the sovereign the title of "Supreme Governor of this Realm, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as Temporal," was passed, and so was another Act of Uniformity; the *Book of Common Prayer*, with a few significant changes, was once more adopted; Convocation was subjected to royal and parliamentary control, cathedral chapters were empowered to elect to vacant bishoprics only those candidates nominated by the Crown, lands belonging to some of the bishoprics were secularized, and the Crown was authorized to appropriate the temporary possessions of other bishoprics as they fell vacant. Of the twenty-six bishoprics, ten were vacant. Only one of the sixteen bishops conformed to the change, and many of the lesser clergy resisted it. In consequence fifteen bishops, a large number of deans and canons, and somewhere between two hun-

dred and a thousand parish priests were deposed from their offices.

In Matthew Parker (1504-1575), who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559, Elizabeth found a man after her own heart for the purpose of directing the clergy under the new settlement. Moderate in temperament, not ardently attached to any dogmas, he was the very man to insist in a judicious manner upon the middle way just adopted. It so happened, however, that not a few of the clerical vacancies were filled with men who, as exiles in Mary's reign, had become strongly tinctured with Puritan ideas. Four years later Convocation adopted the Thirty-Nine Articles, which are substantially a revision, and a reduction by three, of those adopted in the reign of Edward VI, and which remain the authoritative formulation of the Anglican faith.

Thus was created an English Church, strictly national in character, and organically related to the State. It had no connection with any authority outside England. Its faith, worship, and organization contain elements derived from both Catholic and Protestant sources. It was intended to include every one in England, and so it was a compromise designed to make a favorable appeal to as large a part of the population as possible. The articles of faith and the form of religious service established by law were to be subscribed to and used by every clergyman in every church in England. And they were to be as binding upon the people as upon the clergy. Everybody was obliged to attend church every Sunday and holy day, under penalty of a fine for every absence. From time to time Elizabeth appointed commissioners, who eventually came to form the permanent Court of High Commission, to see that the ecclesiastical laws were carried out and to enforce the control over church matters given to the sovereign by the Act of Supremacy. The English Church thus established is held by many to be a Church midway between the Church of Rome and any Protestant Church of the continent; but in matters of dogma it is as widely sundered from the Mother Church, by which it has always been regarded as heretical and schismatic, as is any Church due to Luther or to Calvin.

Not all Englishmen cared to be included in the new ecclesiastical fold. In addition to those who were indifferent there were many who were distinctly non-conformists. These fell chiefly into two groups, the Catholic recusants, who wished to revert to the ancient worship, and the Puritan objectors, who contended that the clergy are no more separate from the general mass of the people than are lawyers or doctors, and that therefore clerical vestments, proclaiming a distinction that does not exist, should be abolished.

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Matthew
Parker
as Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury

Establish-
ment
of the
Church
of
England

Rise
of the
Puritans

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It was the latter group that first received attention from a government bent upon uniformity. Persecution drove the would-be purifiers into the practice of conducting clandestine services in the "precise" manner. Numerous pamphlets appeared, and the objections of the Puritans gradually spread from vestments to rites, such as the sign of the cross, the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus, and the retention of the altar; and from rites they spread to church government, to the desire to substitute for episcopacy (the system of government by bishops) government by elders, or presbyters; and, finally, they spread to matters of faith. Then, of course, the Puritans were no longer content to remain mere non-conformists within the Anglican fold. As time went on the separatist and democratic tendencies deepened; and the dissenters were by no means united. There came to be many groups of Protestants.

Perse-
cution of
Theologi-
cal Differ-
ences

Elizabeth keenly realized the political value of ecclesiastical uniformity and was determined to permit no slackness in enforcing it. In 1575 Archbishop Parker had been succeeded by Edmund Grindal (1519-1583), who in the previous reign had lived at Strasburg and who had there imbibed Calvinistic ideas. He was distinctly friendly to the Puritans and refused to prevent their meetings. For this he was suspended from his jurisdictional functions and when not long afterwards he died in disgrace John Whitgift (1530?-1604), who regarded the entire matter as a political problem, was appointed in his place and carried out the royal policy of uniformity in a vigorous manner. The energetic and cruel repression of the "pestilent errors" then carried on, in the course of which the High Commission became an institution resembling the Inquisition, gave rise in 1588-1593 to a war of pamphlets between a Puritan writer, or perhaps writers, who assumed the name of Martin Marprelate, and a number of defenders of the Established Church. The identity of Martin Marprelate has never been made certain. When the press, which had been moved from place to place, was finally discovered, the printer, John Penry (1559-1593), escaped; but later on he was caught, imprisoned, and, upon an unfounded charge of sedition, put to death, the first signature on the fatal warrant being that of Whitgift. Persecution had its desired effect. The milder Protestant non-conformists remained quiet, biding their time, while the irreconcilables shook the dust of their native land from their shoes and went into exile, first into the Netherlands and then across the ocean to the new world, where they were free to believe and worship as they pleased, and where they were also free to inflict upon all who differed from them the same harsh

repression they had experienced in their former homes in England.

Some of the Catholics went into exile on the continent. The great majority of those who remained at home quietly submitted, in opposition to instructions from Rome, to the requirement to attend services of the Established Church and kept a convenient silence about their personal beliefs and private practices. In 1568, however, the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England provided an additional incentive to intrigue; and when, two years later, Pius V issued a bull excommunicating Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance, Catholics had to choose between loyalty to the Queen and loyalty to the Pope. Severe penal laws were enacted against their religious practices. Persecution drove many of them into the Anglican fold; but those who refused to conform were now a select body, staunch in their convictions, and they were fired with a new ardor by the great movement known as the Catholic Reaction. Excluded from the schools of their native land, their sons flocked to the seminaries and colleges across the seas established for their benefit. Most of these schools were in charge of the Jesuits, that thoroughly disciplined and mobilized body of men whose able and tireless propaganda was chiefly responsible for stemming the great tidal wave of Protestantism. From them missionaries returned to attempt in secret the reconversion of their mother land. The most noted missionaries were Edmund Campion (1540-1581), a man of attractive personality, a disputant of great power, and an eloquent preacher, and Robert Parsons (1546-1610), energetic and ingenious, a skilful intriguer, an able writer, and an unsurpassed controversialist. It is not possible to say how many priests took part in the mission, but their number ran up into the hundreds; nor is it possible here to recount the romantic and thrilling story of their adventures. One hundred and eighty-seven of them and their abettors were put to death with barbarous cruelty, among them the saintly Campion. Others escaped to the continent and there sought to win the aid of France and Spain against Elizabeth. These intrigues against the Queen served only to divide the English Catholics and to induce some of them to seek and obtain an understanding with the government by which, upon profession of loyalty, they were to be free from molestation. Whatever else was the result of the Jesuit propaganda in England, it failed of its chief purpose. England remained Protestant.

England had been closely associated with Spain during the reign of Mary, and Elizabeth sought to continue the good relations

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beth's
Foreign
Policy

with that country. The war with France, which cost England Calais, her last foothold on the continent, was ended in the following year by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. With that country, too, it was Elizabeth's policy to remain friendly. England was in no condition to go to war with either of these two great powers; her army and navy were both inadequate. She was poorly supplied with money, and, above all else, she needed peace for the development of her domestic and foreign affairs. But it was by no means easy to pursue this policy of neutrality towards the two leading continental powers. Spain was not reconciled to the loss of the influence she had exercised in England, nor, inasmuch as she regarded herself the special champion of Catholicism, was she satisfied with the religious settlement; while France had under her protection a Princess who claimed the English throne, and who, should the opportunity present itself, might be assisted in supplanting Elizabeth. Yet the difficult situation was **successfully faced**. While English interests at home and abroad were carefully fostered, the pros and cons of every course of action in which a foreign power was concerned were cautiously considered, negotiations with other governments were tortuous and indefinite, and by these means an open rupture was avoided until England was strong enough to withstand attack.

Economic
and Social
Changes

There was much to do to set things right at home. Enclosures, greatly increased by the dissolution of the monasteries and the secularization of episcopal lands, still continued. In England and Wales at least one-third of the cultivated land had been enclosed. A herdsman and his wife took the place of eighteen to twenty-four farm hands. When it is remembered that at this time the towns were decaying, that in some cases their population had decreased, it will be seen that the effect of enclosures must have been terrible. The thousands of people set wandering could not hope to find employment in the declining towns, where the organization of labor had become more restrictive than ever before; indeed, they could only join the wanderers the towns had set adrift. And to enclosures, as causes of confusion and distress to the common people, must be added not only the disorders and disturbances that took place in the reign of every Tudor monarch, but also other changes incidental to the transition from medieval to modern conditions. The superabundance of laborers in town and country depressed wages; the expansion of foreign markets and the decrease in agricultural products, with the exception of wool, and "ingrossing" operations of capitalists, by which as much of a commodity as possible was bought up wholesale and then retailed at a monopoly price, caused prices

to soar still higher; rents continued to increase; trade, no longer as limited and as static as it had been in medieval times, was subject to frequent fluctuation; and the coinage had been debased. Another cause of the increase of prices was the great addition to the supply of precious metals. The conquest of Mexico by Spain in 1519 gave opportunities of working the silver mines of that country, while the first mines of Chile and Peru were almost simultaneously discovered, and in 1545 those of Potosí were laid open. These new sources of supply became an influential factor in causing a continuous increase in the stock of money. The new supply at first poured into Spain, but, because of bad economic regulations and conditions, it passed through that country as through a sieve, and its effect in other countries, including England, was to raise prices in and about the chief towns. At the same time, because under the conditions then prevailing social and economic changes required a much longer time to make their effects felt in remote places, the value of money in country districts was left very largely unaltered.

(2) The debasement of the coinage was a serious matter. In the short space of ten years, 1543-1552, the silver coinage, the standard coinage of the time, was degraded so as to make the alloy three-fourths of the mass. So grave was the condition of domestic affairs in England in the middle of the sixteenth century, because of the various reasons we have just recounted, that thoughtful foreign observers residing in London were convinced of the country's impending ruin.

Debase-
ment
of the
Coinage

An effort was made to meet most of these problems. The issue of base coinage was stopped soon after Elizabeth's accession; and in 1560 it was decided to call in all inferior coinage minted since 1543. In about nine months virtually all the debased coins had been returned to the government and standard coins given in exchange. This did something to ameliorate conditions at home, and it so retrieved the national credit abroad that Elizabeth was able to borrow money at ten per cent instead of at fourteen, the ruinous rate her sister had been obliged to pay.

Reform
of the
Coinage

(3) Reform of the other economic and social evils was not so easy. The medieval system of charities and corrections had been discarded and discredited, and so a new beginning had to be made. Social reform had more than once been urged before: by Wycliffe, by Sir Thomas More, by John Hales, and by Hugh Latimer. But few of the reforms suggested by these men had been attempted, and none had been systematically and persistently carried out. Parochial and municipal self-direction had been greatly weakened by the increasing centralization of government.

Prophets
of Social
Reform

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The only vigorous administrative body left in the kingdom was the national government. Men looked to that government, therefore, as the only source of effective social reform. Coupled with this practical consideration was the new conception of the "state," which had found its way into England as one of the results of the revival of classical literature, as a community bound together by charity and friendship. Luis Vives (1492-1540), a Spanish humanist who spent a number of years in England, in a widely read book summarized what seems the thought of the time in regard to the management of the poor. He divided them into three classes: those in hospitals and poor houses, those who led a wandering life, and those who lived at home. Relief was to be controlled by the magistrates. Hospitals for the sick, homes for the blind, asylums for the insane, work for the able-bodied and deserving, and aid for the needy were to be provided. Funds of endowed charities were to be the chief source of money wherewith to carry out the scheme, but the well-to-do were to make voluntary contributions. Something like this was attempted in London in the time of Edward VI; and, as we shall see, the poor relief acts of Elizabeth's reign resembled it.

Laws
Relating
to Poverty
and
Vaga-
bondage

The Elizabethan government proceeded to the task of solving the problems confronting it in the fields of charity, correction, and employment. It addressed itself first to the problems of poverty and vagabondage. The enclosure of lands and the consequent eviction of tenants, the dissolution of monasteries and the abolition of chantries with the consequent cessation of the charity dispensed to the poor, together with other changes incidental to the displacing of medieval conditions, had produced an enormous number of paupers. The unemployed wandered from place to place, they gathered in great numbers just outside the larger towns, and many of them became thieves and robbers. The old laws relating to begging and vagabondage failed to meet the situation and could no longer be enforced. So in 1563 an act was passed for the relief of "the poor in very deed" and for the punishment of "idle and loitering persons and valiant beggars." In every town parish, and in every parish in the country, a census of "the impotent, feeble, and lame" was to be taken; two or more persons were to be appointed to collect "charitable alms of all the residue of the people inhabiting the parish," under pain of imprisonment for refusal to contribute, and to distribute them to the needy. Begging was forbidden, and "valiant beggars" were to be punished severely; but if any parish was afflicted with a greater number of poor than it could adequately provide for, license might be given to some of its poor "tò go abroad to

beg," and permission was given to attempt to persuade wealthy parishes to contribute to the relief of parishes unable to provide for their poor. The law did not prove satisfactory. The relief of the deserving poor required improvement, and the country was declared to "be presently with rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered." So in 1572 former acts dealing with these two subjects were repealed and a new law passed providing that "rogues, vagabonds or sturdy beggars" should "be grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about," and that contribution to the relief of the poor, duly assessed by the proper officials, should be made compulsory. Still another act, passed in 1576, provided for the establishment of work-houses, and stipulated specific means for the employment of the poor. But the problems of poverty and vagabondage persisted. So in 1598 three additional laws were enacted. The first provided for overseers of the poor in every parish. It empowered these officers, in conjunction with two or more justices of the peace, to take children whose parents were unable properly to provide for them and set them to work or to bind them as apprentices. Unskilled adults who had no means of support could also be set to work. Work for the support of these children and adults was to be provided by public taxation. Poor parishes were to be assisted by other parishes in the same hundred, or, if need be, outside the hundred but in the same county; and provision was made for building and maintaining poor-houses. Begging was confined to asking food in the parish where the beggar lived; and provision was made for discharged soldiers and sailors. The second act repealed all previous laws for punishing "rogues, vagabonds or sturdy beggars," and provided that they were to be "stripped naked from the middle upwards" and then "openly whipped until his or her body be bloody." The offender was then to be sent to the parish where he was born, or where he had last lived a year, or to the one through which he had last passed without punishment. Dangerous and incorrigible "rogues" were to be "banished out of this realm" and forbidden to return upon pain of death, or they were to be sent for life to the galleys. The third act was designed to forward the private founding of "houses of correction and abiding houses" for the impotent and poor. Thus culminated a long series of measures intended for social amelioration. The famous poor law of 1601 made no material additions; it merely summarized its predecessors and effected some slight improvements in details.

In the same year, 1563, that the first Elizabethan law relating

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Control
of Wages

to pauperism and vagabondage was passed there was enacted another Statute of Laborers, or, as it is more commonly known, a Statute of Apprentices. For a long time it had been impossible to enforce the rates of wages prescribed by the former laws relating to labor; and the craft guilds had failed to change their regulations to meet the needs of the new time. The relations of masters and men were, therefore, in a very unsettled and unsatisfactory condition. An attempt was now made to control the whole movement of economic life. The new law did not apply to owners of property, but only to craftsmen and laborers, and thus it recognized and accentuated a distinct cleavage in society. It repealed the provisions of all previous laws relating to conditions of employment. It stipulated that in most trades engagements should be by the year. No employer was to dismiss his workmen before the end of a year of work, nor was any workman to leave his employer before a year of service had been rendered; and in each case a quarter of a year's notice had to be given. Every craftsman had to serve an apprenticeship of seven years. No workman, in country or town, was allowed to leave his locality without the signed and sealed permission of the authorities. All laborers had to work in summer from five in the morning to between seven and eight in the evening, and in winter from the spring of day to night-fall. The law provided that the justices of the peace were to make an annual assessment of the wages of workmen according to "the plenty and scarcity of the time and other circumstances." The assessed rate of wages was to be enforceable by fine and imprisonment. Persons between the ages of twelve and sixty, who were not apprentices or who were not engaged in certain specified lines of work, were to be compelled, if they were idle, to serve in husbandry "with any person that keepeth husbandry." Refusal to be apprenticed was to be punishable with imprisonment. The statute was enforced throughout the remainder of the century, and it seems to have been in force generally until the second Stuart period. After that it was revived occasionally when the emergencies of times of distress seemed to demand its resuscitation. Prices continued to rise after the enactment of the law, while there was only a very slight increase of wages, and so the standard of comfort declined; and at such times as bad harvests, when the price of grain doubled and even trebled, there was great distress.

The laws relating to pauperism and vagabondage were not repealed until 1834, and the one dealing with labor continued on the statute books until 1814. Together they determined the economic conditions of life for the mass of the people, and, there-

fore, very largely, their social conditions. They were drawn up and enacted chiefly in the interests of the employers. The laboring classes had only just succeeded in freeing themselves in part from serfdom when they were thus committed to a new bondage. The English laborer once more became a settled but landless serf, recompensed for his toil by a wage that was virtually fixed by his employer, and he was supported in his hour of need by a state bounty. At first sight it seems difficult to detect in such a system any advance in freedom, yet it substituted for the control of the lord of the manor and the medieval gild that of the nation, and national control was the less minute, arbitrary, and inflexible. It was a stage in the transition from the rigid status of medieval life to the deceptive freedom of unrestricted competition.

All the laws we have just described related primarily to the second of the two social classes recognized by the government,—to the non-land-holding, or the laboring class. What regulations concerning the other class were enacted? Two things aroused the anger of the people, enclosures and monopolies. In 1589 Sir Francis Bacon introduced into Parliament two carefully designed proposals, one to check enclosures and the other to remedy the decay of husbandry and tillage. Landholders “have inclosed great grounds, and pulled down even whole towns and converted them into sheep-pastures,” he declared, so that “instead of a whole town full of people” one would find “nought but green fields” with only “a shepherd and a dog.” Two laws against enclosures were enacted but they were poorly enforced, and so the complaints and bitter feeling against landowners and their enclosures continued.

It had been the practice of the sovereign to grant to favorites, or to persons who had rendered service to the Crown, a monopoly in the manufacture or sale of articles of commerce. Out of this practice has arisen the system of rewarding inventors by granting to them a temporary monopoly, or patent, of their inventions. It is uncertain when the practice of granting these arbitrary monopolies began. The earliest known instance of them is in the reign of Edward III, but it is not until the time of Henry VIII that such evidence is to be found in the exercise of the prerogative. Elizabeth granted monopolies so freely as to make the practice a grave abuse. True the preamble to every such grant contained an excuse for the new monopoly. Thus, for example, a monopoly of the sale of starch was justified on the ground that it would prevent wheat being wasted for the purpose. By these monopolies the prices of many of the common necessities of life were grievously enhanced. Angry debates in the Commons

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took place in 1565; and in 1598 that body ventured to submit a petition on the subject to the Queen. Elizabeth promised redress, but said she felt sure it was not intended she should be deprived of the privilege of granting monopolies; and, beyond a long-delayed and ineffective inquiry into the matter, nothing was done. Popular feeling expressed itself in open denunciations. As Sir Robert Cecil (1563-1612), second son of Lord Burghley, and, since his father's death, the most important councilor of the Queen, walked in the streets of London he heard such cries as "God prosper those who further the overthrow of these monopolies." Long lists of the monopolies were compiled and circulated. The Commons became greatly agitated over the matter. Never, said Cecil, had he seen the House in such confusion. Elizabeth realized that in this matter the Commons represented the feeling of the people. So she turned upon the holders of the monopolies. She had never cherished a thought, she declared, that had not tended to her people's good. She was indignant, she declared, that unscrupulous monopolists had ground the faces of the poor. "Every man shall have salt as cheap as he can buy it or make it," and "train oil shall go the same way, oil of blubber shall march in the same rank, brushes and bottles endure the like judgment." But once more nothing was done. A month later the last session of Parliament in Elizabeth's reign came to an end and left the regulation of monopolies dependent upon the will of the ruler. The problem was left to perplex the Queen's successors. Yet something was done to pave the way for a just settlement of the question. In the first recorded case dealing with the subject, *Darcy vs. Allen*, decided in 1602, it was held by the court that the sovereign could grant to an inventor, or to anyone who imported an invention from abroad, a temporary monopoly of the invention, but that all grants in restraint of trade were illegal.

Medieval
Character
of
Life in
Scotland

We must now turn our attention to the international difficulties with which Elizabeth had to deal. First of all we must see something of the state of affairs in Scotland. In the time of James V (1513-1542) the new humanistic studies continued to make their way; and slowly, and at first silently, theological heresy followed in their footsteps. In the long minority of Mary Queen of Scots (1542-1587) a definite line of demarcation had been drawn between the French and Catholic party, on the one hand, and the English and Protestant party, on the other. The infiltration of humanism and heresy had been so slight as to leave Scotland still predominantly medieval. Those two forces of the age, which had done so much to change the complexion of life

in other lands, had as yet affected only a small minority of the men who lived beyond the Cheviot Hills. Not until several years of the sixteenth century had passed away was the first printing press in Scotland set up. The conditions of the country were still medieval. Whatever limitation the monarch was subjected to was not exercised by Parliament, but rather by the power of the feudal families. In Parliament were to be found the prelates, the lords, and representatives of some of the boroughs. All of them sat in a single chamber. The mass of the people, as yet in other and more civilized lands, were unrepresented. And for the most part the work of Parliament was but the formal registration of the previous conclusions of the party in power. The institution had never made a name for itself as a deliberative body. There was nothing like adequate national taxation, and so the King, being expected "to live of his own," could not maintain an effective army. In consequence the country was frequently distracted by feudal wars. In that naked land, in those wild times, "life was short and death was violent."

The wealth of the Mother Church and the corruption of the clergy in Scotland were all the more conspicuous because of the poverty of the country and the enforced frugality of the people. The infrequency of sermons and the addiction to good dinners among the clergy earned the name of "dumb dogs" and "idle bellies." Nowhere else were the other ecclesiastical abuses, such as the devotion of church property to secular uses and numerous illegitimate children of priests and prelates, more rampant and deeply rooted than in the northern realm. Little wonder, therefore, that when the preachers of the new continental creeds began their missionary activity they found much material ready at hand with which to illustrate their denunciations and not a few eager listeners. Then, too, the dissolution of the monasteries in England had not been without its effect in Scotland. Greedy and needy barons cast envious eyes upon the rich church lands; they were willing to profit by their spoliation. There was hope of success, then, for a Protestant propaganda. The first of the new preachers to suffer death for their opinions was Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528), whose martyrdom we have already mentioned; and in the following years several other Lutherans lost their lives in the flames. There was much to give rise to ecclesiastical rebellion, but the movement was delayed by the national distrust of England with her claims to over-lordship. Henry VIII made it plain to all men that he meant to possess Scotland by foul means if fair ones failed him. So, to the men who cherished memories of Bruce and Wallace, patriotism and Catholicism seemed identical. But

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the cruel death of the brave and eloquent George Wishart stirred the Scots and incurred for Cardinal Beaton, who had instigated it, the detestation of many who thus far had been friendly to the Catholic cause. Three months later the able but dissolute prelate was murdered in a very revolting manner, and with him, as we have already remarked, the chances of the French and Catholic party virtually expired. It is true that the war of 1547-1550 between England and Scotland, begun by the Protector when negotiations for the marriage of Mary and Edward failed, seemed to leave the northern land as Catholic as ever and more antagonistic to heretical England. But when Mary Tudor ascended the southern throne the menacing neighbor once more became Catholic and so Scottish sympathy naturally began to extend itself to Protestantism. In 1558, the youthful and beautiful Mary Queen of Scots, who for ten years had lived under the tutelage of Catherine de' Medici at the corrupt Parisian court, and whose mother, Mary of Lorraine, was still Regent of Scotland, was married to the Dauphin. A year later her husband became Francis II. At her marriage she signed documents intended to convey Scotland for all time as a mere chattel to the King of France. The Scots had no definite knowledge of this secret transaction, but they divined not a little and were much disturbed. It weakened their sympathy for the Catholic power with which they had been so long associated, and doubtless it also did something to weaken their sympathy for Catholicism.

John
Knox
and
Calvinistic
Propa-
ganda in
Scotland

Under these circumstances Calvinism made considerable progress in Scotland. Chief of its advocates was John Knox (1505?-1572), who, in Geneva, had been closely associated with Calvin. When he returned to Scotland he carried on the work of preaching, in defiance of the government, in many of the principal towns. In the wake of his sermons many monasteries were destroyed. French troops came to the aid of the Catholic party, while the Calvinists received help from England. Not much fighting took place, however, and peace was soon signed. In the midst of the trouble the tactful and tolerant Regent died, and all during the civil strife Calvinism made great headway. In August, 1560, Parliament, assembled without the assent of the absent Queen, invited the Calvinists to present a confession of their faith. Knox and three others formulated one that was accepted and for two hundred years remained the authorized Scottish creed. A few days later an act was passed abolishing papal authority and jurisdiction in Scotland, another abolishing laws that established and enforced the Catholic faith and worship, and still another prescribing severe penalties, even that of death, for those

who should be present at the celebration of the mass. Yet, despite all this, the fabric of the ancient fold had been merely shaken, not shattered. Statutory enactments do not necessarily reveal the true state of affairs. Calvinism was as yet the faith of only a small part of the Scottish people, and Parliament had given it no express sanction. But that did not deter Knox and his associates. They continued their propaganda, and in the last month of the same year a meeting was held of the first General Assembly. Knox was well acquainted with the theocratic government of Geneva, and was determined to introduce a similar one in Scotland. So with all the ardor of his nature, with his undoubted sincerity, his intolerance of all who differed from him in matters of faith, and with his instinct and passion for affairs of state, he continued the work to which he devoted his life.

In 1561 Mary Queen of Scots, widowed, but only a girl of nineteen, landed at Leith. Under the regency of her illegitimate brother James Stuart (1531?-1570), Earl of Murray, she sanctioned the continuance of the new creed, though she herself did not accept it, and even consented to the endowment of its ministry out of the confiscated lands of the old Church. Conciliation was her immediate concern. In the first few years of her reign, in a country which at the best was very difficult to govern, and which at this time was made still more so by religious strife, she "steered her skilful and dauntless way with the tact of a woman and the courage of a man." Her first serious mistake was her marriage to the hapless and worthless Lord Darnley (1545-1567), who was on bad terms with the Regent and other powerful nobles. Not permitted to take any important part in the affairs of state, Darnley soon became jealous and estranged from his wife. He suspected her of illicit relations with David Riccio, an Italian singer in her chapel whom she had promoted to be one of her secretaries and her *valet de chambre*, and so with a company of nobles he stabbed him to death. Mary concealed her deep resentment and affected a reconciliation; and three months later her only child, the future James VI of Scotland and James I of England, was born. She needed a protector, and, failing to find one in her feeble husband, gave her affections, it is alleged, to James Hepburn (1536?-1578), Earl of Bothwell, a daring soldier, an adventurous libertine, handsome, romantic, engaging. Darnley fell ill with what was deemed an infectious disease and was put in a lonely house called Kirk o' Field, not far from Edinburgh. One night the house was blown up with gunpowder and the next morning the unscathed bodies of Darnley and his page were found in the adjoining garden where seemingly they had been strangled.

Mary
Queen
of Scots

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No doubt Bothwell was implicated in the murder; but we are not sure Mary connived at the midnight crime, for the evidence against her is only inferential. Bothwell seized the Queen, who is declared to have been not unwilling, carried her off to one of his castles, and there married her. If Mary's hesitation was only feigned, if she was not compelled to marry Bothwell, the act was one of great folly, a fatal error. Be that as it may, it is undeniable that public opinion immediately rose against the newly-married pair. Mary surrendered to the lords who claimed to have come to her rescue. Bothwell escaped to Scandinavia, where, eleven years later, having been divorced by his wife, he died. By the very men who contended they had risen only to relieve her from coercion, Mary was deposed, and her infant son proclaimed King. For about a year she was confined in a castle on a little island in Loch Leven. She escaped from her prison, and, after the defeat of a small army raised in her favor, she fled to England, and placed herself at the mercy of her cousin Elizabeth.

Captivity
of Mary
in England

Elizabeth was perplexed as to the manner in which she should deal with her guest. The royal fugitive had laid claim to the English Crown; but four nations, Spain, France, England, and Scotland, were interested in her fate. Every line of action that presented itself had, therefore, to be considered with the utmost caution. The Scottish nobles, who contended they had risen only to release Mary from her ravisher, and some of whom had had guilty fore-knowledge of Darnley's death, now preferred charges against their Queen. She was, they said, the mistress of Bothwell and the murderess of Darnley. But the proof they forwarded was declared by Elizabeth to be ridiculously inadequate. Then they sent a silver casket containing love-letters and sonnets alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell in the months just preceding her husband's violent death. If these letters are genuine there is no reasonable doubt of Mary's guilt. But if they are forged, or if certain parts of them are forged, and especially if the forgery was done by the lords themselves, the fraud would seem in itself to disprove the grave accusations against her. The black dishonesty of these nobles, their frequent and serious contradictions of each other, and the perjury of at least two of the most important of them, are beyond question. The commissioners appointed by Elizabeth to inquire into the matter never came to a decision, and the problem of the letters still remains open. The question will perhaps never be settled. One other thing should be noted. Neither the prisoner nor any of her agents were ever given copies of the incriminating documents. Nor was any opportunity given for cross-examining the witnesses. Only one side

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of the case was heard. What should be done with Mary? To return her to her enemies in Scotland was too mean even for Elizabeth; to restore her to her throne by force of arms might be heroic, but it would alienate the Scottish Calvinists; to permit her to go to France seemed too dangerous, for there her claims upon England might be espoused; and even to keep her in England was by no means free from difficulties. The last plan best suited Elizabeth's policy of procrastination, and so for nineteen years the hapless Queen remained a captive in England, the focus of intrigues and plots, in some of which she herself was not inactive.

Elizabeth was not married, and there was no English subject whom the majority of the people were willing to accept as her successor. In these circumstances the people naturally desired her to marry. Her life alone stood between them and another disputed succession. But there were obstacles in the way. In the first place Elizabeth was masculine in mind and temperament. It is not certain, despite her flirtations and her outward display of feminine finery, that she had a woman's feelings and passions. We are not sure she really wished to marry. And, in the second place, the marriage of a ruling Queen is a matter of international importance; it is a matter in which other things in addition to personal preference have to be considered. Many suitors, native and foreign, flitted across the scene, the most important being Philip II of Spain, Eric of Sweden, Archduke Charles of Austria, Charles IX of France, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alençon. But perhaps it was always a question as to whether she would marry her Master-of-the-Horse. Robert Dudley (1531?-1588) was a remarkably handsome man, ingratiating, able and ambitious, but vain and presumptuous. He aspired to Elizabeth's hand, though he was already married to the ill-fated Amy Robsart. One day Amy's body, with the neck broken, was found at the foot of a stone staircase in Cumnor Hall, in Berkshire, where she was staying. Rumor said her death was not accidental, and the matter still remains a mystery. Elizabeth continued to bestow her favors upon her "Sweet Robin." Four years later she made him Earl of Leicester. But the Queen of England could not stoop to marry a man who was suspected of having murdered his wife in order to obtain her. To the end of her life she remained unmarried.

In 1569, the year after Mary's arrival in England, the Catholics of the northern counties rose in her behalf. The rebellion was soon put down, but it revealed the fact that, at least in that part of the country, many were still faithful to the old religion. Then, in 1570, Elizabeth was excommunicated by the Pope and declared

Why Did
Elizabeth
Never
Marry?

Plots and
Uprisings
of
Catholics

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deposed. Parliament replied by making it treasonable to bring a papal bull into the country, to become converted to Catholicism, or to assist in any such conversion; and, later on, the severe penal laws known as the "recusancy laws," fines and disabilities imposed upon those who refused to attend the services of the Church of England, were enacted. Timid Catholics remained quiet or sought refuge in the Anglican fold; the bolder ones went into exile or remained at home and continued to plot for the dethronement or the death of the Queen. In these machinations Spain became involved. Roberto di Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, acting as the agent of Philip II, persuaded the Duke of Norfolk to put himself at the head of a rebellion in which Spanish troops were to assist, release Mary, marry her, depose Elizabeth, place Mary on the throne, and restore Catholicism. The plot was discovered and Norfolk was sent to the block.

Relations
with
France
and
Spain

The immediate danger at home was disposed of, but there remained the danger of an invasion by France or Spain. Such a danger, when these countries, especially Spain, realized they could not depend upon an insurrection, had, indeed, been increased. Then, too, this was the time in which Jesuit missionaries, the seminary priests, as they were called, were active in England and were busy on the continent stirring up opposition to the excommunicated Queen. But internal troubles in France and Spain delayed action on their part; and, as in the past, the two countries were jealous of each other, and so no concerted effort by them seemed probable. In France the Wars of Religion had been in progress for some years, and Elizabeth had sent some slight assistance to the Huguenots, but so menacing was Spain's participation in the thickening plots against her that she turned to France and in 1572 signed a treaty of alliance with that country at Blois. Plot and counter-plot continued. It was a state of war, covert and unavowed, but nevertheless real. In 1584 Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at London, was expelled from the country for complicity in treasonable schemes. Under such circumstances Elizabeth did not desire to see Spain succeed in crushing the revolt then going on in the Netherlands, for then her enemy would be in a far better position to invade England. So, in 1586, under the incompetent Leicester, she sent a small army to help the Dutch. The expedition was a failure. Its most memorable event was the death of Sir Philip Sidney, soldier, courtier, novelist, and poet, the ideal gentleman of the age.

Execution
of Mary
Queen
of Scots

Then came Babington's Plot. John Ballard, a seminary priest, persuaded Anthony Babington and five others to conspire the death of Elizabeth. The plot was discovered and the conspirators

were executed. Was Mary guilty of complicity in the plot? She had corresponded with Babington. No evidence was brought against her other than certain letters alleged to have been copied from her correspondence and the confessions of the conspirators and her secretaries. Were these letters, in part or in whole, invented; and were the "confessions" extorted under torture or by fear of it? Mary was brought before a commission made up of English nobles, and, though she refused to answer the charge of treason on the ground that not being a subject of Elizabeth she could not commit treason against her, she flatly denied complicity in the plot. Nevertheless she was sentenced to death. Parliament then petitioned for her immediate execution. The probable effect of her execution upon the Kings of Scotland and France, who were now Elizabeth's allies, was doubtful until their representatives in London whispered it would be altogether acceptable. Still Elizabeth delayed. She tried to persuade Mary's jailer to procure the death of her cousin without legal authorization. At last she signed the fatal warrant, and on February 8, 1587, Mary, having mounted the low scaffold with unfaltering step, was beheaded in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle. No other ruler ever faced death more triumphantly.

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During all this period of plot and counter-plot the industrial activity of the English people had continued to undergo a marked development. Theological and ecclesiastical troubles on the continent, as well as the frequent wars, drove many workmen away from those lands. With their families they came to England, seeking refuge and bringing their skill and knowledge of manufacturing processes. Several groups of Flemings, Dutch, and Walloons, fleeing from the ruthless persecution carried on by the Spanish forces in their home lands, settled in towns along the eastern coast of England. There they established, and later on taught the natives, the weaving of new and better kinds of woolen and linen goods. Other industries were also brought into the island in the same way. And then, too, Huguenot silk weavers and manufacturers of other fine goods came from France. From this time on the export trade in wool declined at a greater rate than it had been doing, and eventually it came virtually to an end. More cloth than ever before was now woven at home, and great quantities of it were exported to the mainland.

Develop-
ment of
Manufac-
ture

Almost of necessity the development of industry was followed by an expansion of commerce; and to this impulse was added the powerful one exercised by the discovery of America and the new trading routes to the East Indies. England lies athwart the routes between the two hemispheres of the world. She was able

Develop-
ment of
Com-
merce

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to intercept and control a great part of the trade between Europe and America, and between Europe and the East Indies. English merchants did not rest content merely to sell in nearby continental countries goods manufactured in their own, but found their way to ports in many parts of the world to which they took their goods and from which they brought home manufactures and raw materials needed and desired by their fellow countrymen. In these new ventures they had to meet the competition of foreign merchants who were effectively organized. Especially in trading with the western and northern European ports was this true, for that was the region dominated by the Hanseatic League. That League was a loose but effective federation of many towns situated on the rivers draining into the North Sea and the Baltic. It stationed groups of traders and other officials in settlements, known as "factories" or "counters," in foreign ports. These officials administered justice among the men engaged in the service of the League and endeavored to secure for them special trading privileges. In England the League had such "factories" at York, Hull, Norwich, Yarmouth, Bristol, and London. The factory at London, known as the Steelyard, claimed jurisdiction over all the other "factories" in England. The League enjoyed a highly favored position in England, yet it denied trade facilities to the English in the Baltic. It reached the zenith of its power in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. After that it had to meet the sharp competition of other continental trade associations, and, later on, those chartered by the English government. In the reign of Edward VI the special privileges of the Hanseatics were withdrawn, though, in return for granting to the Merchant Adventurers the right to establish a "factory" in Hamburg, permission was given to continue the Steelyard. Finally, in 1597, the Hanseatics were expelled by Elizabeth. As time went on English trading companies increased in number. To the Muscovy Company was due the first intercourse with the vast Russian Empire, then almost unknown. Other trading associations were the Levant Company, formed to trade with Turkish lands; the Eastland Company, to trade with Poland and Prussia; the Barbary Company, to trade with northwestern Africa; and, just at the end of Elizabeth's reign, one destined to become by far the greatest of them all,—the East India Company.

Voyages
of
Discovery

The development of industry and the expansion of commerce greatly stimulated voyages of discovery. In 1553 Sir Hugh Willoughby (?-1554), whose thoughts were perhaps turned towards the sea by Sebastian Cabot, set out with a fleet of three ships to discover a north-east passage to Cathay that should be

free from interference by the Turks. Two ships reached the coast of Lapland, where the commander of the expedition and his companions died of starvation. The third, in charge of Richard Chancellor (?-1556), became separated from the others in a violent storm and sailed into the White Sea. From thence Chancellor made his way to Moscow, and when he returned he brought with him a letter from the Emperor granting trade privileges to the English. This expedition opened the Russian trade and led to the formation of the Muscovy Company. In another direction, also, round the north of the American continent, or by some water-way that perhaps pierced the continent, men sought to find a way to China and India. The discovery of such a route was the motive of most of the Arctic voyages undertaken at this time and for long after. One of the first men to think of a north-west passage was Martin Frobisher (1535?-1594), one of the ablest seamen of his time, who about 1560 determined to go in search of such a passage, and who, securing governmental aid, was the first to give a national character to the enterprise. In 1576 he sighted the coast of Labrador and went west as far north as Butcher's Island. His two succeeding voyages did not result in any new geographical knowledge of importance. In 1585-1587 three voyages for the same purpose were made by John Davis (1550?-1605), one of the greatest of the early explorers in the northwest, but they resulted in "little more than new tales of suffering and privation in the icy north." Although neither the river, the strait, the bay, nor the vast tract of land that bears his name was discovered by Henry Hudson (?-1611) he deserves to take a high rank among navigators because he pushed his explorations farther north than any of his predecessors and came to the conclusion that there was no passageway through the continent in a low latitude, and that if there were one farther north it could be of little practical value. Equally fruitless, as far as the direct object of search was concerned, were the voyages of William Baffin (1584?-1622), one of the first seamen who attempted to determine longitude at sea by astronomical observations; but they were important because of their many and careful scientific and magnetic observations and because of the extent to which the bold commander penetrated into the bleak and inhospitable north. There were seamen who, instead of exploring seas filled with the ghostly galleons of the north and lonely lands of everlasting snow, prepared to go to the East by ways that were known and more or less noted. One of the earliest English travelers and traders in the more distant parts of Asia was Ralph Fitch (?-1606), who, in 1583, with several companions, went from Aleppo to Bagdad,

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descended the river and gulf to Ormuz, where he was arrested by the Portuguese as a spy and taken to Goa. He escaped from prison and made his way through the heart of India and then to Burma and Siam. After visiting Malacca and other places he came home by much the same route along which he had gone, reaching London in 1591, where his experiences were highly valued by the founders of the East India Company. In 1591 Sir James Lancaster (?-1618) set sail with three ships on the first English over-sea expedition to India. The venture was so successful in a mercantile way that it was an important factor in the foundation of the East India Company, which secured its charter on the last day of the sixteenth century. When in 1601 the first fleet of that great association was sent to the East he was put in command, and he justified the confidence placed in him by brilliant trade negotiations and diplomacy.

First
Attempts
to Found
Colonies

The riches of the Far East were not the only things tempting Englishmen overseas. Colonization as well as commerce became a powerful motive in sending men upon expeditions fraught with difficulty and danger. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539?-1583) was given a charter for discovery and colonization, but his voyage in that year was fruitless, and that of 1583, when, in Newfoundland, he began the first English colony in America, cost him his life. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618), a handsome and witty courtier whom Elizabeth had enriched with monopolies and grants at the expense of the people, undertook to establish a colony farther south in a more congenial climate. The expeditions he sent out laid claim to a great stretch of territory, to which was given the name of Virginia, but none of the three attempts to settle colonists in it was successful. In 1602 an expedition commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold (?-1607) discovered and named Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, and unsuccessfully attempted a settlement. Five years later the same captain led another colonizing venture and this time succeeded in forming at Jamestown the first permanent settlement of "Britains beyond the sea." The first definite returns from these colonial ventures were the potato and tobacco. The Spaniards met with the potato in South America, and they were the first to introduce it in Europe. About 1585 this valuable esculent was first cultivated in Ireland. The knowledge of tobacco and its uses also came to Europe from America. The habit of smoking was initiated and spread through English example, it being prevalent among Elizabethan courtiers.

Piracy

No precious metals and jewels, such as filled the Spanish coffers, rewarded English explorers and settlers, and so English

seamen, not many of whom were content with exploration in Arctic regions or the dull and plodding work of colonizing lands lacking gold, looked with envious eyes upon Spanish ships returning heavily laden with treasure that rumor multiplied into fabulous wealth. As early as the last years of Henry VIII Spanish merchantmen were robbed on the high seas by English pirates. The robberies continued in the time of Edward VI, and voyages of trade were made to Spanish and Portuguese dependencies; and although Mary was married to the King of Spain she was powerless to stop such practices. This bold privateering was not confined to the Atlantic; not a little of it took place in the English Channel, where ships going from Spain to the Netherlands might be encountered. Many seamen driven into exile in the time of Mary had become sea-rovers. They found refuge in the harbors of the Netherlands and in bays and inlets of the southwestern shores of Ireland, and they pillaged Spanish ships at every opportunity. When Elizabeth ascended the throne they became her natural allies, though she pretended to disavow them. They helped her to carry out her foreign policies and did not a little towards laying the foundations of her country's colonial empire and command of the sea. Since the destruction of the feudal nobility and the dissolution of the monasteries the middle class, especially the city of London, had gained control of the foreign policy of the realm, and while the energy of other nations was absorbed in religious wars or in attempts to maintain arbitrary authority over rebellious subjects, these wide-awake and daring burghers devoted themselves to industrial and commercial expansion. They lent their support to the predatory attacks upon Spanish ships, and when Philip forbade foreign trade in America upon pain of death they resolved, if possible, to make an end of Spain's dominion across the seas, or at least to put an end to her monopoly of trade. Privateer ships engaged in piracy became associated with ships engaged in commerce and exploration, and were habitually armed.

One of the earliest inroads upon Spanish monopoly in America was made by John Hawkins (1532-1595) in 1562, when he interfered with the slave trade. Negro slaves from Africa were needed in the West Indies because the natives could not stand the hard labor in the mines. But, partly because of humanitarian motives and partly because of financial considerations, the Spanish government impeded and limited the trade in slaves and made it virtually a government monopoly. The demand for negro slaves increased. Spanish colonists were eager to buy them, and so, if it were possible to evade the governmental regulations, large profits

Begin-
ning of
the Slave
Trade

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could be made by any one who carried negroes from Africa to the Spanish possessions in America. In 1562 Hawkins took about three hundred negroes from Sierra Leone and sold them to Spanish colonists in the New World. Thus he initiated the slave trade. So successful financially was this venture that in 1564-1565 a second and larger expedition, in which Elizabeth herself was a partner, set out; and this likewise proving financially profitable, the infamous trade became a more or less regular enterprise. Spain, of course, resisted, and then, more than ever before, the English pirates deemed themselves patriots and increased their determination to enforce the policy of the "open door." Ships belonging to the Queen were sent to join the privateers, and so war existed between the two countries in all but name. Religious animosity increased the bitterness of the struggle, for the Spaniards were Catholics, while most of the English seamen, who came from towns in the south-west of England, were Protestants. In the very nature of things a struggle in which so sharp a clash of interests and such bitter hatreds were involved was bound to result in warfare open and declared.

Sir
Francis
Drake

One of the most prominent men in this stage of piracy and incipient war was Sir Francis Drake (1545-1595), who in 1577, after a romantic career in seizing Spanish ships and burning Spanish settlements, set sail, with five vessels, on the first successful attempt by Englishmen to circumnavigate the globe. The destination of the expedition and its purpose, which was to contest Spanish monopoly in the Pacific, were kept secret. The little fleet was reduced to three vessels before it entered the Straits of Magellan, and after emerging into the Pacific one other sailed home and still another was wrecked. In the one remaining ship, the *Golden Hind*, the intrepid captain suddenly appeared at Valparaiso and seized a ship and some stores. It was "like a visitation from heaven." The Spaniards were completely taken by surprise. No one had dreamed of an English ship in the Pacific. All along the coast one port after another was looted and ships were pillaged, and then, freighted with gold and silver, the homeward voyage was begun. In a little less than three years from the day she began her voyage the *Golden Hind* arrived at Plymouth; and the booty she carried was shared by the crew and captain, by citizens of London who had furthered the undertaking, by courtiers, by members of the Privy Council, and also by the Queen. It was the first voyage of circumnavigation conducted entirely by the same commander. England's sea-power and commercial activity grew apace. Her seamen were now thoroughly convinced they were more than a match for the maritime power of

Spain. "They are daily building more ships," wrote the Spanish ambassador at London in 1580, and in many parts of the world, as well as in Spanish ports, he added, they are "almost the masters of commerce." In 1585 Philip laid an embargo upon English ships in Spanish ports, and Elizabeth retaliated with a similar measure. A little later Drake and Frobisher, commissioned by royal authority, sailed with twenty-eight ships to seize and ravage in the West Indies and the Spanish Main; and in the next year Leicester and his little army were sent to the Netherlands. Then came Babington's Plot, in which Spain was involved, and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Two months later Drake destroyed thirty-three ships in the harbor of Cadiz, carried off four others laden with provisions, and captured a third one at sea containing an enormous amount of booty, a feat he laughingly described as "singeing the King of Spain's beard." War had already been intended by Philip and all these things now made it inevitable.

Open war between England and Spain had been delayed through more than twenty years of ceaseless friction by the irresolute temperament of the two sovereigns, by the fear of Spain that France would fall upon her at such an opportune time, and by the desire of English statesmen to postpone the conflict until their country's strength should be still further developed. The capture of Spanish ships, the looting and burning of Spanish colonial settlements, the monetary and military aid given to Spanish rebels and enemies, and the execution of Mary Queen of Scots at last goaded Philip into action. The ships destroyed in the harbor of Cadiz had been intended for the invasion of England. Another and a larger fleet was prepared, the famous Invincible Armada, which sailed on May 20, 1588, in charge of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who had never yet commanded a ship, much less a fleet, and who had accepted the task only after being repeatedly requested to do so by Philip. The Armada consisted of one hundred and thirty-two vessels; from one-third to one-half of ^{were} ~~were~~ were transports and other auxiliary vessels, carrying 21,621 soldiers and 8,066 sailors. The plan was to join the Spanish forces in the Netherlands under the Duke of Parma and then effect an invasion of England. But the summer was one of frequent and violent storms and a squall scattered the fleet almost as soon as it set sail, and so not all the ships succeeded in making their way into the English Channel. The English fleet, commanded by Lord Charles Howard (1536-1624) of Effingham, assisted by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, was made up of the Queen's ships and armed merchantmen, and numbered about one hundred

The
Invincible
Armada

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and ninety-seven vessels, the majority of them being small ships, which carried about 16,000 or 17,000 men, most of whom were sailors. In tonnage the two fleets were about equal; but the Spanish vessels stood higher above the water, they had more superstructures on the decks, and they were therefore more difficult to manage than the more seaworthy and quicker ships of the English. It is impossible accurately to state the relative strength of the two fleets in cannon. The Spaniards had more pieces, but in gunnery the English were decidedly superior. Every one of the English commanders confidently expected a complete victory. Impeded by their transports, and constantly harassed by the lighter and swifter ships of the enemy, the Spanish fleet slowly made its way up the Channel, and, on July 26, anchored in the roads off Calais. But because of the fact that Dutch and English ships were blocking the Flemish ports, Parma was unable to join Medina-Sidonia. Under cover of night, and aided by wind and tide, the English sent fire-ships among the Spanish fleet riding at anchor and utterly demoralized it. In panic most of the Spanish ships slipped their cables and escaped to sea, while others weighed anchor and got away in a more orderly manner. The next day the English, with all the circumstances in their favor, attacked the scattered vessels of the Armada off Gravelines and succeeded in destroying some of them and crippling others. Then the Spaniards lost heart, and, as the wind was blowing from the west and the English fleet was blocking the way down the Channel, they decided to sail round the north of Scotland and Ireland and thus escape complete disaster. For four days the English gave chase, and then, because they were running short of food and ammunition, and because they were unfamiliar with the northern seas, they abandoned the pursuit. A great many of the English seamen who had served their country so bravely fell ill with fever on the return, and the mean and parsimonious Queen demurred at the expense involved in their care. Thus far the Spaniards

All not lost many ships, but then a gale of great violence broke upon them, and, already damaged, weakened, and undermanned with sailors, they were unable to weather the fearful storm. Nineteen ships were wrecked on the Scottish and Irish coasts, while many more foundered at sea. At least one-half of the total number of vessels were destroyed, and the crews of those that made their way home were greatly lessened by scurvy, fever, and starvation. Thus, largely because of its own inherent weakness, and in part because of the skill and cautious tactics of the English, did the Invincible Fleet fail to accomplish its purpose. The defeat of the Armada was only the beginning of the war

between the two countries. Some fifteen years the struggle continued, chiefly on the sea, the English repeating, though not so successfully as before, their buccaneering interception of ships coming from America and their destruction of vessels in Spanish ports, and it was not ended until Philip and Elizabeth had died. But the great naval victory reduced the fear of France and Spain to a minimum and left England free to develop her resources, to become a great naval power, to conquer Ireland, to bring about union with Scotland, and to begin the foundation of a great colonial empire. Nor were its effects confined to the British Isles, It dealt a severe blow to the progress of militant Catholicism on the continent, and it greatly weakened the power of Spain to crush the rebellion in the Netherlands.

We have seen that Henry VIII assumed the title of King of Ireland and began the work of getting rid of the feudal and tribal systems and establishing English rule in the island upon a firm basis. A half-hearted attempt by Edward VI to force Protestantism upon the people proved unsuccessful, and so Elizabeth virtually confined her efforts to enforce religious uniformity in the Pale and the larger towns. Yet there was widespread dissatisfaction. Nor were the disturbances filling every part of the island confined to religious matters. Political quarrels between the Irish themselves and insurrections against English rule resulted in the burning of crops and cabins, in wholesale hangings, in atrocious massacres, and in general famine, the horrors of which it is impossible to exaggerate. Because of inadequate financial and military resources and the fear of becoming involved in a long-continued conflict in the island at a time when England itself seemed in danger of invasion from the continent, Elizabeth, until the close of her reign, did not succeed in subjugating Ireland and giving to its people something like a satisfactory government. And what partial authority she had inherited and acquired in the island was exercised, not in favor of the land and its people, but in favor of herself and her favorites. Ireland was held to be a field for colonization, a market to be exploited, and its people were regarded as enemies to be crushed and then converted. The Irish were to submit to this program or they were to be exterminated. The effort to complete the subjugation of the island was carried on intermittently throughout Elizabeth's reign. As in so many other matters, there was a lack of truth in her dealings and a wavering resolution in her policy. Violent efforts of coercion were succeeded by fits of inactivity, due to parsimony or apathy or to the pressure of other problems and the fear of other dangers. Racial, religious, and political causes combined to induce

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Change
in the
Attitude
of the
People
Towards
the
Monarchy

the Irish to resist all attempts to subdue them. In this resistance they looked for aid to England's foes, especially to Spain, and so the English government was gradually led to adopt the policy of expropriating them, of dispossessing them of their lands. It was an unhappy expedient, for it led to further trouble at once, and its deplorable results, despite the wise expiatory efforts of our own time, are still widely prevalent. Oppression served not so much to subdue as to unite the Irish, and the missionaries from the continent kept the people faithful to Catholicism, dissipated to no small extent the inter-tribal enmity, and fanned into flame the nascent national consciousness. The dreary details of the struggles we shall not recount. For the first time Ireland was conquered, but only at a terrible cost in money and men; and behind the warfare, marked by ferocious deeds on both sides, were left the bitter memories that gradually gave birth to the Irish nation.

The defeat of the Armada brought to a close the period of Elizabeth's popularity and marked a turning point in the political and religious development of the country. The Tudor despotism had come to be definitely disputed by Parliament; and the dissatisfactions and demands of the Puritans had been distinctly increased. Emphatic protests against monopolies were made, new regulations of enclosures were enacted, and the Martin Marprelate tracts made a vigorous attack upon the episcopal form of church government. On March 24, 1603, having outlived her leading councilors and her principal favorites, and with neither husband, children, nor near relatives, the last of the Tudors died. In temper and tradition she belonged to an age already slipping into the past, for the age in which English monarchs could rule arbitrarily was giving way to one in which the representatives of the people were to exercise a growing control.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

A good brief survey of the entire field of this chapter is Mandel Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth*. Creighton's *Elizabeth* and E. S. Beesly's *Elizabeth* are two good biographies. An admirable work covering part of the period is E. P. Cheyney's *England from the Defeat of the Armada*.

The more important constitutional documents, with a scholarly introduction, are to be found in G. W. Prothero's *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*.

For books dealing with persons and special aspects of the life of the time see Hubert Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*; five books by M. A. S. Hume, *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, *The Great Lord Burghley*, *Philip II of Spain*, *Treason and Plot*, and *The Year after the Armada*; Andrew Lang's *Mystery of Mary Stuart*; E. M. Leonard's *Early History of English Poor Relief*; A. F. Pollard's *Factors in Modern History*; J. R. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*; H. T. Stephenson's *The Elizabethan*

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For books dealing with industry, commerce, and discovery see the following: G. Unwin's *Guilds and Companies of London*; the same author's *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth Century*; Price's *Elizabethan Monopolies*; Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages*; and J. E. Gillespie's *Influence of Oversea Expansion on England*.

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For the navy the following books include the results of recent research: J. S. Corbett's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, which gives a good summary of medieval shipping, and his *Successors of Drake*; and Captain A. T. Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RENAISSANCE

(1558-1616)

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Assimila-
tion of
Foreign
Influences

MANY things unite medieval with modern life. Yet it is possible to point to a decided change that came upon English life in the sixteenth century. Men became freer than ever before to share life in its fullest sense, to saturate themselves with experience, to indulge in the boldest flights of thought. The change came later in England than in the countries of the continent, but it was all the richer for the delay, and it would have missed some of its finest characteristics and achievements had it been unduly hastened. The necessity of a settlement of the religious and political questions, and the fact that the tide of continental culture had not yet been strong enough, retarded the Renaissance in England. But early in Elizabeth's reign a compromise was reached in religious matters; and by 1580 the nation had become buoyant and jubilant, even insolent and audacious, over its success in defeating Spain and over the progress of its own prosperity. From this time it is possible to date a great increase in translations into English from the classical languages and to note a marked improvement in their quality. Then, too, about this time the influence of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany upon English life and thought became more direct and distinct than ever before. From the writings of Machiavelli, that cold and sagacious mentor of the rulers of men, more than one English thinker drew the main principles of his political theory; while the influence of Italian literature of all kinds, from Petrarch to Tasso, is seen in every important English poem and play produced in the Elizabethan period. For loftier things, too, England was indebted to Italy. Through the writings of Marlowe and Raleigh and others runs a slight stream of the philosophic thought of Giordano Bruno; and traces of his ethical ideal, high, clear, prophetic of noble daring, magnanimous free-thinking, and frank respect for the indwelling needs and passions of man, are frequently to be found in plays and poems. In those writings one finds also traces of other liberal thinkers of the southern peninsula. Other continental countries, too, were not without their quickening in-

fluence. The example of Ronsard and his companions, who in their lovely songs, beautiful sonnets, and elegiac odes revealed themselves to be the first important masters of French poetry, is apparent in the poems of Sidney and Spenser; and from Montaigne, even before Florio translated his essays, English writers, including Shakespeare, learned not a little. The influence of Spanish writers is seen in the sententious prose of the time; and Spanish novelists, particularly Cervantes, had much to do with the shaping of the English drama. While as for Germany, legends of that introspective land are to be found not only in Marlowe's *Faustus*, but also in many a minor play and story. Lavishly enriched by all these foreign ingredients one would naturally expect to find English literature of this time decidedly cosmopolitan in its character, and yet so powerful was the national spirit that every book of the time is plainly born of the national genius. All the pith and sap of a great intellectual activity were here seething and surging in the social body, a ferment of spiritual force that inevitably burst into flower.

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Prose continued to develop slowly. Perfect unity, in vocabulary and construction, between the Germanic and Latin elements had not yet been attained. It was naturally a period of experimentation, of uncharted freedom, of wondering bewilderment. Yet there was much real achievement, and in the middle of the next century a durable and adaptable prose style was definitely mastered. All the important authors of the time were men of action, free-booting sailors, soldiers in the war against Spain, government officials, or actors, and so in their writings we have constantly "the warrant of life and experience."

Develop-
ment of
English
Prose

Among the prose writers let us first consider the translators. Their numerous and notable achievements, beginning with Berners's *Froissart*, are eloquent testimony to the diffusion of culture and the talent for prose writing. Somewhere about 1555 Sir Thomas Hoby (1530-1566) completed his translation, in subtle and elegant prose, of Castiglione's golden *Book of the Courtier*, which exercised great influence upon the standards of conduct among the nobility and the well-to-do. In 1566 William Painter (1540?-1594) published *The Palace of Pleasure*, a collection of stories translated into English that did much to make English readers acquainted with the Italian novelists of the time. And not in books only did Italy come to England. In the streets of London was to be found many an Englishman who had returned to his native land with costume and conversation, manners and words, borrowed from the southern peninsula; and there also were to be found not a few natives of that sunlit land. The numerous

Trans-
lations
from
Other
Languages

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Italian names found in Elizabethan plays furnish striking testimony to the overpowering influence of the Italian fashion. In 1600 Philemon Holland (1552-1637) issued the first of the faithful and readable translations of the ancients that earned for him the title of "translator-general in his age." In 1603 the first edition appeared of the admirable translation of Montaigne's *Essays* by Giovanni Florio (1553?-1625), who was born in London of Italian parentage, and from whom some think Shakespeare gained his knowledge of Italian and French. The book was "the charter of the new freedom of mental exploration."

Lyly's
Novels

The first notable English novel is the *Euphues*, published in 1578, of John Lyly (1553-1606), followed by *Euphues and His England*. The popularity of the two books was due in part to their matter, but in much greater degree to their manner, to their elaborately decorated style. Their extremely artificial style was imitated not only in writing but even in speaking.

Sidney's
"Arcadia"

In concession to the fashionable taste of the time the style of the *Arcadia*, the one novel by Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), is also extremely ornamented; but its florid fulness is closely associated with its chivalrous spirit and romantic fancy and is quite distinct from the more deliberate affectations of euphuism. The *Arcadia* is usually declared to be a pastoral novel, but it is in reality a novel of quite another sort. It is a "book of knightly deeds." By this time the desire to live a life of simplicity under the greenwood tree, found in certain classical idylls, had become only half sincere. The principal characters of Sidney's romance are essentially courtly persons disguised as shepherds, and the actual shepherds that appear among the minor characters are mere buffoons. The book had a widespread popularity and exerted great influence upon the novel and drama in England.

Robert
Greene

Lyly's influence is distinctly seen in the early prose of Robert Greene (1560?-1592); but in his *Pandosto* the tricks of the euphuistic style are plainly palling upon him, and in his *Menaphon* and *Philomela* they are almost entirely cast aside. Greene led a wild life. After "consuming the flavor of his youth" with profligate companions at Cambridge, he traveled with them in Italy and Spain. In London he resumed his riotous career and wrote a series of pamphlets describing in a very vivacious and realistic manner the tricks and habits of the sharpers and criminals with whom he associated, and revealing to us all he felt and knew in a manner startling in its modernity.

Other
Novelists
of the
Time

Thomas Lodge (1558?-1625) was not content to live in the limbo of Bohemia, but left the "ballet makers, pamphleteers, press-haunters, boon pot poets, and such-like" and for some years

took to the life of a sailor. In *Rosalynde*, his most important novel, is to be found the charming story of *As You Like It*. His shepherds, all polished and poetical, whether genuine or in disguise, betray the Italian influence upon the pastoral; and the story is frequently touched with sylvan and idyllic sweetness. Thomas Nash (1567-1601) boasted of his freedom from the prevailing fashion in prose, but euphuism was in the air and he could not wholly escape it. Yet of all the writers of the time his prose most nearly resembles that of Shakespeare. In his remarkable pamphlet *Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem* the vices and the lampless mire of Elizabethan London are vividly described; and his novel *The Unfortunate Traveler*, written in a lively and picturesque style, full of realistic details strung on a slender thread of narrative, is the earliest example in English of the picaresque romance. But the novel was not yet to develop along realistic lines. In such stirring times it was perhaps inevitable that the novel should be absorbed by the drama.

Something of the power and splendor latent in English prose had been revealed. Its capacity for refined and sweeping philosophical thought was now to be demonstrated. Because of its vigorous, systematic, and comprehensive thought, and the grave beauty of its elaborate periods, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* by Richard Hooker (1553-1600) is the first work of genius in that medium. The book was designed to refute the attacks of the Puritans upon the customs and polity of the Anglican Church. Its chief value today, however, lies not so much in its theological discussions as in its philosophical and political thought, in its exposition of the unity and comprehensiveness of law. Law, so the author declares, is one and all-embracing; its seat is "the bosom of God," and its voice is "the harmony of the world." It is of two kinds, natural and positive, according to the matter to which it refers, though both have the same divine source. The former is eternal and immutable, and no circumstance can justify its violation. The latter, which includes all forms of human government, varies according to external necessity and expediency, and its application is to be determined by reason and experience. Reason is so important an element in the life of man that, although certain truths necessary for salvation are known to us only by divine revelation, it is the criterion by which those truths are to be judged. Reason leads to the perfection of the individual, and is of equal importance in the life of the community, ecclesiastical and secular, as in that of the individual. Every government, of Church as well as State, derives its justification from the approval of the governed, given either directly by those who at the time are

Richard
Hooker

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being governed, or indirectly by their ancestors. Much of the thought of this gentle and gracious priest has lost the approbation of men, but his exaltation of reason, anticipated the trend of thought in the three succeeding centuries, and his latent idea that government derives its sanction from the governed has developed into the modern theory of democracy. English prose had served its period of apprenticeship. Now came its first high and various master.

Profes-
sional
and
Literary
Writings
of Francis
Bacon

It was the ambition of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) to reorganize the sciences and formulate a new method "by which the human mind might proceed with security and certainty towards the true end of all human thought and action." Among his literary works the most widely read are the *Essays*, the matter of which is of the familiar and practical kind that "comes home to men's bosoms." They are the notes of a statesman whom life has left somewhat disillusioned. Yet they grew out of actual life, their matter is often weighty, and sometimes their counsels are freighted with a wisdom not altogether worldly.

The "Ad-
vancement
of
Learning"

Bacon's views upon the reformation of the Universities show his power to seize upon the essentials of things and his great foresight. In his *Advancement of Learning* he proposed six ways of bettering those seats of learning. Their curricula, then confined to the professions, were to be broadened to permit all inclined to do so "to devote themselves to history, modern languages, civil policy, and general literature"; the "mean salaries apportioned to public lectureships" were to be increased; substantial additions were to be made to the apparatus and material for the proper study of the sciences; those studies ill suited to the age were to be eliminated and those unwisely arranged should be reformed; the "little sympathy and correspondence" between the Universities was to grow; and men fit "to forward those sciences which yet remain in an unfinished state" were to be engaged. Thus did he become the prophet of the modern University.

Bacon's
Great
Concep-
tion of a
Scientific
and Philo-
sophic
Method

Because of the lack of adequate understanding and proper organization, Bacon believed that the knowledge man then possessed was of little service, that it consisted of vain notions and blind experiments; and he thought the medieval scientific method was entirely barren,—that because it relied upon deduction and not upon induction it would continue to result only in abstract disputations and never in concrete discoveries. He attempted, therefore, to found the sciences anew, to describe each one of them correctly, to reveal their due relation to each other, and to outline their proper procedure. In his great work entitled *Instau-*

ratio Magna he attempted, but never completed, this tremendous task. The work includes (1) a survey of the sciences, or an inventory of all the possessions of the human mind; (2) a new method, a *novum organum*, by which the mind of man is to be trained and directed in its task of improving science after the obstacles to progress, idols, or erroneous ways of looking at nature, have been done away with; (3) an inclusive natural history, that should supply the data for the new scientific method to work upon, that should furnish it with materials to treat; (4) types or examples of investigations conducted by the new method, a demonstration of the new scientific process, of which, however, there seems to be only a brief fragment; (5) certain forerunners of the new philosophy, temporary or uncertain anticipations of the new thought; and (6) the new philosophy, which, produced by the new method, was to be the work of succeeding ages. Such was the "new instrument" by which the human mind was to proceed with unerring and mechanical certainty to the discovery of new knowledge and its practical utilization. It attempted, though in a mistaken way, to deal with the phenomena of the world, to consider the actualities of life, to extend the intellectual frontiers of men, to bring new knowledge to light; whereas the medieval method was but a working over of data already gathered, of knowledge already in the possession of men, of servile submission to the authority of Aristotle, who for forty generations had been the intellectual dictator of Europe.

Bacon argued against the tyranny of authority, he warned men against the vagaries of uncontrolled imagination, and he denounced the waste of time and energy in unpractical dialectic; but his conception of scientific procedure is radically wrong, and so not a single discovery has been made by it. How is it, then, that he has come to be regarded as a great leader in the formulation of modern science? The answer is that the general spirit of his work is modern, not medieval. The power of his exposition stimulated men to the practice of a true scientific method, and thus discovery was furthered. The predominant motive that impelled him was a desire to be of service to his fellow-men. This aim was the companion of his mind through all his vicissitudes. He thought the knowledge man then possessed was of little use because it was insufficient in quantity and inaccurate in quality. He summed up and exposed the defects of medieval thought and helped to organize the processes of modern thought.

For twenty years after the verse of Wyatt and Surrey and other singers of the early Tudor period were published the melancholy strains of Thomas Sackville (1536-1608) were the only

Influence
of BaconMinor
Poets

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melodious voice that came from the lyric choir. The social ideal of the time, the ideal of the versatile courtier to whom verse-making, like fencing, was but one of many accomplishments, did not encourage an exclusive or an intensive devotion to poetry. But though Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), whose early and heroic death has invested his memory with a romantic charm, was in this respect a true Elizabethan courtier, it is with him the new verse may be said to have begun. The sonnets and songs of this flower of knighthood reveal the true lyric impulse and rank much higher than his prose.

Edmund
Spenser

In 1579 Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599) issued *The Shepherd's Calendar*, his first volume of poetry, and immediately he was hailed as the "new poet" for whom the age had been waiting. He proved, indeed, to be the second great English poet. The eclogue, or pastoral dialogue in verse, was then a form new in English literature, but Spenser's poem was more finished, sustained, and masterful than anything else in verse since Chaucer, and it revealed a brave struggle to be rid of the literary pedantries and affectations of the period. Spenser passed most of his remaining years in Ireland, amid the wild and violent scenes then prevailing there. Yet in the midst of such distractions the writing of the tender and dreamy *Faery Queene*, begun in England, was steadily continued. The poem, whose purpose was "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," to instruct him in the ideal of beauty, honor, and service, in the world of men, is a full expression of the spirit and aspirations of the more cultured men of the time. In it are blended chivalry and the new birth of learning, medievalism and modernity. It is the poem of a dying culture, embodying a vanishing phase of the spiritual life of man. It is a series of tales of knightly deeds in which figures from old mythology mingle dreamily with medieval lords and ladies and dwarfs and dragons. Buried beneath the long procession of deeds and doers is a "long-continued conceit," an allegory, of the war between good and evil, as the poet saw it in the world about him, which may be difficult for us to dissect to-day, but which for the author was fraught with significance. Spenser's moral sentiments are often delicate and ethereal, in contrast to the more robust and worldly ones of Shakespeare, and so his poem is at times lacking in vigorous human interest; but it lives by its poetry, and its poetry in nowise depends upon its moral proclamations. The secret of the popularity of *The Faery Queene* with all true lovers of poetry is the instinct it displays for verbal magic and music, and for the celestial light that here and there touches its stanzas with ineffable beauty and gave to

its author, even in his own day, the name of "the heavenly poet." The length and diffuseness of the narrative, which after all is but a fragment of the original design, and the doubt as to the inner meaning of the lines and episodes, are forgotten, and only the soft tones, as of some old tapestry, the plaintive prevailing spirit, and the languorous and liquid melody remain to enchant the reader. In this poem, which retains all that is exalted, serious, and tender in chivalry, one detects without difficulty the authentic spirit of romance, with its mysterious longings and its vague shudderings at unknown perils.

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Sidney made sonnet sequences fashionable; and Spenser made eclogues the mode. So these verse-forms now appeared in abundance. Some of the sonnets of the Elizabethan age owe their existence to imitation of foreign models, others to imagination, and still others to personal confession. Of this last kind would seem to be the wonderful sonnets of Shakespeare, so "full of far-wandering thoughts on truth and beauty and on good and evil," revealing at least the outlines of a drama which played itself out for once, not in his imagination but in his actual life in the world of men. The greater number are in a serious vein, and are filled with "a deep consciousness of the bitterness of lustful passion and of the slavery of the soul to the body."

Shake-
speare's
Sonnets

The expanding national life, and the increasing freedom of the individual, greatly stimulated the lyric impulse in England, while the widening acquaintance with Italian and French poetry, and with Italian music, subjected it to discipline and lent it abundant color. Towards the close of the Elizabethan period the lyrical gift seemed omnipresent. Songs gushed forth everywhere, and drenched the literature of the time, even the plays, as with the springs of Parnassus. Of these lyrical poets Shakespeare was the greatest. The numerous songs in his dramas are touched with magic; and embodied in the plays of his contemporaries are many exquisite melodies, such as Marlowe's *Come live with me and be my love*. All of them are best read in their dramatic setting. They deal with the prevailing emotion of the scene in which they occur, and, as the action of the play pauses for a moment, they accentuate or relieve it, and thus add not a little to its charm or its power.

Eliza-
bethan
Lyrics

Out of the little scenes of humor interpolated in the miracle plays and the moralities to render them less pale and bloodless there had gradually grown the interlude, so called from its being acted in the intervals of a banquet, or, as we should call it to-day, the farce. John Heywood (1497-?), who was a sort of master of revels at the court of Henry VIII and that of Queen Mary, was

Early
Comedies

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the first writer to turn the abstract characters of the morality play into real persons. His interludes, very popular in their day, form the link between the moralities and the modern drama. Then from the interlude was gradually fashioned, chiefly by certain schoolmasters whose pupils acted their plays, the comedy. The earliest extant English comedy is *Ralph Roister Doister*, by Nicholas Udall (1540-1556), written some dozen years before the birth of Marlowe and Shakespeare, which is infinitely superior, both in form and substance, to any of its predecessors. Another famous comedy of this time is *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, written about 1559, in which the characters are drawn from the lowest life and the rustic fun is rather too rank. Gradually the element of romance crept into English comedy, and so a faint beginning was made of "the comedy of high sentiment and averted dangers." In *Supposes*, a version of one of Ariosto's plays, by George Gascoigne (1535-1577), notable as the first play in English prose acted in public or private, the domestic comedy of intrigue, with its stock characters of the austere father, the spendthrift son, the cunning servant, and the nurse, soft of heart and loose of tongue, was shadowed forth.

Early
Tragedies

The earliest English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, by Thomas Sackville (1536-1608) and Thomas Norton (1532-1584), steeped in blood, though the doleful deeds are only reported by messengers, and unspeakably dull, is not so much a play as a wraith of a play. Thus by the opening of the last quarter of the sixteenth century the drama, the most individual product of all English literature, had done not a little to perfect its technic. Plays had been organized into acts and scenes, and the three classical laws of unity were more or less observed. In addition to this, plot had been made more consistent and elaborate, the purpose of amusing had been substituted for that of instructing, and living personages were replacing the pale abstractions of the miracles and moralities. But as yet the style of the plays was distinctly unsatisfactory. Natural dialogue and suitable style were to be won only by escape from the classic tutelage and by a greater faith in the power and worth of the native genius.

Theaters
in the
Time of
Shake-
speare

The age of Elizabeth was fond of theatrical entertainments. Court masques, abounding in songs, music, and dancing, were staged at great expense. The Universities had their own amateur authors and actors, and students in the London schools acted so well as to become serious rivals of professional performers. More and more the general taste turned away from the medieval and classical types of plays to modern forms, still largely embryonic, that permitted greater variety of scene and freedom of action.

There were many troops of players, some of them licensed by the government and patronized by men of wealth and position, and others mere strolling vagabonds who acted wherever they could, chiefly in the yards of inns. There were many small theaters in London, but the largest and best were of recent construction and were situated in the suburbs beyond the municipal bounds, in Shoreditch and Southwark. The theater of this time was a round wooden building. Its center was called the pit, open to rain and sun, and unseated. The noble and the well-to-do sat in galleries round the pit, or else on the stage. The stage was completely covered by thatch and its sides were hung with arras. There was no scenery; a frame, for instance, with a name in large letters, stood for a town-gate, or for the town itself. There were no women actors until the reign of Charles II, and so boys played women's parts. The stage was very popular in those days. "Woe is me," exclaimed a contemporary, "the play houses are pestered when the churches are naked. At the one, it is not possible to get a place; at the other, void and seats are plenty." Authors sold their plays to the managers for a lump sum and received no further financial profit from them. The playwrights were often young men who had studied at one of the Universities and who had come to know quite well the contemporary continental literatures, especially those of Italy and France.

John Lyly (1553-1606) was the first playwright to employ prose. His dialogue, still leaving much to be desired, was a great advance upon anything that had gone before it, and, apart from conceits, is lucid and in good taste. In the plays of George Peele (1558?-1598) blank verse of greater perfection and more musical than any other thus far written is to be found, and here and there one comes upon passages of genuine poetry. With the gifts of light and graceful dialogue and a vivid sense of reality Robert Greene (1560?-1592) was able to give in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* a dramatic picture of the London of his day. It is a comedy full of amusing action and brimming over with genial fun. His best effects are created by the simplest means; and it was he who, borrowing his plots for romantic comedies from Italian novels, introduced in the lighter plays of the English stage the idyllic mood and the accent of chivalry. In *The Spanish Tragedy* by Thomas Kyd (1558-1594), one of the most notable of the dramatists who preceded Shakespeare, the English stage was presented with a play that for more than half a century enjoyed an undiminished popularity; and another play of his, now lost, Shakespeare surely knew before he wrote *Hamlet*.

Thus we have attempted to trace the first stage in the evolution

The Use
of Prose
and Blank
Verse in
Plays

CHAP.
XIVThe Drama
as It Was
Before
Marlowe

of the modern English drama. In this period of preparation some improvement in form and matter was made, but more remained to be done. The unities of time and place had to be discarded and the unity of action more liberally conceived. A dramatic style, poetic and noble, capable of expressing the entire gamut of human emotion, had to be developed, and a still higher conception of both comedy and tragedy as potent and ever-present elements in the lives of men had to be acquired. In the work of Marlowe most of these things were attained.

The
Spirit of
the Age

The power of feudal and ecclesiastical bonds was diminishing rapidly. Men were looking forward into a boundless future. Individuality was asserting itself in daring manner; it was a new force, and naturally it was a tempestuous stream that had not yet found the channels in which to-day it flows more smoothly. It is seen in the deeds and dreams of the seamen, in the increasing self-reliance of the dwellers in the towns, and in the restless activity, the feverish pulse, of the heroes of the dramas of the time. Men longed for life that should ravish them with experience and that should deeply impress their fellow men. A deepened energy of thought and a wider range of emotion surged like sap in the sudden spring of a northern land. This great change in man's attitude towards life inevitably gave birth to a rich and voluminous literature in which man's heart and mind, his passions and his temperament, are revealed and made the subject of reflection. This literature was destined to become a stream of amazing breadth and in due time to declare the ability of the individual to formulate his own faith and guide his own life by the inherent strength of his feeling and thought.

Life and
Art of
Marlowe

The true poet marks the great changes in the minds of men, in their attitude towards life. Whenever the flame of life leaps up with new power and splendor the poet is always present. Such a poet was Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593), in the wildness of whose brief and tragic life, and in whose surging and sonorous lines, there flames a fiery imagination that penetrated far beyond the social horizon of ordinary men. Denounced in his own day as an atheist, though unjustly, he was a rebel in thought as well as a pioneer in imagination. Neither the mood nor the music of his *Hero and Leander*, a poem of pagan paradise, has been repeated in our vernacular literature, and in it he stands revealed as the truest embodiment of the intoxication with life that possessed the men of that dawning age. By choosing heroic figures and themes that appealed to the imagination, and by dealing with the master-passions of life, he raised the subject-matter of the drama to a higher level. He was not able to portray the per-

sonages and passions of his plays adequately, but he succeeded in interesting his fellow-men in them and made it inevitable that other dramatists should deal with them. He created characters that are no longer mere puppets, pulled by a string, but men and women with the breath of life in them. By varying the rhythmic pauses, by altering the accents, and by suiting the meter to the subject, he succeeded in revealing not a little of the color and energy of blank verse, in making it throb and live. And, finally, to the drama, which previously had been a mere succession of isolated scenes, he gave unity. His first play, *Tamburlaine*, whose hero, a world-conqueror, with an insatiable spirit of adventure and a passion for discovery, expresses the animating spirit of the Elizabethan seamen, revealed the impetuous force of the new poet. In his second play, *Doctor Faustus*, whose hero spends his life in pursuit of universal knowledge, the old medieval legend is transformed by the spirit of the Renaissance. No longer does Faustus sell his soul for some years of pleasure; pleasure, it is true, the new Faustus desires, but it is only incidental; vibrant with passion and rapturous with longing, what he most desires is to drink freely of the knowledge of all times and all places. His third play is *The Jew of Malta*, whose hero, dreaming of fabulous wealth, expresses the master-passion of hate and exemplifies the fierce selfishness that oftentimes marks the revived individuality of the age. His fourth play, *Edward the Second*, is a complete and connected drama, and, in this respect, is his best piece of work. Marlowe had the defects of his age, a flaming imagination more or less uncontrolled, a lack of restraint, and an exuberant expression sometimes extravagant; but he reaffirmed the truth, so long forgotten, that passion is the substance of poetry, and he made it the substance of the drama. His eager gaze was directed into the future, and in him were unloosed the reinvigorated human faculties that made the men of the age so vital, rebellious, prophetic, and masterly.

It has been well said that "if Marlowe is the voice of the impulse to explore, the plays of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) are the amplest freight brought home by any voyager." For Shakespeare is not only the earliest dramatist who took all sorts and conditions of men for his personages, he is also the most versatile and the greatest. The known facts of his external career are very few and simple. He was born in Stratford-on-Avon, of which place his father was one of the leading citizens. He probably attended the free grammar school of that provincial market-town, and there, under Walter Roche, who had been a fellow at one of the Oxford colleges, he obtained a good ordinary edu-

Life of
Shake-
speare

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cation. When he was about nineteen years of age he married Anne Hathaway, of the neighboring village of Shottery, by whom he had three children. A year or so after his marriage he seems to have left Stratford, and from that time until in 1592 he appears again, this time as an actor and playwright, his history is a blank. What experiences filled those eight years of Elizabethan life it is now impossible to say. Certainly it was his true vocation, that of writing plays, to which he had found his way. About 1610 he seems to have left London for Stratford, where until his death he lived the life of a retired gentleman, and where his two brothers, his sister, his wife, and his two daughters lived. Such are the main external facts in the life of this elusive and enigmatic man. They are, as we have said, few and simple. The spiritual facts of his life, however, are multitudinous and marvelous. No other man lived a more various spiritual life, a life more crowded with ideas, passions, volitions, and vividly imagined events. He projected himself into almost all varieties of human character, and by means of this powerful imagination and swift and unerring sympathy, he realized and lived the life of each of them.

First
Period of
Shake-
speare's
Work

Shakespeare began his career as an adapter and reviser of existing plays, and as an author who observed the conventions of play-writing then in vogue. This period (1592-1594) brought forth, among other plays, *Richard III*, in which it is possible for the first time to perceive the intensity of the poet's power. From this time on he displayed an ever-increasing intellectual curiosity that left few aspects of life unexplored, an ever-broadening sympathy that embraced a wide range of his fellow-men, and a constant refinement of expression that enabled him to reveal to others, with poetry and power, his "cloudless, boundless, human view." Then came a group of plays in which the lyric note predominates, in which there is a warm southern coloring and a wealth of decorative imagery. The first of these is *Love's Labor Lost*, in which he worked out his own ideas, laughed away pedantry and fantastical refinement, and declared our best schoolmasters to be life and love. The second is his one lyrical romantic tragedy, *Romeo and Juliet*, undoubtedly much revised at a later date, in which for the first time he explored "the extremes of human passion, the aerial pinnacle of joy, and the cavernous abyss of grief." The third is the fairy comedy of fancy and frolic, *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*; and the last is the romantic tragic-comedy of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, in which one feels the scenery and the setting of the Italian Renaissance.

The second period of Shakespeare's development (1596-1600) is opened by the lyrical history of *Richard II*, a pathetic story of

an effeminately beautiful boy. Then came the masterpiece of the singular *genre* of romantic tragi-comedy, *The Merchant of Venice*, in which the sentiment is already one of retrospection. The medieval limits of thought had long been lifted. Man had left the old moorings and had sailed boldly into the ocean of life. The limits of knowledge had receded as mists fade before the morning sun. But now, perhaps slowly and insidiously, new limits began to assert themselves to the most sensitive mind of the age. After all, so it may have seemed, the ultimate secret of life is never to be disclosed to living man. So the tempest of the eager and inquiring spirit gradually gave way to the tender melancholy of renunciation. But if perchance thought paused in momentary disappointment, the development of style went on apace. The magic of the master's blank verse became still more wonderful.

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Second
Period of
Shake-
speare's
Work

On such a night
Stood Dido with a willow in her hand
Upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love
To come again to Carthage.

After this glowing romance came *Henry IV* with its immortal figure of Falstaff, the embodiment of the richest humor. This was followed by *Much Ado About Nothing*, half comedy and half melodrama; and by the poet's first great tragedy in the order of time, *Julius Caesar*, a tragedy of political idealism in Brutus, slave to a pedantic conscience, in which is relentlessly pictured the fickle-mindedness of the mob. After that came the joyous farce of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, full of the broad humors of life in an English country town; and the lyrical and sylvan comedy of *As You Like It*, perhaps the loveliest of all its author's plays, whose figures fleet the times carelessly under the greenwood tree.

In Shakespeare's mid-noon a quite unexpected gathering of clouds took place. He seems to have looked upon the world with altered eyes. In the third period of his development (1601-1608) he looked deeper than ever before into the life of men and the world in which they live; and he revealed the stern laws that control them. In every one of the plays of this period the tragedy is never that of circumstance; it is always that of character. The interest of this group of plays, aside from their interest as works of art, is always an ethical interest. In these tragedies far more than elsewhere, though even here not completely, the intellectual and spiritual life of the time is reflected. The first of this group of plays is *Hamlet*, the tragedy of intellectual idealism, the most marvelous and the most enigmatic of plays, whose hero is the greatest of all critics of life. Then came *Measure for Measure*,

Third
Period of
Shake-
speare's
Work

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XIVFourth
Period of
Shake-
speare's
Work

in which, with subtle irony, the intention of divinity itself is questioned. At this time Shakespeare seems to have been profoundly discouraged, and for some years the tide of his disillusionment came swelling in. It flows through the pathetic tragedy of *Othello*, and floods the great tragedies of *Macbeth* and *King Lear*, with their indictments not of man alone, but of his maker. The period closes with *Antony and Cleopatra*, in which the ideals of the love of woman and the honor of man are once more shown to be only the masks of lust and egotism. Yet deeply moved by the presence and power of evil in the world, profoundly depressed as he was, no one can hesitate to say that his sympathy was with Othello and not with Iago, with Isabella and not with Lucio, that he remained loyal to all that is good and would have no part with what is essentially base and evil.

Because of some unknown reason, Shakespeare's mood of melancholy passed away. The clouds lifted; a pure and serene light, with something of the pathetic beauty of the sunset, was shed upon his soul and reflected in his art. Undoubtedly the chief cause was some spiritual crisis that left him a new man, content with life and assured of its ultimate meaning. All the plays of this period (1608-1611) are idyllic romances, in which the griefs and perplexities of life are eventually resolved in happy endings, which close with a chord of consolation. One of them is *The Winter's Tale*, rich in poetry; and another is *The Tempest*, in which the great poet reached the highest point of his moral and spiritual attainment. Shakespeare had come to see life widely, calmly, with eyes purged and purified, with a temperate heart and an assured soul. With the completion of the last named play, like his own Prospero, he broke his staff and buried his book.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

The best recent brief work on the great dramatist is R. M. Alden's *Shakespeare*; and perhaps the best biography of him is Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*. More inclusive are F. E. Schelling's *English Literature during the Life of Shakespeare*, the same author's *Elizabethan Drama*, and J. J. Jusserand's *A Literary History of the English People*.

For books dealing with other persons and aspects of this period see J. A. Symond's *Shakespeare's Predecessors*; Tudor Jenks's *In the Days of Shakespeare*; Sidney Lee's *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, and also his *French Renaissance in England*; Edward Dowden's charming *Transcripts and Studies*; and R. W. Church's *Francis Bacon*.

Perhaps the first book one should read at this time is John Stow's *Survey of London*, edited by C. L. Kingsford, a minute and interesting description, by a contemporary, of London in the time of Elizabeth. An excellent recent book is P. H. Ditchfield's *The England of Shakespeare*.

CHAPTER XV

THE EARLY STUART PERIOD

(1603-1640)

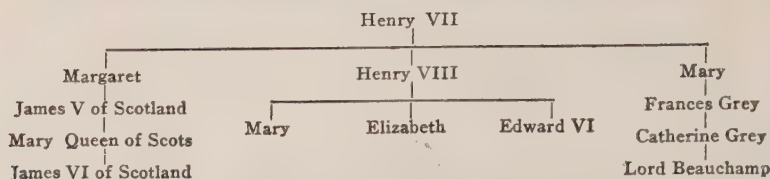
FOR some years after Mary Queen of Scots had fled to England and had been deposed, the northern country was ruled, in the name of her infant son, James VI, by a series of Regents. In addition to disputes between various factions of the nobles, a quarrel arose between Crown and Kirk. The Scottish Church, in theory at least, was Presbyterian. It aspired to be a theocracy, to control the State, for it claimed power to excommunicate even the King. Its organization appeared to be popular, it certainly strove to be independent of the royal will, and so it secured the devotion of the middle classes, who were becoming imbued with the growing spirit of democracy. But in 1572 it was forced to accept a number of bishops, through whom the State expected to control it. Episcopacy was to be substituted for Presbyterianism. The bishops were to be appointed and controlled by the Crown, and they, in turn, were to control the inferior clergy by whom the people were to be instructed. Thus was the Kirk to be made similar in organization to the Anglican Church; and thus began a struggle that lasted more than a century and that in the end proved fatal to the House of Stuart.

James did nothing to help his imprisoned mother. On the contrary, he sent a messenger to betray her secrets to the English Queen, and he displayed a meanness in his correspondence rivaling that of Elizabeth. Filial affection was not one of the most powerful impulses of his nature. From the time of his mother's death until he ascended the English throne, and in a lesser degree until the end of his reign, the history of Scotland is little more than a bewildering series of political intrigues, in which, as he became of age, he made the most of every opportunity to increase the royal power, and struggles between Kirk and State, in which he backed Episcopacy against the Presbytery. In 1603 he became King of England, and thenceforth, to use his own words, he governed Scotland "by the pen," steadily pursuing his aim of subjecting all classes to the Crown.

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Crown
and
Kirk in
Scotland

James VI
of
Scotland

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Discon-
tent of
Puritans
and
Catholics
in
England

No sooner had James I (1603-1625) taken his seat, without open opposition, on the southern throne than he found himself confronted with problems not altogether unlike those he had left behind him in the north, and, as subsequent events were to prove, even more serious. A religious problem was created by the desire of both Puritans and Catholics for a modification of the ecclesiastical laws that oppressed them. The Puritans presented a great petition for ecclesiastical changes, which, because the signatures of a thousand clergymen had been expected, was known as the Millenary Petition. James then arranged, in 1604, a conference in the church at Hampton Court between clergymen who represented the Anglican Church and others who upheld the views of the Puritans. The Puritans requested that, as clergymen of the Established Church, they be allowed to omit certain ceremonies to which they objected, and that certain Calvinistic articles of faith be adopted. But James would accept no such compromise. In the Puritans he saw opponents of his claim to absolute power. He knew they looked with disfavor upon his assumption of the headship of the Church. He remembered that he had been "kept short" of the "Divine Right of Kings" by the Presbyterians in Scotland. He was never able to appreciate or even understand the constitution of his southern kingdom. His right to the Crown he held to be heritable, inalienable, and indefeasible. And he believed the abolition of the episcopal form of church government would lead to a weakening of the royal power. "It is my aphorism," he told the Puritans, "no Bishop, no King"; and this became an essential part of his policy. He addressed the Puritans with severity and rudeness, and he gave instructions to have the laws of ecclesiastical uniformity enforced more strictly than ever. Only one of their recommendations, that of a new translation of the *Bible*, was carried out. A majority of the Commons, though subscribers to the established faith, desired that the requests of the Puritans be granted, and the refusal of the King embittered every subsequent dispute between that body and the Crown. The Puritans were not yet numerous, but they were well represented in the middle class, which, because of the development of industry and commerce, was rapidly becoming more powerful, and they had, moreover, all "the power that comes of

being serious as well as narrow." Slight concessions to them would have satisfied a large majority of the townsfolk without whose support the more dogmatic Puritans would have been powerless, but James would abate no jot or tittle of his views and so he did much to convert what was at first a mere tendency into a distinct and hostile sect.

James was favorably disposed towards the Catholics, and their treatment at the hands of the government became rather lenient. As a result the number of Catholics, especially of the Jesuits, soon increased, and rumors of plots spread abroad. The policy of repression was then enforced. The Gunpowder Plot, by which it was sought to secure the repeal of all the laws against the Catholics, was conceived before the readoption of the severe measures of repression; but doubtless it gained support because of the return of the government to the policy of repression. One of the thirteen conspirators, Guy Fawkes, was appointed to watch over a large quantity of powder stored in a cellar under the House of Lords. The House was to be blown up on the opening day of the session, in November, 1605, when the King and the members of both chambers would be there. The plot was discovered by a letter whose authorship is unknown. The conspirators fled; four were killed in the attempt to capture them, eight were executed, and one died in the Tower. The severity of the laws against the Catholics was at once increased, and, though the King never enforced them rigorously, the cause of religious tolerance suffered a great setback.

Financial as well as ecclesiastical troubles confronted the new King. The royal revenue was so scanty, and James spent with so lavish a hand, that an annual deficit was incurred. To have practised thrift and to have made a sustained effort to gain the good will of the people was the only wise course; but this James did not do. He thus made inevitable the downfall of his dynasty. Without the consent of Parliament he levied duties on exports and imports, or, as duties levied solely upon the royal authority were then called, "impositions." In 1606 John Bate, one of the merchants of the Levant Company, refused to pay an imposition on the ground that without the consent of Parliament the tax was illegal. From the time of Richard II to Mary no import or export duties had been levied without parliamentary approval; but Mary to a slight extent had revived the practice, Elizabeth had somewhat increased it, and nowhere could there be found a definite prohibition of it. A majority of the judges in the Court of the Exchequer Chamber decided in favor of the Crown, and, as a consequence, the King was emboldened to levy additional imposi-

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Catholic
Con-
spiracies

Taxation
Without
Consent of
Parlia-
ment

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tions. In his own taxation of the growing trade of his subjects the needy monarch hoped to secure a large and independent revenue. The Commons at first seemed not to perceive this; but gradually they realized that the control of the purse, the chief safeguard of their liberties, would be lost to them if they should prove unable to put an end to impositions. A vigorous controversy then began. Ill-feeling rapidly increased between Commons and Crown, and early in 1611 the King, in a fit of anger, dissolved his first Parliament. With the exception of a brief and barren session in 1614, which, because no act was passed or grant was made, is known as the Addled Parliament, seven years were to pass before that body met again. Yet the King's expenditures became more profuse, and the dishonesty of his servants more pronounced. Life at the court in those years was extravagant and immoral, and royal government was a chaos of personal intrigue. In order to secure money the sheriffs and magistrates in each county and borough were ordered to collect a "benevolence" from every person whom they deemed able to pay. About £40,000 was thus forcibly collected in the disguise of a gift. The contributions were declared to be voluntary, but, inasmuch as the names of all who declined to contribute were recorded, there was no small degree of intimidation.

Prepara-
tion for
the Union
of Scot-
land and
England

James desired to effect a union of Scotland and England, to bring about freedom of trade between the two countries, to establish a uniform system of law, a uniform theological belief, and a uniform system of ecclesiastical government. Such laws in each state as were absolutely antagonistic to each other were repealed, and a legal decision declared that all children born after the King's accession to the English throne had the status of national subjects in both kingdoms; but the mutual jealousies of the two peoples defeated the completion of the proposed union. Yet, despite the fact that the King was the only tie between them, the position of the two countries was greatly improved. The work of reducing the anarchical baronage of Scotland and of subjecting to discipline the lawless inhabitants of the mountains and islands had been greatly furthered; and because of the fact that Scotland could no longer be counted upon as an enemy of England the position of the latter country in relation to the continental powers had been greatly strengthened.

Further
Subjuga-
tion and
Oppres-
sion of
the Irish

Elizabeth, at a terrible cost of human suffering, had effected a thorough subjection of Ireland. The more difficult tasks of inducing the natives to accept their fate and of raising the half-ruined country to the same standard of civilization as that of England remained to be accomplished. The country was in no

condition to resist, and so the English common law was substituted for the native law that had gradually grown up out of the character and life of the people; and circuit courts and a complete system of shires was established. The native systems of land-holding were then swept away by two legal decisions, and the English system was put in their place. Becoming alarmed at the situation, a number of Irish nobles fled to the continent, others were persecuted, and all resistance was met with peremptory punishment. Then took place the infamous "Plantation of Ulster." A large part of the most fertile land in the province was ruthlessly torn from the native owners, who for the most part were guiltless of any definite act of rebellion, and given to English and Scottish colonists. Most of the peasantry remained in their native districts, working as laborers under their new masters. Since then they and their descendants have often been oppressed by the alien element, and thus the immorality of the shameful proceeding has been increased. Deep in the hearts of the Irish was planted an unrelenting passion for the recovery of their lands, and so out of a population hitherto divided into many groups, having little or no friendly feeling for each other, there was gradually formed a nation cherishing for its conquerors an implacable enmity. Catholic priests were banished from the island by royal proclamation, but despite vigorous persecution they continued to flock in from abroad, and throughout the reign Protestantism made but little progress in Ireland. The seeds of future trouble had been sown, but for the time being the English grip upon the island had been greatly strengthened. Thus were the British Isles at last put under a single monarchy, free from immediate prospect of serious internal discord, and guarded from the attacks of external foes by the encircling seas.

As soon as possible after his accession to the English throne, the new King had suspended hostilities with Spain, and in the following year he had signed a treaty of peace. Then the idea of an alliance with that country developed in his mind. Spain was considered to be the leading Catholic country and England was now the most formidable Protestant power; if they were brought together it might be possible to end the devastating religious wars that had then been going on for almost a century; and then the dower which the daughter of Philip III might be expected to bring would do much to furnish the needed supply of silver. So James was determined, if possible, to marry his son to the Infanta Maria. The proposed alliance was very unpopular with the English, and it became still more so when Sir Walter Raleigh was executed. In the first months of the new reign

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Raleigh had become involved in a series of conspiracies against James, and after a trial, notoriously unfair, he had been imprisoned for fourteen years under sentence of death. Released upon promise to find a gold mine in Guiana without molesting the Spaniards, the King's friends, he sailed for South America. The enterprise was from the first hopeless. A fight with Spanish settlers on the Orinoco took place, no gold mine was discovered, and so when he returned, in fulfilment of a promise James had made to the Spanish ambassador, he was put to death. It is true that Raleigh was an unscrupulous adventurer, and that for a time he had lost the good will of the people; but the courage with which he met his fate, and the fact that his genius and valor were undeniable, caused a relenting of the popular feeling towards him and evoked emphatic disapproval of the intended alliance with Spain. The center of the opposition to Spain, and also to the toleration now extended to the Catholics, was London. These two passions were now directed against the Crown.

James
and the
Wars in
Germany

In another respect James's foreign policy offended the English. The Treaty of Augsburg, signed in 1555, gave internal peace to the Germanic Empire for two generations, but its provisions were so ambiguous and unjust that inevitably it resulted in war. The Catholics made steady gains, and it seemed likely they would soon be able to make a successful appeal to arms to recover their lost lands and peoples. James's daughter Elizabeth had married Frederick, the Elector Palatine, one of the Protestant princes, and, urged to do so by his wife, Frederick in 1619 accepted the Bohemian crown, thus depriving his sovereign, the Emperor Ferdinand II, of a kingdom to which most men thought him entitled. This eventually involved England in war. The Catholic princes espoused the Emperor's cause, and it was agreed that one of the number, Maximilian of Bavaria, should be rewarded with Frederick's lands and with the office of Elector. For some time James hesitated to lend aid to his son-in-law and to the Protestant cause, and this still further increased the dissatisfaction of the English. He could lend no effective aid without money, and of this he was greatly in need. So he had no choice but to summon Parliament.

Parliament and
Monopolies

The third Parliament of the reign, which met in 1621, began its work with a consideration of grievances. The granting of monopolies and the abuses practised by the monopolists had been growing apace, and so, by a statute enacted in 1624, "the future grant of protections to new inventions" was placed "under the safeguard of the judges." Not content with this, the Commons instituted charges against persons implicated in granting unde-

sirable monopolies. This assumption by the Commons of the initiative in demanding justice is very important, for never again could the Crown "be regarded as the sum of the governmental system." Chief of the persons implicated in the abuses of the time was Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), the ablest man in the kingdom. Bacon had urged the abandonment of the most obnoxious monopolies, those of ale-houses and inns, for instance, but his advice had gone unheeded. The Commons at first intended to proceed against him for certifying that, in point of law, the monopolies in question were free from objection, but this was dropped for the more serious charge of bribery and corruption in chancery suits. The Lords found him guilty and passed a heavy sentence upon him, only part of which, however, was inflicted. It is probable that Bacon was never guilty of the deliberate sale of justice. The majority of the charges against him were instances of gifts from the favored parties received after he had rendered a decision, a practice which, however undesirable, was more or less common at the time. In a few cases he had received gifts from suitors while the case was pending, yet he declared that even in these cases his decision, sometimes given in conjunction with another judge, was never determined by a bribe, and, as far as can be seen, all his decisions appear to have been just. Five years later the great statesman and philosopher died. The chief importance of his trial lies in the fact that it was the beginning of a process that resulted in making ministers generally responsible to Parliament. The Commons had revived the old right, not exercised for more than a hundred and sixty years, of impeaching ministers before the Lords. In the Tudor times Crown and Parliament, acting together, had proscribed unworthy ministers by bills of attainder. It was a handier method. But when Parliament wished to act independently of the Crown it was necessary once more to resort to impeachment. As for the monopolies, some of them were canceled and the abuses connected with others were removed by royal proclamation.

Parliament had avenged wrongs. Could it now dictate the policy of the government? James at last decided to send troops in defense of the Palatinate; but, before they would grant anything like adequate supplies for the purpose, the Commons petitioned that the Spanish alliance be abandoned and demanded a war against that country. James denied the right of the Commons to discuss questions on which he had not asked their opinion. He held the most extreme views of the royal authority. In his tract entitled *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, published in 1603, he had declared that the only real monarch is a free monarch,

Growing
Differences
between
King
and
Parliament

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one who rules by Divine Right, one above the law, one from whom all other authorities in the State derive their power, and one who is accountable only to God. Patience and prayer, and the amendment of their daily lives, are the only legitimate means by which a people can seek to mitigate the evil of an unjust and tyrannous sovereign. Such views were not accepted by the Commons. They asserted they were entitled to discuss all things relating to the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, and they embodied their opinion in a protest which they entered in the *Journal* of the House. The King tore the protest out of the book and dissolved Parliament. Thus to taxation and religion, hitherto the chief matters of dispute between Crown and Commons, was added another subject of contention, the foreign policy of the nation. James earnestly desired peace at home and an ending of the wars abroad, but he was utterly mistaken in the means with which he sought to effect these ends, and he was incapable of profiting either by the advice of competent statesmen or the sharp lessons of experience. After Parliament had been dismissed resort was had to another "benevolence," this time far less remunerative than before. Then James, who believed himself endowed with super-abundant wisdom and diplomatic skill, wasted a year in fruitless negotiations; the Palatinate was wrested from his son-in-law, and so his subjects were more exasperated than ever.

First
Permanent
Colony of
English-
men in
America

In the reign of Elizabeth several attempts had been made to found settlements beyond the western ocean, but without success. In 1607 three small vessels with one hundred and five persons landed in Chesapeake Bay and gave to the first permanent settlement of Englishmen in America the name of Jamestown. The purpose of the London Company that promoted the enterprise was to develop a profitable commercial and agricultural community, but the hostility of the Indians, the unfavorable climate, and the character of the colonists, delayed the growth of the new community. For the most part the newcomers were made up of penniless spendthrifts, vagabonds, and criminals, gathered from the streets and jails of English towns, many of them lured beyond the sea in the vain hope of finding gold. They were utterly unskilled in the common crafts and in agriculture, they failed to make provision for raising their own food, and all would have perished had not the Indians supplied them with grain. Disease and want swept away more than half of them before the end of the year, and the rest of the survivors were wretched in the extreme. The continuation of the colony was due largely to John Smith (1579-1631), who compelled the colonists to submit to law

and order, made the lazy work or starve, explored the rivers flowing into the bay, procured grain from the Indians, and prepared for more extensive agricultural and fishing operations. After severe trials the colony became self-supporting and a governmental system was established, consisting of a governor and a legislature of two chambers, one nominated and the other popularly elected, a form henceforth the normal type for British colonies, that lasted until the colonists became independent. Tobacco became the one staple product of the colony. It was cultivated with the help of indentured white servants and negro slaves.

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Thus far we have come upon two main types of ecclesiastical organization, Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. A third one, Congregationalism, of which the fundamental feature is the self-government of the congregation, the local group of worshipers, now began to be important. Congregationalism holds that Church authority is inherent in every body of believers; and every such body, therefore, in order the more fully to be able to obey the will of God, must be free from external control. This Independent, or Congregational, system emphasizes the importance of church-members as such, and does not regard the ministry as a special class raised above the laity by the exclusive possession of certain powers. The fundamental principle of Congregationalism had been asserted by the Lollards, who proclaimed the priesthood of all believers. Episcopacy represents a monarchical form of government, and Presbyterianism stands for the rule of an ecclesiastical aristocracy, whereas Congregationalism embodies the principle of democracy in religious organizations. Somewhere about 1567 Congregationalism, claiming to be the original Christian polity, distinctly emerged from beneath the surface in England. Separate congregations were formed by Puritans, who felt they could no longer conform, even in an outward manner, to the faith and worship of the Anglican Church. In 1582 Robert Browne (1550?-1633) explained Congregationalism in *A Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all True Christians*, the first, and in some respects the most important, formulation of the theory in English. The "sectaries" were severely repressed, yet we hear of many "Brownists" in various parts of England, and sometime before 1592 the Separatists in London ventured to form themselves into a definite Church. Rigorous persecution drove many of them into exile, and gradually they resumed their organization in Amsterdam, where a large measure of religious freedom prevailed.

Rise of
Congrega-
tionalism

Other religious groups came into existence at this time. In

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XVOther
Religious
Groups

1611 the first Baptist Church was organized in England. Its members did not believe in baptizing infants, and they repudiated the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. They held that "no Church ought to challenge any prerogative over any other"; and that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion." They came to be known as General Baptists. In 1633 there came into existence another group of these deniers of the efficacy of infant baptism, known as Particular Baptists. They remained largely Calvinist. One other group that made itself felt in the life of the time is best known by the nickname of Quakers. Their founder, George Fox (1624-1691), taught that revelation did not cease with the completion of the *New Testament*. Continuously in his heart the word of God is made known to man. The authentic guide in life is the Inner Light. The Quakers at first called themselves Children of the Light; afterwards they adopted the name of Society of Friends.

The
Pilgrim
Fathers

In 1609, under John Robinson (1575-1625), a non-conformist minister, a large number of English dissenters settled at Amsterdam, hoping to escape the theological disputes that had arisen among them, moved to Leyden. Eleven years later, in order to form a settlement in which they would be completely free to organize and worship as they desired, and being indirectly assured they would not be molested for their religion in the new continent, about one hundred men, women, and children crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower. In the depth of the severe winter, having previously drawn up a democratic compact of government, said to be the earliest written constitution of its kind in history, the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the shores of Plymouth Bay. When the summer came about half their number had died from exposure and disease, but their severest trials were then over. Under the firm and judicious rule of William Bradford (1590-1657) the colony prospered. They had been drawn for the most part from the poorer section of the middle class. Most of them had been farmers and tradesmen in a group of villages situated on the great highway that ran to the north from London.

Emigra-
tion of
Puritans

Other settlers of a militant and aggressive type of Puritanism distinctly different from the conciliatory and acquiescent character of the Pilgrim Fathers, formed new establishments not far from that of Plymouth Bay, and in 1629 the colony of Massachusetts received its first charter from the Crown. These later and far more numerous colonists, who left their English homes to escape enforced participation in the practices of the Anglican Church, have long been regarded as seekers and champions of

religious liberty, but the truth is that they were unrelentingly opposed to religious tolerance. They subjected their own lives to the most rigid restrictions, and made every effort so to subject the lives of others. They were strong-minded men, it is true, but they were also narrow-minded men. They persecuted all who differed from them, principally Baptists and Quakers, with all the brutality of the time, so that "the spiritual growth of Massachusetts withered under the shadow of dominant orthodoxy, and the colony was saved from mental atrophy only by its vigorous political life." Yet aside from their religious bigotry the record of their devotion to secular rights and their energetic industrial activity is one of which their descendants may well be proud. Later on other colonies were established in the same part of the country and the group became known as New England. This Puritan emigration was not a natural phenomenon in the national life. It was not due to a healthy instinct for expansion. It was the result of a schism in Church and State so deep and so embittered that the passions born of the conflict never wholly subsided in the colonies populated principally by Puritans. Those communities of Englishmen across the sea never forgave the mother country for the wrongs they had suffered, and this feeling, inconsequential or entirely absent in the colonies farther to the south, is a key to the subsequent history of New England.

In the meantime some of the islands of the West Indies, particularly the Bermudas and Barbados, were colonized; in the eastern hemisphere, too, Englishmen were gaining a foothold. On the last day of the sixteenth century Elizabeth had granted a charter to the East India Company which conferred the sole right of English subjects to trade with countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and beyond the Straits of Magellan. Voyages were made as far as Japan; and, after friendly relations had been entered into with the Mogul, the Mohammedan Emperor at Delhi, who in those days ruled over the greater part of India, the first English factories on the mainland were established. The Dutch, also, had an East India Company, and very soon friction arose between the two associations, culminating, in 1623, in the "Massacre of Amboyna," in which, on the ground that they conspired to seize the fort, the Dutch tortured and put to death a number of English residents. The immediate result was that the English tacitly recognized the priority of the Dutch claims in the Far East and confined their operations to the mainland of India and the neighboring countries, but from this time on commercial antagonism sharply divided the two nations hitherto closely united in

Further
Colonizing
and
Trading
Activity

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devotion to the Protestant cause and in hostility to Spain. There they sold woolen cloth and other articles of English manufacture, and from thence they brought pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and other products of the tropical climes. In this manner were laid the foundations of the vast colonial empire upon which the sun never sets, and from this time forward the history of the British people extends beyond the British Isles.

Mission
of
George
Villiers
and
Prince
Charles
to Spain

While the beginnings of imperial power were thus being made, internal troubles were constantly deepening. James became infatuated with a number of handsome men for whom he displayed a doting affection and who were permitted to exercise great influence in the affairs of government. The most important of these favorites was George Villiers (1592-1628), who, endowed with lands and titles, became with a single exception the richest nobleman in the country, and was eventually made Duke of Buckingham. Overflowing with animal spirits, ardent, courageous, moved occasionally by an impulse of generosity but more frequently by vanity and greed, he became, next to the King, the most powerful individual in England. James was still bent upon obtaining the hand of the Spanish Infanta for his son, and he still hoped to recover the Palatinate for his son-in-law by diplomacy. So Prince Charles, accompanied by Buckingham, went to Madrid to win the Infanta for his wife, and to persuade Spain to intercede, or if necessary to take up arms, for the restoration of the Palatinate. James spoke of them as "dear adventurous knights worthy to be put in a new romance." But the journey was a complete failure, and so pleased was London that it lit bonfires, rang all its bells, and emptied the prisons. Buckingham, smarting under personal rebuffs he had received on the peninsula, was not slow to read the lesson. Suddenly he swung in the new direction and became determined to make war upon Spain.

Abolition
of
Monopolies,
and
Interference
in
the Ger-
man Wars

James was now visibly declining in health, and so his son and his favorite, equally ignorant of the true state of affairs at home and abroad, and equally incapable of inaugurating a wise and consistent policy, became the actual leaders of the government. They favored war with Spain and the sending of material assistance to the Elector Frederick, and so they found themselves allied with the popular party in the Commons. This alliance resulted in the statute, already noticed, the most important law enacted in the reign, that, in general, did away with monopolies. All questions as to what constitutes a monopoly were to be referred hereafter to the courts of the common law, and sanction was to be given to patents for the protection and encouragement of inventions. The statute has exercised a very beneficial influence in

the development of commerce and industry. The alliance of Charles and the Commons was broken when the Prince entered into an agreement to marry Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France, and pledged himself to tolerate the Catholics. Then some twelve thousand men, for the most part "such as indeed were never soldiers," were impressed into service to effect the restoration of the Palatinate. Many deserted on the way to Flushing, where they disembarked, and by the time the frontier of the Empire was reached almost three-fourths of the ill-clad and starving troops were sick or dead. "All day," wrote one of their officers, "we go about for victuals and bury our dead." When James died his son had to meet Parliament under very unfavorable circumstances.

A month after his father's death, Charles I (1625-1649) was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria, and when his first Parliament met he demanded supplies for carrying on the war with Spain. But the Commons were not pleased with his marriage, nor with his favorable attitude towards the Catholics; so they voted only small sums and presented a petition on the state of religion, in which they expressed their disapproval of Buckingham. Charles dissolved Parliament in the hope that victories over Spain would arouse the national feeling and result in more generous support. But a great expedition of starving sailors and rotten ships sent to capture Cadiz, the emporium of Spain and America, as well as other attacks upon the Spaniards, resulted in failure, and in a decided diminution of the prestige of English sea-power. Opposition in the second Parliament, directed chiefly at Buckingham, was more determined than ever before.

Possessed of many external graces, endowed with a genuine love of culture, sincere in his love for his wife and his affection for his friends, Charles retained the devotion of his personal followers to the end. But he was curiously slow in thought and action, he saw only one side of a question, he was not disposed to tolerate anyone who differed from him, and in a strait he would make promises from which he hoped circumstances would permit him to escape. Inheriting all his father's high ideas of the power and independence of the Crown, he was less intelligent and by no means as well educated, and thus matters were made much worse. "Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution," he said to the Commons; "therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." Little wonder, then, that when the Commons, claiming that ministers are responsible, demanded, before the granting of supplies, the dismissal of Buckingham, he

Growing
Diver-
gence
between
King and
Parlia-
ment

Character
and Ideas
of
Charles I

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France

once more resorted, in June, 1626, to the expedient of dissolution.

To add to the difficulties of Charles, war broke out with France. He had failed to keep promises made to that country regarding the Catholics, disputes had occurred with his wife, her attendants had been sent home, and several French ships carrying contraband goods to the Spanish Netherlands had been seized. In July, 1626, an expedition under Buckingham was sent to the Isle of Ré to relieve La Rochelle, in which a Protestant force was besieged. It, also, proved a complete failure. Even had these various military and naval expeditions been well managed, success was not likely in hostilities carried on at the same time with France, Spain, and the Catholics of Germany.

Arbitrary
Financial
Proceed-
ings of
Charles

Financial conditions at home were now desperate, so resort was had to a forced loan. Sheriffs and other royal officers were instructed to put all the pressure they could upon people of means to induce them to "lend" money to the King. Everyone knew that in all probability the money would never be repaid, and that the "loan," therefore, differed from a tax only in name; hence many refused to contribute. Some of these refractory persons were imprisoned, others impressed as soldiers, and upon still others soldiers were billeted. These soldiers were neither disciplined nor paid, and they committed many offenses. By issuing commissions of martial law, the trials of such offenders, as well as those of civilians implicated in their offenses, were removed from the ordinary law courts. Five knights, who were imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan, sued for a writ of *habeas corpus*, hoping thereby to prove the illegality of the King's action. Such a writ required the jailer to produce the body of the accused before the judges in court and name the offense for which he was detained. If the judges deemed the prisoner to be unlawfully detained they were to order his release. The jailer in Darnell's case, so called from the name of one of the knights, declared the prisoners to have been detained by special command of the King, wherefore the judges recommitted them to prison. Thus the case was virtually decided in the King's favor, and legal sanction was given to the claim that subjects could be imprisoned at the discretion of the Crown. The forced loan yielded £236,000, but such a sum was by no means sufficient to meet the great and pressing needs of the government, and so Charles was obliged to summon his third Parliament.

Leaders
of the
Commons

Their many grievances had greatly embittered the people, an attempt by the Crown to influence the elections failed, and so the new Parliament, which met for the first time in March, 1628, was even more intractable than its predecessor. In these years most

of the members of the Commons, even those who represented towns, were country gentlemen. London, Bristol, and Plymouth were usually represented by merchant princes; but most of the boroughs preferred to choose their members from well-known country families of the neighborhood. These men knew little of foreign affairs, but they were well prepared to defend their national liberties. One of the principal leaders in the Commons at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth (1593-1641), a country gentleman from Yorkshire, proud of his ancestry and wealth, who differed from the regular opposition. Though he wished to get rid of Buckingham and believed the government to be mistaken and inefficient, he had little faith in Parliament and desired earnestly to serve the Crown. The best that Parliament could do, he thought, was to compel the King to choose wiser ministers and to adopt a more reasonable policy. Quite opposite were the views of Sir John Eliot (1592-1632), who believed thoroughly in the capacity and dependability of the Commons, and who had twice been imprisoned for his opposition to the King. Both these men were gifted and influential speakers, but still more so was John Pym (1584-1643), one of the greatest leaders the Commons had known, untiring in attention to details, skilful in expressing the feelings of the members, and tactful in guiding their conduct. The Crown had not a single spokesman who could compare with these or with any of a half-dozen others. "Yes, it is of more" importance, said Eliot in speaking of the matter of the forced loan; "more than is pretended; more than can be uttered. Upon this dispute not alone our lands and goods are engaged, but all that we call ours. These rights, these privileges, which made our fathers freemen, are in question. If they be not carefully preserved, they will I fear render us to posterity less free, less worthy than our fathers. For this particular admits a power to antiquate the laws."

It was not long before the Commons drew up a document called the Petition of Right. It dealt in a straightforward manner with the four cardinal points of billeting, martial law, arbitrary taxation, and arbitrary imprisonment. It declared all the recent acts we have just enumerated to be illegal, and demanded a redress of those grievances. The form of a petition was adopted, instead of a bill, because a petition must be immediately and definitely answered. Charles made an evasive reply; but, on June 7, 1628, after both Houses had urged him, and the Lower House had threatened a renewal of the attack upon Buckingham, he gave his assent reluctantly and the petition became a law. What are its main provisions? It declares that no man shall be

The Pe-
tition of
Right

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compelled to pay "any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by act of Parliament." This made illegal all direct taxation at the royal will and pleasure. It forbids the imprisonment of any person without cause shown. This enabled the judges, when a prisoner was brought before them by writ of *habeas corpus*, to determine whether he should be released on bail or recommitted to prison. It forbids the proclamation of martial law when there is peace within the kingdom; and it declares an end to the deeply resented practice of billeting soldiers and sailors. This prevented the King from forming an army completely subject to his will. While urging acceptance of the Petition, the Commons declared it to be in harmony with existing law and therefore no encroachment upon the established prerogative of the Crown. Quite a number of precedents, however, might have been cited in support of the recent actions of the King. The truth was there was much uncertainty regarding these matters and the time had come when it was necessary to decide whether the monarchy was to be one of absolute power or one controlled by law. Was the law supreme? or was the King supreme? James I had answered this question in no uncertain manner. The doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings and of the inalienability of their sovereignty was held by all the Stuarts. This it is that gives consistency to their deeds. They did not abruptly attempt an absolutism, they were forced to yield to circumstances; but they took advantage of the latent power of interpretation to bend the law always in their direction. The Petition of Right is justly regarded as one of the most important steps in the progress of constitutional government. It may be said to mark the beginning of a new period in the assertion of the rights of the people. On August 23, 1628, an unpaid and starving lieutenant of the late expedition to the Isle de Ré, actuated by private grievances and encouraged by the popular feeling, stabbed Buckingham to death at Plymouth. But neither the acceptance of the Petition of Right nor the death of the arrogant Duke settled all the questions in dispute between the Commons and the Crown.

English
Arminians

Religious and financial questions remained unsolved. A stream of Calvinistic theology had flowed into England from the continent and from Scotland, and this, together with the half-hearted persecution to which they were subjected, made the Puritans more aggressive than before. The dogmas and discipline of Calvinism soon developed opposition. One of their most important opponents on the mainland was Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), a Dutch scholar, whose theology received from him the name of

Arminianism. He was a man of mild and liberal spirit, broadened by travel and culture, and temperamentally opposed to narrow views and enforced uniformity. Many people, especially the well educated, became his followers. A similar reaction took place in England. Arminianism there received support from those members of the Anglican Church who had retained a large measure of respect for certain features of the Catholic faith and worship. These English Arminians, while rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, regarded communion as being more than a mere commemoration; they believed that, although the substance of the bread and the wine was not changed, the body and blood of Jesus were really present in the wafer and the wine, and that partaking of them had something of a sacramental character. They believed the clergy were a special class set apart from the rest of men, that the episcopal form of church government was the only one with divine sanction, that church buildings should be beautiful, that worship should be ceremonial, that Sunday, after one's religious duties had been performed, might be devoted to harmless pleasures, and that the long-established religious festivals should be observed. They looked to the Crown to compel Catholics and Puritans to adopt their middle course, and many of them, therefore, approved the royal claims to absolute power. Thus they gained the support of the King and incurred the ill-will of the Puritans. Charles had promoted a number of the Arminian divines to bishoprics and other benefices, and the Commons were determined to call some of these appointments into question.

The other dispute going on at this time concerned taxation. About a fourth of the royal revenue was derived from certain duties, called tonnage and poundage, which, in the late fourteenth century, had become established as parliamentary grants. They had usually been granted for the lifetime of the sovereign at the first session after his accession. To Charles they had been granted for only a single year; and so, contending that the grant was a mere matter of form, that the Petition of Right related only to taxes, and that the tonnage and poundage were duties, not taxes, he took the unconstitutional course, in 1628, of levying them on his own authority. The Commons summoned before them some custom-house officers who had seized the goods of persons refusing to pay the duties. Charles declared the officers had acted according to his instructions. When the excuse was refused, he determined to dissolve Parliament; but he was not able to do so before the Commons, amid great tumult, voted resolutions distinctly hostile to the government. Whoever brought in new and

Break between the Commons and the Crown over Taxation

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unauthorized opinions in religion, such as Catholicism or Arminianism, they declared, and whoever paid or advised the payment of duties not granted by Parliament, was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. Charles caused nine of the leaders of the opposition to be thrown into prison, where Eliot finally died of consumption; and he resolved not to summon Parliament again until he was certain it would submit to his will. The old order of things had been left behind. In the five years that had passed since Charles ascended the throne, Parliament had plainly demonstrated that it was unwilling to remain in the subordinate position in which it had been under the Tudors. It demanded complete control of taxation and removal of the ministers with whom it was displeased. Yet it may be doubted whether King or Parliament realized all that was involved in the issue. If Parliament could be dispensed with, absolutism could entrench itself at its leisure; but if succeeding events should show Parliament to be indispensable, absolutism would be driven from the body politic.

Further
Taxation
Without
Consent
of Parlia-
ment

From March 10, 1629, Charles, with some measure of success, ruled for eleven years without Parliament. Peace was concluded with France and with Spain and thus expenditure was reduced, but the English court was one of the most splendid and costly of the time and needed much money. Revenue was obtained, without imposing the taxes and loans and benevolences enumerated in the Petition of Right, by enforcing the payment of tonnage and poundage, and (because the statute on the subject forbade only monopolies granted to individuals) by granting monopolies to incorporated companies. "They sip in our cup," said a contemporary in speaking of the monopolists; "they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl and powdering-tub; they share with the butler in his box, they have marked and sealed us from head to foot." Then, by the terms of an old law, persons who held land worth forty pounds a year were fined for neglecting to become knights, and fines were exacted for pretended encroachments on the royal domain and forests. Another financial expedient directly affected far more persons than any of these. The Plantagenet Kings had exercised the right of requiring the maritime towns and counties to furnish ships in time of war. This requirement had sometimes been commuted for a money payment. In October, 1634, Charles extended this practice by issuing writs for ship-money in time of peace. London, because of the terms of its charter, claimed exemption, and other towns demurred as to the amount of their assessments; but there was no resistance on constitutional grounds. The practice

was still further extended in the following year by a writ demanding payment from inland as well as maritime towns and counties. There was no mistaking the popular discontent, and so Charles asked for a written opinion from twelve judges. Ten of them replied that, in time of danger, of which the Crown was the sole judge, ship-money might legally be levied in all parts of the country. Accordingly a third writ, issued in 1636, once more ignored the ancient restrictions to times of war or imminent national danger and to the maritime parts of the kingdom. This was plainly a permanent and general tax imposed by the will of the King. Payment was refused by John Hampden (1595?-1643), a member of the Commons, who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan, and who now became the central figure in the opposition to the unconstitutional actions of the Crown. In the trial of his case seven of the twelve judges rendered a decision against him, and five rendered dissenting opinions in his favor. The immediate practical outcome of the decision was to abolish parliamentary control of national taxation, but, at the same time, to make the people determined to restore that control.

Far more obnoxious to the people than the unconstitutional taxes was the ecclesiastical policy of the King. Charles disliked and distrusted the Puritans, and supported with all the power at his command the Arminians. The chief representative of the Arminians, or, as later on they came to be called, the High Church Party, was William Laud (1573-1645), Archbishop of Canterbury, who as a patron of learning and the initiator of a number of educational reforms displayed good judgment as well as liberality and zeal, but as a ruler in the State revealed an arbitrary and tyrannical spirit. He was a martinet to whom external form was the indispensable predecessor and accompaniment of spiritual conviction, and he was unrelenting in his determination to impose the religious ceremonies and usages to which he attached great importance. "As far as the State," he wrote to Wentworth, "I am for Thorough." So in the years from 1634 to 1637 he made a "metropolitan visitation," in which either he or an official sent in his place went to every parish to conduct an inquiry regarding ecclesiastical practices. The parish system and the church courts gave him far more authority to interfere in local affairs than that possessed by the King. No innovations or irregularities were to be permitted. The *Prayer Book* was to be followed in every detail. Puritan preachers had placed the communion table in the center of the church, where, on equal terms, the parishioners could gather about it for the ceremony they deemed to be merely com-

Royal
Support
of the
'High
Church'
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memorative; and they made the pulpit, instead of the altar, the chief feature of the house of worship. Laud commanded that the table be put back at the east end of the church, where it assumed the aspect of an altar, and where the "high-church" priest could enforce the semi-sacramental view of the ceremony; and he suppressed Puritan preachers who had been supported by voluntary contributions. Then, at his suggestion, the playing of ball, dancing on the green, and other amusements for Sunday afternoons, which in the preceding reign had been declared illegal, were once more authorized. This last was especially odious to the Puritans, who deemed it nothing less than an ungodly permission to indulge in sin. Censorship of the press was then in episcopal hands, and Laud took advantage of this not only to forbid the publication of books and pamphlets expressing views of the Puritans, but to prevent their importation from the continent. The enforcement of this intolerant and despotic ecclesiastical policy was marked by relentless prosecutions and severe sentences in the mixed body of clergy and laity, which exercised the ecclesiastical power of the Crown, known as the Court of High Commission. As a result of all this, widespread hostility was aroused, and many persons of moderate views joined the Puritans. In less than twelve years some twenty thousand Puritans abandoned their homes and fled across the wide and lonely ocean to the wilderness in America. The sullen discontent of those who remained was an ominous warning. It was the passion for freedom of worship, rather than resistance to arbitrary taxation, that drove the people into the paths of revolution. Here for a while we leave these troubled questions of theology and taxation and turn to the nation's activity in literature.

Ben
Jonson's
Inability
to Reveal
Character

Great art is usually produced within certain definite periods of a nation's history. The English poetical drama culminated in Shakespeare, and then it moved downward through the work of the dramatists of the early Stuart period to expire, late in the seventeenth century, in the rhyming tragedies of Nathaniel Lee. Yet it is difference rather than decline we note in the plays of Ben Jonson (1572-1637) when we contrast them with those of his great predecessor and contemporary. Of all the dramatists of his period he was the nearest to the master in intellectual vigor, though not in poetical intuition. Intellect was his predominant faculty; and so, above all else, he extolled reason. Yet he was by no means lacking in emotion. He had a true and delicate lyrical gift, and the richness and versatility of his genius become apparent when we read his masques and other similar entertainments. His chief defect as a dramatist is his inability to reveal

character. His keen and searching power of observation was confined to the surface of things, his mind fastened swiftly and surely upon the hard actualities of observation without penetrating to what they implied or suggested, and so, though he was able to clothe his characters with costume accurate in minute details and to endow them with appropriate gesture, the results, while at times astonishingly life-like, are never vital and authentic.

Jonson's genius was essentially lyrical and not dramatic. The masque is a species of entertainment standing between the pageant and an ordinary play. It had by this time become fully developed as a stage-form in Italy. With its costly external paraphernalia, its costumes, colors, lights, scenes, odors, and music, it was an aristocratic form of art. It was as splendid, gorgeous and lovely as the taste of the artist, with a royal or princely purse at his command, could make it. But from a mere "courtly toy" the lofty invention of the British poets transformed it into a lyrical drama in miniature, and in this work of supplying a dramatic element Jonson was singularly successful. Nearer to his masques than his plays is his fragmentary *Sad Shepherd*, in which he endeavored to ignore continental conventions and create a native pastoral drama. Its shepherds are idealizations of the lads and lassies of English country life, and with them are associated the merry outlaws, also idealized, of the woods. This mingling of pastoral and sylvan elements, this interweaving of the traditions of field and forest, was a happy thought, and the first attempt in England to produce an indigenous pastoral play failed only because its author's death left it unfinished.

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Jonson as
a Writer
of
Masques

All the succeeding writers for the stage in the early Stuart period were committed to the romantic drama. There was a very widespread diffusion of the poetic and the dramatic instincts. Especially is the wealth of plays astonishing. Dramatists usually wrote rapidly for bread, they sold their plays outright, and so they were soon forced by the hard necessities of life, as well as by the overpowering impulse within them, to write again. Yet not infrequently there are passionate situations of undeniable power and eloquence, and here and there we come upon a living and memorable personage. Throughout the period we are now studying the influence of Italy upon the English drama, direct or indirect, is distinctly seen. English dramatists were fascinated by the strange and subtle glamour of the later Italian Renaissance. Yet the English drama of this time is original in the highest sense and infinitely transcends the similar productions of Italy.

Conditions
of the
Times as
They Af-
fected the
Drama

The versions of Homer by George Chapman (1559?-1634) are the best verse translations of the time, and they are the real work

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The
Plays of
Chapman,
Dekker,
Heywood,
Middleton,
Webster,
and
Tournour

of his life. Perhaps he turned to play-writing against his will, forced to do so by financial need. His serious plays have a "high austerity of sentiment" and his romantic comedies a "gracious gravity." Interested in the life about him, full of humorous kindness, and with an eye for odd characters, Thomas Dekker (1570?-1641) has been compared with Dickens. But unlike the nineteenth century novelist he desired, apparently, not to reform life but only to reveal it. Compounded of good and evil his personages are more convincing than those of the later writer, more life-like; and to them and to the incidents, far more than to any skill in construction, the success of his plays is due. In some of his plays, with their vivid and sometimes pathetic realism, one sees a lively picture of much that was interesting in the London of that time, while others vividly illustrate aspects of rural life. Thomas Heywood (1575?-1650) achieved in *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, which deals with contemporary English middle-life, a distinct success. He had an instinct for dramatic situations, and his fancy was fluent and his invention unailing; but, despite his close observation, he had only a slight power of characterization. He had the gift of limpid verse, and so his plays are full of musical passages, and more than one song helps to keep his memory green and fragrant. The graphic and vigorous comedies of Thomas Middleton (1570?-1627) take us into very unsavory company. They present a picture of London life as it was lived in certain quarters, and, together with his serious plays, they reveal a mastery of speech that could be of the best. The deliberate indecency of his plays is surely the signal of the imminent decadence of the drama. We know little of the life of John Webster (1580-1625?), but his blood-stained tragedy of *The Duchess of Malfi* is a play of great power. Passion was the aim of the dramatists of the time. In their plays it received a vivid and sometimes terrible utterance. Its milder manifestations are depicted with tenderness and beauty; and its wildest vagaries, its profoundest horrors, and even its most undesirable delinquencies, were dragged from their native darkness and thrust naked upon the stage. In *The Revenger's Tragedy*, a play of singular originality, Cyril Tournour (1575?-1626) reveals himself as a poet, but there is much in it that offends the artistic judgment.

Beaumont
and
Fletcher

The names of Francis Beaumont (1584-1616) and John Fletcher (1579-1625) are inseparably connected because they collaborated in a number of plays, in which it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish their respective parts. Their plays have something of the same somber vein as that of the moonlit dramas we have just mentioned, but they have a far wider range, and they

are sweetened with the light of the sun. With the production of *Philaster*, their first and finest success, one of the most beautiful of tragic plays, these twin stars of the stage rose visibly above the horizon. They often thought finely, but never profoundly; they felt deeply, though their passion was evanescent; but they were better poets than any of their dramatic contemporaries, and their characters are full of life. With these collaborators, so finely endowed with a cultivated instinct for stage effect, we are in the twilight of decadence that every period of art seems destined to experience.

Among the remaining dramatists of the early Stuart period, whose poetry shines in fitful gleams of splendor, three may be mentioned. Philip Massinger (1583-1640) lacked strong passions, vivid conceptions, and creative imagination, and yet *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* is one of the best comedies of the time and one of enduring popularity. His plays are above all else political. In each of them is an insistent strain of half-pensive and half-angry protest, and here and there a bitter outburst of satire, against the arbitrary and oppressive actions of the King. He was quite as determined as Hampden or Pym to withstand the political and social abuses of the time. "This is too insolent," said Charles I, in speaking of some daring lines in a play written in the height of the dispute about ship-money, "and to be changed." John Ford (1586-1640?) was the poet of the broken heart. His fastidious elegance, however, usually saves his women from sentimentality, and his melting tenderness often makes them appealing. James Shirley (1596-1666) was the last and least of the lineal descendants of Marlowe and Shakespeare. His plays reveal the general gifts of the dramatist in a diluted but dignified form. From the work of the dramatists of this period we learn not a little of the life of the time, of the manners and customs, the thought and feeling, the form and spirit of the age. Were we to look through the dramatic literature of the world for another such remarkable outburst of dramatic power, for another such bold and broad revelation of human life, our search would be in vain; but "the glory had now passed away from the drama to alight upon that summit of epic song whence Milton held communion with darkness and the stars."

In the early Stuart period English prose became enriched from several sources, principally from religion, philosophy, and politics. In 1611 the "Authorized Version" of the *Bible* was published, incomparable in style and more scholarly than any preceding version. With the inaccuracies, the interpolations and omissions of this greatest translation in an age of great translations we are not here

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The
Plays of
Massin-
ger, Ford
and
Shirley

Theo-
logical
Thought
and
Literature

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concerned. It was the work of a large body of scholars in which Puritans as well as Arminians were represented; and it is an immortal monument of English prose. It was the only book commonly read in most of the households of the time. Private study of it led to private interpretation; and from this source flowed the many sects and doctrines that helped to bring about intellectual liberty. Numerous theological pamphlets were circulated up and down the land, some openly and others secretly, but few were of permanent value. They dealt for the most part with old theological thought, with dogmas that had come into existence in the early Christian centuries, and with ritualistic differences. But new religious thought, too, was finding its way into print. The religious unity of the medieval centuries had been broken, the scholastic metaphysics was being replaced by a new humanism, but western Christendom by no means enjoyed a period of harmonious progress. Differences of faith and worship had been suppressed with a stern hand in England, and on the horizon loomed the dark clouds of civil war, while on the continent the conflict of creeds and the wars of sects filled the years with sorrow and suffering. Liberal-minded men looked in vain in the new churches for freedom of thought, for liberty to pursue scientific inquiry, and for an environment that should stimulate their artistic power; and so, under these intolerable conditions, the more alert and daring minds sought some element common to all creeds in which tolerance could be found and progress pursued. Thus arose the idea of natural religion. The outlines of rationalism were sketched. Man is his own guide, declared these bold thinkers, and his own master. His reason, his own innate capacity, is sufficient to enable him to combine his experience and to regulate his life.

Herbert
of
Cherbury

One of the first men to reject alleged divine revelation and to assert the religious autonomy of man was Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), soldier, diplomat, historian, and philosopher. His *De Veritate* is not a clear and compact system, but it contains the outline of a complete system of philosophy and is informed by its spirit. Implanted in man, he holds, are certain common notions which are innate, of divine origin, and indisputable. Chief of these notions are (1) that there is one supreme God, (2) that he is to be worshiped, (3) that worship consists chiefly of virtue and piety, (4) that we must repent of our sins and cease from them, and (5) that there are rewards and punishments hereafter. He did not make a distinct attack upon any of the orthodox forms of Christianity, but his attitude towards all of them is plainly negative, and he definitely denied revelation except to the individual soul. His famous five articles, just enumerated, became the

foundation stream of deism, of rationalistic speculation, that occupies an important place in the story of British thought.

Characteristic of the new thought, though in quite a different way from the writings of the first important thinker among the English deists, is *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, the curious work of Robert Burton (1577-1640), steeped in learning, a strange and dreamy book, full of lovely passages and alluring thoughts. Burton, who for fifty years was a college recluse, looked longingly at the strange and moving spectacle of life. His days and years were passed in his study, but all his senses were keenly alert to catch the motion and the moods of the wide world beyond its walls. So he attempted to analyze melancholy, the fashionable mood of the time, to define it, to enumerate its various kinds, to explore its causes, and to describe its cures. An omnivorous reader, his mind was full of the thoughts of others, and these he poured forth inextricably mixed with his own. Yet with all its interest and charm his book reveals the fact that learning was still a matter of mere acquisition, that the world did not yet know how to digest its mental food. With the development of science men were to make a more definite and successful attempt to discard that which is fugitive and fruitless and to retain and arrange in orderly fashion that which is of abiding worth.

When we turn to the field of poetry the truth again becomes apparent that the tide of energy which had characterized the age of Shakespeare, and which had lasted for at least a decade after the death of the great dramatist, was slowly ebbing. It was but natural that so unparalleled an outburst of life and passion should subside, that an age of introspection should succeed an age of material activity, of scientific inquiry, and of intellectual acquisition. It was necessary to digest the new knowledge, to arrange it, and to use it as the basis of a new philosophy. The fresh springs of art and literature were drying up. Poetry was becoming adulterated with pedantry. Writers sought their subject-matter in erudition rather than in nature; they rivaled each other in far-fetched conceits, and with keen eyes sought everywhere to discover likeness in unlikeness. Even the lyric poets of this time have been called by some historians "metaphysical" and by others "fantastical," though, as a matter of fact, both names fail properly to characterize their work, and both together do not indicate the spiritual element that here and there blossoms into rare beauty.

First of this school of poets whose work is so strangely compounded of artificiality and spirituality is John Donne (1573-1633), capable of high exaltation and deep depression, as the spiritual or the sensual elements of his passionate and unbalanced

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Robert
Burton's
Book on
Melan-
choly

Decline
of the
Lyrical
Impulse

The
Lyrical
Poetry of
the Time

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nature had temporary supremacy, and of peering into the depths and the mysteries of personality. His earliest poems belong to the flood tide of Elizabethan literature. In them the pagan mood predominates. His later poems are introspective and sometimes mystical, but even in their most rapturous moments the emotion is analyzed and tormented by his subtle and inquisitive mind, and the lines are often loaded with a burden of thought heavier than they can bear. Most popular and pious of the school, but also least poetical, is George Herbert (1593-1633), whose religious poems are always sincere in their emotion and contain occasional passages of lofty thought, and whose secular verses contain many fragrant and sweetly sentimental fragments. The reaction of Richard Crashaw (1613-1650) against the narrow rigor of Puritanism was so emphatic as eventually to carry him into the fold of Catholicism. Like nearly all the verse of the school to which he belongs, his poetry is very uneven. Incongruous images and unseemly phrases are intermingled with passages of golden splendor, with brilliant imagery, and with glowing felicity of expression. His fervor is often feminine in its rapture and frequently uncontrolled; but only lips touched with a live coal from the altar can be fired to his ecstasies of imagination. Descended from tribal chieftains of southern Wales, whose district was once called Siluria, Henry Vaughan (1622-1695) styled himself upon his title-pages "Silurist." He was a loving observer of delicate details of woods and fields, and so he anticipated "the religion of nature" that has been responsible for some of the finest modern poetry. Forgotten for more than two centuries and then discovered in a worn and tattered manuscript on a London book-stall, the poems on childhood of Thomas Traherne (1637?-1674) show a fine poetic quality, a singular and captivating sweetness, and speak of early years from which "the glory and the dream" were reluctant to depart. Somewhat apart from the metaphysical school is William Drummond of Hawthornden (1583-1649), a Scottish poet who forsook the vernacular of his native land and wrote in English, though he, too, displays something of the general drift of verse towards religion. For a generation the field of Scottish literature had been bleak and barren, but now it blossomed again, though briefly. Drummond was essentially a follower of Spenser, but his sonnets and madrigals reveal a melancholy thoughtfulness not often found in the silvery lines of *The Faerie Queene*.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

The general history of the time may be studied in greater detail in S. R. Gardiner's *First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*, and also

in his *England from the Accession of James I.* Gardiner is the greatest authority upon the period. C. H. Firth's *The House of Lords during the Civil War*, more useful for the following than the present chapter, carries on Gardiner's great work. It is broader in scope than the title indicates, and is written with great impartiality. F. C. Montague, *Political History of England*. G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts* is a luminous commentary upon the entire period, impartial in its judgments, always interesting, and rising at times to eloquence.

Primary sources of information are to be found in S. R. Gardiner's *Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, which has a very helpful introduction. G. W. Prothero's *Select Documents of Elizabeth and James I* contains many of the most valuable original sources of the period and has a fine introduction dealing with constitutional and religious affairs.

Among the biographies of men of this time are Louise Creighton's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Philip Gibbs, *George Villiers*. M. A. S. Hume, *Sir Walter Raleigh*. T. B. Macaulay, *Essay on Hampden*. J. A. R. Marriott, *Life and Times of Lucius Cary*. A. Cecil, *Life of Robert Cecil*.

For various special topics see: Julian Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*. J. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, the best study of the subject, though it needs revision. G. P. Gooch, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, broad in its sweep and informing in its matter, but ascribing the origin of democratic ideas that were largely insular too much to continental sources. W. A. S. Hewins, *English Trade and Finance*. C. H. McIlwain's *Political Writings of James I* contains an excellent introduction in which the political ideas of the Stuart Kings are given an illuminating exposition. H. L. Schoolcraft, *Genesis of the Grand Remonstrance*.

The religious history of the period is dealt with in: W. H. Hutton, *History of the English Church*, and also his *William Laud*. W. B. Selbie, *English Sects*. R. G. Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

(1640-1660)

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Opposi-
tion to
Charles
on Theo-
logical
Grounds
in
Scotland

IN religion and in politics the most powerful forces were now at work, seizing men, oftentimes despite their desperate efforts to escape, and whirling them into the tragedy of internecine strife. Rebellion against the autocratic and tyrannous government of Charles I began in Scotland. In the first year of his reign Charles had caused to be enacted by the Scottish Parliament a statute by which all grants and transfers of property by the government since the accession of his grandmother, Mary Queen of Scots, reverted to the Crown. The many landholders whom this act affected were permitted to continue in possession of their property on condition of making money payments and acknowledging the old royal feudal rights over it. As a consequence of this the nobility, which hitherto had supported the Crown against the middle and lower classes, changed sides and later on united in the national opposition to Charles. Then, in continuation of his father's efforts to make the Kirk more like the Church of England, he gave additional power to the bishops, ordered the clergy to wear surplices, and finally, in 1637, attempted to enforce the use of a *Prayer Book* drawn up by his command. The new book embodied the ideas of Laud, and the Scots deemed it nothing less than popery in disguise. All classes of the population, nobles, lairds, clergy, burghers, and peasants, were opposed to it; and when, for the first time, an attempt was made to use it in Edinburgh a riot broke out. In the following year a pledge, afterwards called the National Covenant, to remove the innovations in religious organization and worship, though at the same time to uphold the authority of the Crown, received numerous signatures. Charles withdrew the *Prayer Book*, but that was not enough; the General Assembly abolished Episcopacy and once more established Presbyterianism. Then he gathered some troops, ill-trained, ill-provisioned, and ill-paid, and with no love for the cause in which they were enlisted, and marched to the border, where he was confronted by an army unquestionably superior to his own,

burning with zeal and led by veterans who had served under the ablest generals of continental Europe. Lacking the means necessary to keep his army together, he entered into negotiations. He agreed that the matters in dispute should be settled by the Scottish Parliament and the General Assembly; but later on, when he saw that both institutions were determined to get rid of the bishops, he decided at once on war. Money was needed to raise an efficient army, and so, after an interval of eleven years, he summoned the English Parliament. But no sooner did that body meet, in April, 1640, than it began eagerly to discuss the popular grievances and showed itself unfavorable to a renewal of the war. The King, therefore, commanded a dissolution. The session had lasted only about three weeks, and, in contrast with the succeeding one, is known as the Short Parliament. For eleven years there had been only private and sporadic expression of discontent; but now the mutinous temper of the nation was revealed; there would be no tame submission to despotism.

Charles was able to raise another army; but this time the ready and resolute Scots, instead of waiting to repel him on their own soil, boldly invaded England. Wentworth, who had been made Earl of Strafford, now became chief adviser of Charles. He seems to have forgotten the shortcomings of Charles. He was led by his experience in Ireland to regard as factious and unworthy of consideration all opposition to the Crown. He was determined to make the monarchy powerful enough to carry out its wishes, and in attempting this he rode rough shod over individual freedom in speech and act. With great energy and fertility of resource he endeavored to provide money and supplies and to make the army an effective force. But his efforts were in vain, for the English soldiers, entirely without experience and discipline, remained without adequate equipment, and continued to be in sympathy with the principles for which the Scots were contending. Charles was obliged to leave the invaders in possession of Northumberland and Durham until a final settlement should be made of the questions in dispute and to promise to pay them £850 a day for their expenses on condition they should go no farther south. In the following year, 1641, he was compelled to acquiesce in the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and so the second war about the bishops ended more disastrously than the first.

Victory
of the
Presby-
terians in
Scotland

A Scottish army was encamped in northern England and would not budge until its expenses were paid. A meeting of nobles advised Charles to summon Parliament, and this he reluctantly decided to do. Among the members of the Long Parliament, as

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Meeting
of the
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it came to be known, which first met on November 3, 1640, were most of the former leaders of the opposition, and, in addition to them, an unknown country gentleman, Oliver Cromwell. The situation was very favorable for asserting parliamentary privilege and power, because Parliament, though it nominally had not a single soldier to enforce its claims, was in reality supported by the Scottish army. Everyone looked forward to momentous changes. Absolutism had been tried and found wanting; constitutionalism was now to be reestablished and extended. Promptly at its first meeting, and with the utmost assurance, Parliament took things into its own hands. It proceeded to carry out its plans and ideas with decision. It realized it had the support of the mass of the people. It was inspired by the feeling that it was the instrument of the popular will. Strafford and Laud were imprisoned in the Tower, and the former was impeached on the charge of high treason. As President of the Council of the North, and, later on, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, the unhappy Strafford had endeavored to increase the power of the Crown at the expense of individuals and institutions with whom it had come into opposition. In carrying out this policy he had displayed remarkable ability as a ruler; but at the same time he had committed many acts of despotism, and it was contended he had advised the King to bring an army from Ireland to subdue England. Yet, however tyrannous his conduct had been, and however dubious his language, there was nothing to sustain the charge of treason as the law was then understood, and so the trial by impeachment under the ordinary law was dropped and in its stead Parliament took up a bill of attainder. Such a bill could be passed like any other bill; and it did not require conclusive proof of definite guilt. It therefore made easier the punishment of the accused. Charles had promised Strafford that not a hair of his head should be touched, but the situation proved so threatening and hopeless that he finally yielded and signed the bill. Strafford was beheaded on May 12, 1641, meeting his fate bravely. He was quite as devoted to the welfare of England as were his opponents. He differed from them only as to the manner in which that welfare could best be secured. Democracy and aristocracy alike, in his judgment, would lead to waste and retrogression; only with a strong and untrammelled ruler could the resources of the country be properly developed, reforms carried out, and peace and justice ensured. Three years later Laud, also, was beheaded.

When the only man of first-rate ability on the side of Charles had been removed a series of blows was struck at the main sup-

ports of the absolute monarchy. Two bills concerning Parliament had been passed before the execution of Strafford. One provided that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent; and the other, known as the Triennial Act, required that a Parliament should be summoned at least every three years. Then all the extraordinary courts of justice set up by the Tudors (the Court of High Commission, the Court of Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Court of the Marches of Wales) were abolished, their prisoners were released, and the only courts left, aside from those of the common law, were the Court of Chancery, the Admiralty, and the Privy Council. The Court of Star Chamber, a court of summary procedure, not secret, and usually not specially severe, had in the main served a useful purpose under the Tudors. But, in addition to its desirable activity, it had lent itself easily to the selfish purposes of the Crown, to striking down opponents and restricting the liberty of the press, under the Stuarts. The destruction of the Council of the North and the Court of the Marches of Wales was a real calamity. Then the decisions in Darnell's case and in Hampden's case were reversed. The collection of ship-money, the raising of tonnage and poundage, the enlargement of the forests, the distraint of knighthood, and the various other recent impositions, were declared to be illegal without parliamentary approval. All these measures were signed, though with great reluctance, by the King, and thus they became the law of the land. They constituted a revolutionary proceeding on the part of Parliament, a much greater innovation than anything the King had done, but they were supported by the people and favored by the circumstances of the time. Finally money was appropriated to dissolve the temporary army Charles had stationed in the north and to pay the expenses of the Scottish army and so induce it to go home. No sooner had all this been accomplished than two parties arose in Parliament,—one willing to trust the King to observe the new enactments, the other fearing he would manage to gather an army, compel dissolution, and annul the limiting laws. Suddenly came from Ireland terrible news that served to confirm the fear of Catholicism and all that resembled it. When Strafford's strong hand was removed a rebellion broke out in Ireland. The people had been goaded to frenzy by the loss of tribal lands and rights and by religious persecution. Fearful atrocities were perpetrated, and rumors greatly magnified them in England. In view of the possibility of a forcible dissolution a document, known as the Grand Remonstrance, was drawn up. It recounted in great detail and magnified the misdeeds of the King, it enumerated the good deeds

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Lessening
of the
Power of
the
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of the existing Parliament, it proposed sweeping reforms to prevent recurrence of the grievances of which complaint was made, and it exaggerated the intrigue to restore Catholicism. The chief importance of the Remonstrance will be found in its program for the future. After sharp debates the Commons approved the document by a majority of only eleven votes. Then it was printed and circulated among the people. The leaders of the opposition hoped that by thus appealing to public opinion they would forestall any attempt to undo the work just accomplished.

The secular questions were apparently settled, but in the debates upon the Grand Remonstrance, and in previous discussions, the religious problem had been involved. Parliament had virtually been unanimous in political matters, but the division between those who were ready to trust the King and those who were not coincided with a sharp difference in religious policy. Those favorable to the King desired to permit a certain freedom of religious thought, to limit the powers of the bishops, and to return to the forms of worship prevailing before the coming of Laud. Those who distrusted the King wished to get rid of Episcopacy "root and branch," to replace it with Presbyterianism, and to enforce in all strictness the discipline of Puritanism. Neither of the two parliamentary parties wished to let Ireland slip from English control, and so it seemed inevitable that an army must be raised once more to subdue that unhappy land of spoliation and persecution. The army would be in the hands of the King when the rebellion had been put down; with its aid he might forcibly dissolve Parliament; and so the fears of the Commons increased and the hopes of the King that he would be able to recover all he had lost rose high. Then Charles by his unwise action threw additional power into the hands of his opponents. It was rumored that the leaders of the majority were preparing to impeach the Queen, and apparently only the most summary means could save her. So Charles stationed some five hundred soldiers outside the parliament buildings at Westminster, boldly entered the House of Commons, and demanded the arrest of Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrigg, and Strode, who, he asserted, had conspired with the Scots and were therefore guilty of treason. Forewarned of the King's intention the five members escaped down the river to London. The metropolis of today includes, of course, far more than the medieval city. It is only the medieval part of their town that the Londoners of today mean when they speak of the "City." London now includes Westminster, but at this time Westminster was two miles away from the "City." One could walk from one place to the other along the Strand, lined with homes of the

nobility and the well-to-do with gardens running down to the river, but the street, if such it might then be called, was a poor one and little used by pedestrians. The river was the highway of the time, and its banks had many stairs for boats. The escape of the five members obliged the King to withdraw from the House, amid angry cries of "Privilege," without having effected his purpose. No other of the privileges of the House was so deeply cherished as that of immunity from the intrusion of the King, and so the Commons transferred their session to the City, whose citizens were ardently on the side of the majority and whose walls were able to afford them protection. More than ever before London then became the workshop of the impending revolution. Its trained bands, the only effective regiment then in the kingdom, were called out on a war footing. The attempt to arrest the members of the Commons was illegal in many respects, but its chief importance lay in the fact that the King's feelings towards the men who opposed him were now disclosed. It was apparent to all that the differences between the two parties could be settled only on the field of battle. A few days later the Queen sailed for France, taking with her the crown jewels, and Charles retired northward into Yorkshire, leaving all the resources of the state in the possession of his enemies. For eight months both sides slowly prepared for war. There was no standing army, and the royal body-guard amounted only to several hundred soldiers. The control of the militia, or trained bands, made up of men drilled for a certain time every year and then returned to their regular work, was the only organized military body in the kingdom and so its control was most important. The two Houses passed a bill transferring command of the militia from officers appointed by the King to officers appointed by Parliament, and when Charles refused to agree they directed that the change should be carried out as a parliamentary ordinance. On August 22, 1642, Charles raised the royal standard in the castle yard at Nottingham as a sign that war had begun, and called upon all loyal Englishmen to aid him in crushing a rebellious Parliament.

Speaking in a general way it may be said that northwest of a line drawn from the mouth of the Humber to the mouth of the Severn the country was Royalist, while all to the southeast, the most populous and prosperous part of the country, was Parliamentarian. But the war was really carried on by two small minorities. "In all parts of the kingdom," said Clarendon, "the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than those who desired to engage in either party." Both sides professed to uphold the old constitution, and many who held the same politi-

Military
Successes
of the
Parliamentarians

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cal views were found in opposite camps. The two sides were far more sharply divided by religion than by politics. One was committed to Puritanism, while the other was devoted to Anglicanism. The Royalists were called Cavaliers, because they included large numbers of the nobility mounted on horse; and the Parliamentarians were styled Roundheads, because of the close-cropped hair of some of the Puritans. Charles sought to capture London, the center of Parliamentary power, but the drawn battle of Edgehill, in 1642, and knowledge of the strength of the trained bands of London compelled him to retire to Oxford. The many minor engagements of the following year, though on the whole favorable to the Royalists, produced no decisive results. Then Charles signed a treaty with the Catholics in Ireland, called the Cessation, which enabled the army Strafford had gathered there to come to his aid; but Parliament did much better when it signed a treaty, known as the Solemn League and Covenant, with the Scots. By the terms of the latter document, worded ambiguously so they might eventually be evaded, the religion of England, Scotland, and Ireland was to be brought to the same form "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." The first important Parliamentary victory after these two agreements were made was the defeat of the Royalist forces in the north, July 2, 1644, in the battle of Marston Moor, by which the Royalists lost all the lands north of the Humber and for the remainder of the war were placed upon the defensive.

Oliver
Cromwell

The success of the Parliamentarians was due in no small degree to Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) and to the character of the men who formed his contingent. There is little of importance to relate in Cromwell's career up to this point. He was much more interested in the religious aspect of the struggle than in the political, and he belonged to the "root and branch" party. At Edgehill he had seen the inferiority of the Parliamentary cavalry, made up of soldiers of fortune and the dregs of the populace. "You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go," he said, "or you will be beaten still." So he set about to choose for his troops, not mercenaries or adventurers, but "religious men," who fought for their faith; and, from "the impenetrable strength of his troops which could by no means be broken or divided," they earned the name of Ironsides. Nor was it only in zeal they excelled the other soldiers on both sides. They were better trained and better armed, they were excellent horsemen, and their pay was comparatively regular.

Marston Moor was not immediately followed by other Parliamentary victories. Some leaders in the rebel army desired to

effect a compromise with the King. At the call of Parliament an assembly, consisting chiefly of Presbyterian clergymen, had met at Westminster. A creed was drawn up, known as the Westminster Confession, whose pivotal dogma is that of predestination. God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, it was asserted, and man's part is to accept his fate with submission. Worship was simplified, and a book of general directions for its conduct was published. Altars and communion rails were removed from the churches, crucifixes and other images were mutilated or destroyed, and much of the stained glass that had escaped destruction at the dissolution of the monasteries was shattered by the hammers of the fanatics. Under the new ecclesiastical system there was no tolerance for dissenters of any kind. Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians, and others were of course displeased with the condition of things. The question of religious tolerance was therefore eagerly debated and bolder views than any that had hitherto found their way into print were freely uttered. "If I should worship the sun or moon, like the Persians, or the pewter pot on the table," said a soldier, "nobody else has anything to do with it."

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Presbyterianism
and Its
Intolerance

In 1641 a pamphlet called *Protestation Protested*, written by Henry Burton (1578-1648), made the principles of Congregationalism a matter of practical politics; and the experience of New England with that form of church organization was proof of its practicability. It seemed obvious that when each congregation was independent and free to determine its own faith and worship a greater degree of tolerance would prevail, and so from this time on Congregationalism included among its supporters such influential men as Cromwell. Sometimes the members of these separate congregations are called Independents. These free religious communities were by no means uniform in faith and worship. As the years went by, Congregationalism grew in strength. It flourished especially among the poor. "The spirit is in the hearts of the people," said a writer of the time, "whom you despise and tread under foot." Many of those who rejected Presbyterianism as well as Episcopalianism, members of the increasing minor sects, favored that form of organization because it seemed evident to them that under it they were most likely to secure religious freedom.

Develop-
ment of
Congrega-
tionalism

When the Presbyterians secured control of the Commons they became conservative. They were opposed to the current claims of freedom and tolerance, and they began to fear the increasing power of the Congregationalists. Their prime concern came to be to end the war on condition the Presbyterian system should

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Presbyterians in
Control of Parlia-
ment and
Congregationalists
in Control of the
Army

be established in England. They were, therefore, a peace party. The Congregationalists, however, had not secured what they wanted. They were well aware they would find no more freedom under the Presbyterians than under the Episcopalians, and they realized that the recent political reforms were not secure as long as the King could command an army. They were, therefore, a war party. They wished to go on with the war until the royal forces were disastrously defeated. Cromwell, who belonged to this party, knew it was necessary to get rid of the Presbyterian generals and to remodel the Parliamentary army. This he proceeded to do. At his instigation Parliament passed the New-Model Ordinance that welded the Parliamentary forces together, effected a better organization of them, enforced stricter discipline, and provided for regular pay; and it also passed a Self-Denying Ordinance by which, within forty days, the members of either House were to resign any office bestowed by the existing Parliament. Thus the former leaders of the Parliamentary forces made way for men who were determined to defeat the Royalists and insure the success of the rebellion. Sir Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671), an exact and systematic soldier, was appointed general; and upon his petition, despite the recently enacted ordinance, Cromwell, whose military ability was too great to be lost, was made lieutenant-general. The New Model soon showed what it could do. The royal army was crushed at Naseby, in 1645, and thereby the old monarchy was destroyed. In the next year the King surrendered to the Scots. Then followed a confused period of negotiations between Parliament and King, between the King and the Scots, and between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. Most important of the several questions to be decided at this time was that of Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. In discussing it the New-Model Army took an active part and became the most formidable political party in the realm. The Presbyterians, many of whom, as we have seen, were opposed to toleration, were in the majority in Parliament; while the Congregationalists, who favored religious freedom, were in the majority in the Army. Under such circumstances a clash between Parliament and Army was inevitable. Charles had been surrendered by the Scots to Parliament, but so distrustful of that body was the Army that it took him into its own custody. This did not put an end to his intrigues. Simultaneously he corresponded with Parliament and Army, hoping to inflame their jealousies, increase their differences, and eventually secure his restoration with his old prerogatives unimpaired. In these unsettled conditions radical opinion developed and restlessness in-

creased. Cromwell had continually counseled moderation, but when, in 1648, Charles succeeded in stirring up a second civil war and procuring another Scottish invasion, both of which were quickly put down by the veteran army, he gave his support to the Army in its opposition to Parliament.

In May, 1648, penal laws against "heretics" were passed by both Houses of Parliament. That institution was bent upon establishing Presbyterianism. In order to achieve this end it was willing to support an acquiescent King. But the Army was now weary of compromise and intrigue, and so when Parliament continued to negotiate with Charles, and even passed a resolution of reconciliation with him, and when it was known that the treacherous sovereign had signed a secret engagement with the Scots, it proceeded to take action. First, the Presbyterian and Royalist elements were to be expelled from Parliament and then the King was to be executed. On December 6, 1648, a body of soldiers under Colonel Thomas Pride was stationed at the entrance to the House of Commons and kept out one hundred and forty-three members who were known to be favorable to the King. The result of this act, usually known as Pride's Purge, was to put the Congregationalists in a majority in the Commons; and as the Lords had long ago ceased to play an important part in the legislation the Congregationalists found themselves in control of Parliament.

This remnant of the Long Parliament, derisively called the Rump, because it was the "sitting part" of the Parliament, proceeded to carry out the wishes of the Army upon which it was completely dependent. A High Court of Justice was appointed, and it declared the King to be "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good of this nation," and ordered him to be executed. On January 30, 1649, he was beheaded. In his last days Charles, who seemed absolutely convinced of his own innocence, and who refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, conducted himself with pathetic dignity and complete self-possession. On the scaffold he proclaimed anew the Stuart theory of the Divine Right of Kings. "A subject and a sovereign," he said, "are clear different things." Nothing in his life so became him as the leaving of it. The weaknesses of his character and his misdeeds were soon forgotten, his unhappy falsehoods and his unscrupulous subterfuges; his good traits were magnified, his courage, the sincerity of his religious faith, and the purity of his personal life; and he was venerated as a martyr for the Church and for popular liberties. A great revulsion of popular feeling took place, and in due time this aided in the restoration of the

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Purging
of the
Commons
by the
Congrega-
tionalists

The Rump
Parlia-
ment and
the Exe-
cution of
the King

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Under
the Rump
Parliament

Stuart dynasty to the throne, but in a fearful and emphatic manner the principle had been established that rulers are responsible to their subjects.

In the next eleven years the country witnessed a number of changes in the form of government, but they did not play an important part in the evolution of the national institutions. The members of the Commons, some sixty in number, regarded themselves as the authorized representatives of the people of England. They abolished the monarchy and also the Upper House of Parliament, and they declared England to be a free commonwealth, or republic, ruled by the House of Commons. For the purpose of carrying out the laws they created a Council of State, of forty-one persons, of which Fairfax and Cromwell were members, and they also established a new High Court of Justice. The real master of the situation was the Army, which then consisted of almost fifty thousand veterans; but, as we shall see, the Army was kept busy for several years putting down insurrections at home, while the navy was busy with enemies abroad, and so the new government had a considerable measure of freedom to carry out its aims. Two factions in England threatened to cause trouble. The reaction in favor of the monarchy was greatly stimulated by a little book, called *Eikon Basilike*, or *The King's Image*. This, in reality written by a priest of the Anglican Church, professed to be an autobiographical record of the late King's spiritual experiences, and despite his repeated and accumulated mendacities portrayed him as an innocent sufferer. A greater danger was threatened by the radicals, called Levelers, who thought the revolution had not gone far enough, who clamored for a complete democracy. "The poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as much as the greatest he," they declared; "and a man is not bound to a government that he has not had a voice to put himself under." Many of the ablest and most ardent members of the Army were included among these radicals, but Cromwell was opposed to them and sternly suppressed the mutinies they instigated.

Fire and
Sword and
Confiscation
in
Ireland

The rule of the Rump was thus established in England but beyond the sphere of its control were Ireland and Scotland. In the former country the Catholics and the Royalist Protestants had combined to expel the representatives of Parliament and had proclaimed the Prince of Wales, under the title of Charles II, as the King of Ireland. In 1649 Cromwell, resolved to break the royalist power and to put an end to the national resistance, crossed the sea and suppressed the insurrection with frightful severity. He remembered the massacre of 1641 and so when he

stormed Drogheda all its defenders and some of the townsfolk were put to death in cold blood, and this was repeated at Wexford. Every other important fortress was taken, and by the end of the following year the complete reduction of the island had been effected. One-third of the inhabitants had perished by the sword, pestilence, or famine. A vast scheme of confiscation, colonization, and persecution was then inaugurated. Catholic landowners east of the Shannon were stripped of their estates and banished to the wild region west of the river, and with them were sent large numbers of peasants. The lands thus gained were distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and to men to whom the government was indebted, and colonists from England and from New England were invited to settle upon them. In this manner two-thirds of all the land in the island was transferred to new proprietors, though when the Stuart dynasty was restored about one-third of the confiscated estates was returned to its former owners. A vigorous and relentless effort was made to stamp out Catholicism. Priests were hunted down and, to use Cromwell's own words, "knocked on the head," or they were imprisoned, or driven into exile. The mass was forbidden under pain of severe penalties; the only right remaining to the Catholics was that of declining to participate in religious services other than those of their own Church. These measures, combined with secular education and sectarian instruction, with "humanity, good life, equal and honest dealing with men of different opinion," so Cromwell thought, would eventually result in making the island Protestant. The program was not carried out, and the desired result was not obtained. There was no such thing as "equal and honest dealing with men of different opinion." Catholics were excluded from all political life, and they were not allowed to live in the corporate towns. It is true that, on the whole, the laws were impartially administered, but that did not make the laws just, nor did it produce contentment.

The Scots had little love for the new government under the control of the Congregationalists. They desired to inflict upon the southern kingdom their own theological beliefs and ecclesiastical organization in all their narrowness and severity, and they thought this could be secured by the restoration of the monarchy. So, after he had promised to establish Presbyterianism throughout the island, they, too, proclaimed the eldest son of the late King as Charles II, and prepared to invade England. Cromwell hastened back from Ireland and, in 1650, defeated them severely in the battle of Dunbar; and when, in the following year, they penetrated into England, gathering Royalists to their

Defeat
of the
Revolting
Scots

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Navigation
Act and
War with
the Dutch**

banner as they came, he won a great victory over them at Worcester. By these two battles the supremacy of England in the island was secured, and within England itself opposition to the will of the Army was shown to be futile. When the possibility of armed resistance at home had thus been removed, attention was directed to the activity of rivals and enemies abroad.

Chief among the foreign powers that threatened the interests and safety of the Commonwealth was the Dutch Republic. For a hundred years English merchants had been finding their way to the ports of every continent; but everywhere they went they found themselves preceded by the enterprising Dutch. The progressive spirit and the capital of the merchants of that little republic, the skill of their shipbuilders, the daring of their sailors, and the intelligent and constant support given to commercial undertakings by their government, had all combined to make them the most successful traders in Europe. Even in the English colonies they had managed to secure the greater part of the trade. It was said, for instance, that for every English ship at Barbados one might see ten Dutch. Little wonder, then, that quarrels arose between the two governments. These disputes included differences regarding political matters as well as trade; but it was the latter that gave the greater concern to England. The new government of the island resolved to do all it could to assist its merchants in the carrying trade, for that was the one field of commerce lying completely within its control. The carrying trade is the business of carrying freight from one foreign port to another for hire. Dutch vessels, for instance, took goods from the East Indies to England, and then on the return voyage took English goods to the East Indies. Ships engaged in carrying freight to or from their own country are regarded as being in the export and import trade. The carrying trade had been the chief source of the great wealth of the Dutch, whose little country did not lend itself to production on a large scale, and in order to wrest from them all that part of it in which English trade was involved Parliament, in 1651, passed what became known as the first Navigation Act. The act provided that goods from Asia, Africa, or America, could be brought into England and her colonies only in vessels owned and operated by Englishmen, and that goods from continental Europe could be brought into England and her colonies only in English vessels or in vessels belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. Relations between the two countries became so strained that war broke out the following year. At first the engagements were in favor of the enemy, but before long the English found in Robert

Blake (1599-1657), whose fighting thus far had been done on land, a most efficient sea-captain, and after a stubborn struggle lasting two years the Navigation Act was recognized by the Dutch.

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The Commonwealth now seemed firmly established, both at home and abroad, and so the Army was able once more to turn its attention to politics. The Long Parliament had been sitting for fourteen years, what remained of it was nothing more than a narrow oligarchy, and there was a general feeling that it should now dissolve itself and permit new elections to be held. This the members were unwilling to do, and when Cromwell became convinced of the fact he made a violent speech in which he bitterly accused the members of incompetence and self-seeking. He then ordered some soldiers whom he had stationed in the lobby to drive them from the House. Thus in an ignominious manner was the Parliament that had sat so long and exercised such great power suspended.

End of
the Long
Parlia-
ment

The Army had now got rid of King, Lords, and Commons. Its general, however, though he was actuated by an unconscious love of power, did not wish to rule as a dictator. The problem confronting Cromwell was to establish an effective executive, to create a legislature that would support the executive and uphold a limited degree of religious freedom, and to maintain an army and navy strong enough to keep peace at home and advance the interests of the nation abroad. In the endeavor to carry out this program he was at odds with the Royalists who thought the executive should be a monarch, and he was at odds with them and with many others as to the particular religious creeds and ceremonies to which freedom should be extended. The number of those who differed from him on one or other of these points was many times greater than that of those who agreed with him. But this did not deter him. "'Tis the general good of the kingdom that we ought to consult," he said; "that's the question, what's for their good, not what pleases them." By a strange irony of fate he had been compelled to act more autocratically than the unhappy monarch he had beheaded; but he was determined to retain his power and proceed with his program because he was convinced he had been chosen to do so by God.

Retention
of the
Executive
Power by
Cromwell

Cromwell next appointed a provisional Council of State, the former one having been abolished, and with its aid he undertook the task of selecting a number of men who were to constitute a new Parliament. The Congregational churches throughout the country were asked to nominate men for the new Parliament; and from the nominees, and from others deemed fit, one hundred

The Little
Parlia-
ment

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and thirty-six were selected and given commissions. This body, which was really no Parliament at all, was called Barebone's Parliament, because the name of one of its members was Praise-God Barebone. Immediately the new assembly began to get out of hand. Its members were hopelessly divided upon both secular and theological matters. All kinds of theological opinions and economic and social theories were spreading among the people, and some of these new views had found their way into the Army and the new Parliament, where they gave rise to endless and fruitless discussions. Among the more extravagant of these groups were the "Fifth Monarchy Men," who believed themselves to be the ones appointed to establish the "Fifth Monarchy," a government of saints thought to be foretold in the *Old Testament*; and the "Levelers," the more extreme of whom wished to abolish all differences of position and property. The actual changes of the Little Parliament were not radical, but many impracticable schemes were afoot, and so Cromwell, who summed up the results of the experiment with the remark that "the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design," persuaded some of them to resign. When the assembly had dissolved itself the only governmental authority in the land was once more the Army and its general.

Cromwell
and
Parliament

Some of the officers of the Army had already drawn up a written constitution, called the Instrument of Government, the earliest example of a "fixed government," and the only one in the history of England. It provided that England, Scotland, and Ireland were to be united in a single commonwealth, with a uni-cameral legislature and a single executive (assisted and somewhat controlled by a Council of State) who was to be named Lord Protector and who was to hold office for life. The legislature was to consist of four hundred and sixty members, chosen from the three nations, according to the wealth and importance of the various districts, by voters whose property was worth at least £200. Nine months elapsed between Cromwell's installation as Protector and the meeting of the new Parliament. In this interval he and his Council enacted eighty-two ordinances. He was fond of wholesome sport, of riding and hunting, he enjoyed music and art, his views upon religious freedom were far in advance of his associates and his age, and so, while further restrictions against swearing, cock-fighting and dueling were passed, and harsh measures against the Anglicans and Catholics were enacted, he did not approve the wish of many Puritans to banish all amusement and forcibly suppress all dissent. He moderated the reformation of manners and he secured religious

liberty for all except "Papists" and "Prelatists." Some of the revenue derived from confiscated church lands was devoted to schools, gifts were made to the Universities, visitors were provided for them, and they were defended against the sectarians who sought their abolition. In other ways, too, did Cromwell further the cause of culture. The philosopher Hobbes and the poet Cowley, both ardent Royalists, were permitted to return from the continent, and he made Waller, a Cavalier poet, one of his personal friends. When, in September, 1654, the first Parliament under the new constitution met it was found to consist chiefly of conservative Puritans. At once they began to display intolerance toward the independent congregations and to debate the Instrument of Government. About a hundred of the more recalcitrant were excluded, but the remainder continued to discuss the constitution, to draw up "lists of damnable heresies and incontrovertible articles of faith," to introduce measures for the reduction of the Army and to manœuvre to secure its control. Finally, in January of the following year, Cromwell, who was impatient as well as imperious, dismissed them, and from that time forward until his death he governed virtually by himself. He did not desire to dispense with Parliament. He shared the conviction of his patriotic countrymen that the chief justification of resistance to arbitrary authority was the maintenance of popular liberties, and to the patriots of the seventeenth century the one certain security of popular liberties was the control of the executive by Parliament, but because of his lack of constructive power and the exigencies of the time he was unable to devise and secure a desirable Parliament, and because of his temperamental deficiencies and the character of their members he was unable to come to terms with any one of the several Parliaments he created.

The succeeding government was nothing less than naked absolutism. The country was divided into a dozen districts, each in charge of a major-general. These military overseers sternly held the justices of the peace to the duty of maintaining order, stamping out disaffection and plots, and executing the laws relating to public morals. Plots against the person of the Protector, as well as against his government, became rife, and judges and lawyers made bold to question the legality of his ordinances. But Cromwell sharply punished those who conspired and arrested those who resisted. He placed compliant judges in the courts, and he declared that his actions, which he asserted were for the safety of the Commonwealth, should not be controlled by *Magna Carta*. Having purged Parliament of those who dared to oppose

Absolute
Rule of
Cromwell

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his will, he proceeded to do the same with the electorate. He confiscated the charters of the towns, deprived the burgesses who were antagonistic to him of their parliamentary votes, and confined the right to vote to members of the municipal corporations. Thus did he become more and more involved in the meshes of arbitrary government. The rule of the major-generals, which put half the nation under military supervision, was a war measure; it met a pressing danger, but in adopting it Cromwell threw away his best chance of reconciling the nation to his rule. It led many people, including moderate Puritans, to change their minds, and so it made a Royalist reaction inevitable. "If this be liberty," said a contemporary, "what nation in Europe lives in servitude?"

Continued
Lack of
Harmony
Between
Cromwell
and
Parliament

In 1656 a second Parliament was summoned. Despite influence and interference in the elections, a large number of its members proved hostile to the Protector, and so immediately nearly a hundred of them were excluded. The rule of the major-generals was withdrawn and then Parliament presented a new plan of government, called the Humble Petition and Advice, that attempted to restore the traditional or unwritten constitution as it had been before the civil war. Cromwell declined the title of King, but he assumed the chief powers his royal predecessors had possessed, and an upper chamber of Parliament, called the Other House, consisting of life members nominated by the Protector, was established. Neither the republicans nor the Royalists were pleased with this new arrangement, and the Commons, including many new members, soon gave emphatic voice to the disaffection. Cromwell did not hesitate; he summoned both chambers to his presence, loosed the fateful lightning of his wrath, and dismissed them. Seven months later, with health impaired by the hardships of campaigning, saddened by the death of his favorite daughter, and worn by the unceasing struggle of government, he breathed his last.

Character
of Crom-
well and
His Cham-
pionship
of the
Waldenses

Cromwell, unlike the Stuarts, was sagacious in discerning what was immediately practicable. At every crisis in domestic affairs he displayed a determined and unhesitating energy; he knew when the supreme moment had arrived; he knew how to seize its opportunity with decision, and his policies were always open and avowed. But he lacked constructive statesmanship; he was clear-sighted, but not far-sighted. In his foreign policy, such is the perplexing psychology of his character and his career, the opposite qualities were displayed. His diplomacy was irresolute, vacillating, and tricky. "A study of the foreign policy of the Protectorate," says Gardiner, "reveals a distracting maze

of fluctuations; we see Cromwell alternately courting France and Spain, constant only in inconstancy." Yet, next to his work as a soldier, his fame rests upon his foreign policy and his accomplishments. The three chief aims of his policy seem to have been the maintenance and expansion of Protestantism, the promotion of English commerce, and the prevention of the restoration by foreign aid of the Stuarts. In attempting to attain the first of these aims, Cromwell tried to form a league of the Protestant powers, but he soon learned that religion, or rather theology, was no longer the chief factor in determining the relations of one country with another, that whenever any material advantage was to be gained the nations descended to intrigue or declared war upon their rivals even though they were adherents of the same religion. His intervention in favor of the Waldenses of Piedmont stands out as the greatest success he obtained in this direction. In 1655 the Waldenses were subjected to severe persecution. An army containing French soldiers, and also Irish soldiers who had fled to the continent when Cromwell invaded their native land, was perpetrating horrible barbarities in an endeavor to exterminate the sect in its native valleys. Cromwell called upon the Protestant powers to join him in protest to the Duke of Savoy, in whose territory the Waldenses lived, and to the King of France; and for this purpose the pen of Milton, then a Secretary of State, whose famous sonnet is a condensation of his state papers, was employed. The protest secured a temporary peace for the unhappy heretics, and Cromwell's championship, despite its limited results, has rightfully been described as "one of the noblest memories of England."

Continental politics centered about the rivalry of France and Spain, who were at war with each other. It seemed clear that, of the two countries, Spain was the greater menace to Protestantism and to British trade and colonial interests, and so Cromwell cast in his lot with France. In engagements on both sides of the Atlantic numerous Spanish vessels were destroyed, and the first colony that England won by conquest from another European power was acquired when, in 1655, an expedition captured Jamaica. English soldiers fought side by side with the French against the Spaniards in Flanders and gained for their country the port of Dunkirk. The alliance with France was not altogether fortunate in its outcome, inasmuch as it helped Louis XIV to build up an overweening power; but "to Cromwell more than to any other British ruler belongs the credit of having laid the foundation of England's maritime supremacy and her over-sea empire."

Before the issue between Crown and Commons became critical

Crom-
well's
Opposition
to Spain

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Cromwell
as an
Embodi-
ment of
Puri-
tanism, as
a Military
Command-
er, and as
a Ruler

Cromwell had lived the quiet life of a country gentleman. His temperament inclined him toward religious meditation and his life afforded him the necessary leisure for thought. Religious conviction was the impelling force of his public career, and his conviction harmonized with that of the most aggressive party in the kingdom. He entertained the Puritan ideals of conduct in their best and highest form, but he also shared their narrow beliefs. This last fact, indeed, was one of the conditions of his success. It is the man who voices the thought of the multitude, not the lonely thinker, who is accepted as a leader. Cromwell was forty-three years of age when he fought his first battle, but he rapidly made himself the greatest general of his time and one of the greatest of all time. With his consummate military genius he soon became a master of tactics, subjected his men to strict and systematic discipline, appreciated their earnestness at its full value, and fanned it into flame; and rightly he directed his strategy toward forcing decisive engagements. It is true his administration of civil affairs was arbitrary, and that for this his impatient and fiery temper is in part accountable; but so limited was the popular support of the Commonwealth that the blame must rest in part upon the circumstances of the time. His aims and ideals were always unselfish and patriotic, he strove always to walk in the paths of legality, the inner spirit of his rule was that of justice and social service, and so he remains, as does many another noble man, far greater than his work.

Character
of the
Restora-
tion
of the
Monarchy

Richard Cromwell (1626-1712), who succeeded to the Protectorate, had not been prepared for the position and he lacked the qualities of leadership. So the first eighteen months following the death of his father was a period of dissolution. Finally George Monk (1608-1670), in command of the army keeping Scotland subject to the Commonwealth, seems to have resolved upon trying the experiment of reëstablishing the kingship and the former constitution. Without making his plans public he marched his army to London where he compelled the Rump, which had been recalled, to readmit the members ejected at Pride's Purge. The Long Parliament, thus restored, decided upon its own dissolution so that a new Parliament might be elected, and it made the shrewd and silent soldier who had taken things into his own hands general of the army. Five days after the new Parliament met it received from Prince Charles, then living in exile in Holland, the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised a general pardon to all who had taken part in the rebellion, except those to whom pardon should be refused by Parliament. The owners of estates confiscated from Royalists were to be

permitted to keep them, the arrears of wages due the soldiers were to be paid, and liberty of conscience, so far as consistent with the peace of the realm, was to be granted. On the same day a resolution was passed declaring that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons." The terms were generally acceptable, and so, on May 29, 1660, the son of the beheaded sovereign entered London amid unrestrained and unreasoning rejoicings. This restoration, however, was not the reëstablishment of the Crown with its former prerogatives unimpaired. All the salutary laws limiting the power of the executive for which Pym and Hampden and Cromwell had struggled continued to be in effect, and thus the absolutism of the Tudors and the early Stuarts had been rendered difficult of repetition. The revolution was not reversed. England was still the world's leader in popular liberty.

The intellectual power, the mood of meditation, the varied and accomplished technic, and the vital relation to life that had given to the English drama in the days of its prosperity an undying glory, passed, in the period of its decay, into the realm of prose. The most important prose of the troubled time, whose political events we have just narrated, was produced in the fields of philosophy, history, and literature. Of the philosophers the one outstanding name is that of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), a thinker interested especially in the phenomena and problems of society. In his long life he was the witness of a remarkable political panorama. He saw the popular despotism of Elizabeth, its dissolution in the time of her pedantic successor and his vacillating son, the excess of the longest session of Parliament, the appearance of a phantom republic, the iron rule of a great military commander, and the return of the people to the adulation of a King. These swiftly moving changes, together with his study of ancient democracy, led him to meditate upon the principles of government. He agreed with Francis Bacon that "knowledge is power," that its end is practical or utilitarian, and, like him, he was a herald of the new era. But there is a fundamental difference between them. Bacon abandoned both the subject-matter and the method of medieval philosophy; he turned from the supernatural world to the actual world in which we live, and he discarded the process of deducing facts from mere theories and attempted to formulate the method of induction. Hobbes also neglected the supernatural for the natural world, but he saw nothing to be gained by experimentation. He dismissed the inductive method with a single gesture. He started with pre-

Thomas
Hobbes's
Conception
of the
Universe

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conceived theories. The most fundamental postulate of his philosophy is that the universe is the result of the operation of force upon matter, that its origin and continuance are merely mechanical. The only things that exist, he says, are force and matter. Man is merely a part of a mechanistic universe, and, therefore, despite any contrary delusion, he possesses no such thing as freedom of the will. Being directed solely by external and mechanical forces, man should neither be praised for the good he accomplishes nor blamed for the bad. The preservation of life and the acquisition of gain are the sole impelling forces of our nature. "Good and evil," he said, "are mere names for our appetites and aversions." His thought is often ambiguous, but it seems certain he wished to enthrone reason as the sole guide of humanity.

Political
Thought
of Hobbes

The political part of the universal system that Hobbes contemplated but never completed, the part to which he seems to have attached most importance, is to be found in several minor publications and in the book called *The Leviathan*. Men when they lived in a state of nature were unrelated individuals, he asserts; each was a law unto himself. Government was formed by an unqualified covenant, or agreement, between them. Such an agreement is sanctioned by manifested expediency, for there is evidently no other way to peace. Under such a covenant each man no longer seeks his own ends by any means he pleases to adopt, but instead he is controlled by a sovereign whom the multitude has chosen to govern in the name of all. This agreement is not a contract between subject and sovereign. There is no such contract. The sovereign is not a contracting party. He is the agent of the multitude from whom he has received unrestricted power to carry on the work of government. This agreement is irrevocable, and so the agent or sovereign is not responsible to the people. The subject has no legal remedy for ineffective or unjust government. There can be no stable government unless the absolute power of the sovereign is unquestioned. The subject must always obey the sovereign *de facto*, and never continue allegiance to the sovereign *de jure*. The immediate aim of *The Leviathan*, written in a time of revolution, was to provide a suitable form of government for England. Its assumption that, because a dictator had been necessary to preserve the country from anarchy in a time of revolution, a despot is necessary in times of peace is one that experience does not sustain.

Influence
of Hobbes

Hobbes demonstrated all phases of his thought with skilful and even delightful dialectic, with dogmatic vigor of expression

and with limpid purity of style; but, unfortunately, with his scorn of the inductive method he failed to fill his premises with the data of experience. It does not seem true that government began with a definite and unqualified agreement, but rather that it has developed slowly and has been determined by the forces of evolution. Not because of his doctrines is he to be most highly regarded, not because of any lasting system of metaphysical or political thought, but because he initiated important lines of thought and clothed what he has to say in a style so clear and easy to read as to be an admirable example for thinkers who were to follow him.

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Poetical prose, which is the most distinctive kind of this period, found in Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) one of its most admirable exponents. A student at Cambridge and then a Royalist chaplain, he was compelled to live in retirement in Wales during the Commonwealth, and after the Restoration he lived and died as a bishop in Ireland. His learning was immense; yet, being neither scientific nor speculative in temperament, his great accumulation of knowledge was used, not to build a well designed system of theological thought, but as a storehouse of which he could choose the fittest argument to disconcert an opponent or the loveliest literary gem with which to adorn a sentence. His famous plea for tolerance, *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophecy*, which appeared in 1646, is based upon the impossibility of erecting theology into a demonstrable science, and therefore upon the injustice of compelling all people to subscribe to dogmas that cannot be proved with mathematical precision. Yet he set certain limits to toleration, for he excluded "whatsoever is against the foundation of faith, or contrary to good life and the laws of obedience, or destructive to human society, and the public and just interests of bodies politic." His genuine poetical temperament enabled him to cull from the classics, from the literatures of the far and ancient East, from the world of nature, and from the common life of man, as the bee gathers honey from the many flowers of the field, figures of speech and snatches of information of an appealing and persuasive character, while his fervid and mobile feeling and his prolific fancy enabled him to use them with great skill in the beautiful and eloquent prose of which he was the master.

Thought
and Style
of
Jeremy
Taylor

The poetical prose of the period was eloquent above all else upon the vanity of human affairs and the mystery of death. Peculiarly fitted for this sort of writing, not only by his style, but also by the aloofness of his mind and the mystical strain in his temperament, was Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), who

Thought
and Style
of
Thomas
Browne

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remains unrivaled, save by De Quincey, in his sensitiveness to the musical value of words, and who reveals a curious combination of skepticism and credulity. He was an Oxford man who studied medicine, traveled, and then spent the remainder of his days in the desultory practice of his profession. His *Religio Medici* displays great erudition and a mysticism that deems the world to be no more than the shadow of some vast and invisible system and life merely the subject-matter for meditation. His learning was by no means modern, and his interest was not in contemporary affairs; for he was anti-Copernican, and he remained to all appearance placidly indifferent to the desperate struggle filling his native land with suffering and sorrow. The strange quality of his genius and the incommunicable charm of his style, as well as his unusual learning, are found at their best in his *Urn Burial*, inspired by the unearthing of some ancient funeral urns in Norfolk. For richness of imagery and moving melody of words it is difficult to match its last chapter in the entire field of the national literature. He was a liberal in thought. Instead of hating all who differed from him about a surplice or a sermon, he proclaimed the most essential thing in religion to be charity. So he was attacked on all sides as an atheist, a papist, and a deist by the unscrupulous scribblers of the warring sects, but he met all their assaults with a smiling and pitying sympathy and permitted them to lessen the peace and the fragrance neither of his life nor his books.

Selden
and
Fuller

Prominent on the practical side of political affairs John Selden (1584-1654) was also a scholar who wrote books dealing with political, legal, and ecclesiastical history and with oriental mythology. In the last field he made a use of the comparative method far in advance of his age. The wit and contagious good humor of Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), divine and historian, made him acceptable to men of both sides of the great controversy that divided his country and enabled him, as a contemporary said, to weather the storm with more success than many other great men. His greatest works are his *Church History* and his *History of the Worthies of England*, both of which display a distinctly original mind, a lively imagination, and an unusual aptitude for illustration; but in his own day *The Holy State and the Profane State* was perhaps the most popular.

Life of
Milton

The literary work of John Milton (1608-1674) falls into three distinct periods: an early period of poetry, a period of political and polemic prose, and a late period of poetry. We are here to consider only his work in prose, and to give a few details of his life. From St. Paul's School, in London, the city of his birth,

he went to Cambridge, where his beauty and refinement won much attention, and where he received the master's degree. Then for six years, still engaged in his studies, he lived at his father's country place in Buckinghamshire. In 1638 he went to Italy, whence he was recalled by the condition of his country. Like his father, he was a Puritan; and in his political views he was a republican. He wrote frequently and furiously in behalf of the Puritan cause; and in the period of the Commonwealth, as Latin Secretary, he was engaged in diplomatic correspondence. In the midst of this arduous work, carried on by night as well as day, he was overtaken by blindness. When the monarchy was restored he lived in retirement and devoted himself to the long-delayed task of writing a great epic.

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At least two of his prose pamphlets arrest our attention today, for their matter as well as for their style. In his *Tract on Education*, which claims to be no more than an improvised letter, an admirable curriculum for the education of youth is set forth with unusual insight. It compels us to realize the great sweep of the author's mind. The *Areopagitica* is the famous plea for uncensored printing, the most popular and eloquent, perhaps the greatest, of all his prose writings. In it he stands revealed and confessed the greatest pamphleteer of his generation. Each of these pamphlets is written in the swinging and sonorous prose of which Milton was not ashamed, and contains outbursts of that ardent devotion, of that glowing passion, which is the expression of his personal character. His prose often fails to run easily and evenly, and is frequently ungainly and inharmonious; but at times it is instinct and alive with a mighty eloquence that sweeps all before it as the flotsam of the sea is swept on the crest of the tidal wave.

Milton on
Education
and Free-
dom of
Speech

In the midst of the most momentous struggle for liberty in the history of their country a group of poets, sometimes called the Amorists, piped ditties seemingly suitable only to an idle day. The most prolific of them, and the one whose work is most even, is Robert Herrick (1591-1634), by birth and breeding a true representative of the prudent and home-keeping commonalty of the seventeenth century. Sent as a pastor to a remote village in Devonshire, he sang of flowers and maidens, of the swift and sure decay of their beauty, of the transience of pleasure, of the brevity of life itself. The larger aspects of the outdoor world, the storms, the hills, the stars, seem to have had little if any meaning for him; and despite his delight in the old customs that survived in the village, he seems never to have attained an intimate realization of the life of the people whose priest he was,

Robert
Herrick

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never to have got near to their hearts. Yet his poems about flowers have an undying freshness, and those about women a sweetness all their own.

The
Cavalier
Poets

Not all the Amorists lived in remote villages; most of them lived at the court or hovered upon its fringes, and so they are sometimes known as the Cavalier poets. Earliest of these court songsters, who occupied themselves with turning disreputable incidents of an idle court life into delicate and distinguished poetry while their country was agonized with war and the rumors of war, was Thomas Carew (1595-1645?), an accomplished writer whose melodious lines are often moving despite their impersonality. His work is finished and polished as some piece of jewelry, and as hard. The poems of Sir John Suckling (1609-1642) are strangely inadequate to represent his undoubted literary power. The chief gift displayed in his minor poems, upon which his reputation rests, is an inimitable grace; and the chief thing he has to say in them seems to be that love is a delusion, pursuit everything, enjoyment nothing, that, indeed, life itself is an illusion ending at last in dust and ashes. Richard Lovelace (1618-1658) wrote at least three unrivaled poems of love; and Edmund Waller (1606-1687) wrote two or three songs of imperishable beauty. There were other minor poets in this group of courtly singers, but we have not space for even their names. Whatever we may think of the lost cause in which Charles I suffered, and for which he died, we cannot fail to recognize that the sentiment of romantic personal loyalty it evoked, the passion of allegiance to a picturesque and romantic figure ennobled with the somber grace of a great calamity, had a marked effect upon the poetry of the time. With the passing of these poets the note of chivalric love ceased to sound in English literature and was not to be heard again until more than a century had gone by.

Abraham
Cowley

Abraham Cowley (1618-1667) was esteemed in his own time as "the nonpareil of the Restoration." He is remembered today not for his love poems, in which there is no trace of genuine love, but for his improvement of the couplet by making its two lines perfectly balanced and integrally complete, and for setting the fashion of writing odes in lines of varying length and stanzas of varying numbers of lines, a new thing in modern literature.

Milton's
Early
Poetry

Milton's poetry written in the first of the three periods into which his literary life was sharply divided is that of a high-minded and happy youth, a lover of music, exquisitely sensitive to the beauty of the surrounding world, but not yet capable of deep and unconventional thought. In *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, two companion-pieces in which he displayed the mood of

a man devoted to "heart-easing mirth" and of one addicted to the delights of "divinest melancholy," he was revealed as a poet unsurpassed in variety of melody. In 1634 he wrote *Comus*, the masque that more than all others has made us familiar with its *genre*; and he saw it played in the great hall of a grim old border fortress. The occasion of his next great poem *Lycidas*, the first and still perhaps the foremost of the three or four great elegies in our language, was the death of a college friend, drowned in crossing the Irish Channel. There is no reason to suppose Milton felt any keen personal loss at the death of the young collegian. At least we find in the poem not only no "tears from the depths of some divine despair," but no genuine note of grief. Yet, though it contains little grief for a personal loss, it is not without emotion. It is a moving lament over a magical age passing away in the midst of increasing tumult with its destiny unfulfilled. Of the scant score of sonnets, called forth by varying incidents, embalming here a personal friendship and uttering there in sonorous voice a public appeal, the best are filled with majestic music, and in them we find the nobility of the poet's soul indubitably declared.

When the interregnum of politics and prose was at an end, the weary giant, now blind from devotion to his books, turned to the heroic theme which from his youth onwards he had determined to celebrate, and, at last, after many hesitations, he chose the orthodox story of the fall of man. In *Paradise Lost* we find the Puritan vernacular; but we know from some of his minor writings and from certain facts of his life that he was one of the boldest and freest thinkers of his time. He worshiped with the most extreme of individualistic groups, and was heretical even to that. He was Arminian, Anti-Trinitarian, half a Pantheist; and he was none of these as a mere partisan. He was led by his own thought, ever developing fresh heresies of his own, whithersoever his thought might lead him. But let us turn to the great epic and note the vast range of the powers employed; let us listen to the organ voice which in volume and richness remains unsurpassed. The poem is the one conspicuous example of the "grand style," the one illustrious exponent of structural grandeur, in our literature. Milton's requirement that poetry shall be simple, sensuous, and passionate tells us that in addition to the Puritanic element of his nature there resided in him a strain of what may almost be called paganism. The high level of the poem is remarkably sustained; the varied music carries us along as on a river of enchanting sound; and, even in the occasional desert-like patches, there is something serene and victorious in the unflin-

The Later
Poetry of
Milton

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a Liberal
Thinker

majesty of the style. In *Paradise Regained* he put forth a sequel that captivates us, though in less degree, by the same wide vision and sonorous music. And in *Samson Agonistes* he surveyed his own life, with less of the old immediate magic, with more bitterness than ever before, but still with a lofty and unfaltering dignity.

Milton's posthumous Latin *Treatise of Christian Doctrine* shows that, though he is rightly regarded as the finest expression of Puritanism, its greatest poet and idealist, he belonged more truly to the stream of liberalism that yearly grows "from more to more." Furious, abusive disputant he was, but never for a borrowed cause. Liberty-loving always and democrat beyond the measure of that day, he would not for his worst foe narrow speech or print. Believer in an inner light, he has much to say even to the most advanced thought of our own time.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

The general history of the period may be read in: F. C. Montague's *Political History of England*, which is nearly always accurate and instructive, but is lacking in life. Four books by Samuel R. Gardiner, the great pioneer historian of the period, full of facts, yet pulsing with life: *Cromwell's Place in History*; *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*; *History of the Great Civil War*; and *Oliver Cromwell*. Three books by C. H. Firth, the successor of Gardiner: *Cromwell*, accurate but somewhat too detached; *Cromwell's Army*; and *Last Years of the Protectorate*. F. A. Inderwick, *The Interregnum*.

To the collections of original sources should now be added: Thomas Carlyle's selection of the *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, edited by S. C. Lomas. Edward, Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and of the Civil Wars in England*, of which something is said in our next chapter. John Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*. And S. R. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*.

Among the biographies are: Frederic Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*. Henrietta Haynes, *Henrietta Maria*. W. W. Ireland, *Life of Sir Henry Vane*. Thomas B. Macaulay, *Essay on Milton*. J. A. R. Marriott, *Life and Times of Lucius Cary*. John Morley's *Oliver Cromwell*, a book by one of England's finest thinkers. And E. C. Wade, *John Pym*.

Various special topics are dealt with in: C. L. Beer, *Cromwell's Policy in Its Economic Aspects*. R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*. And J. R. Seeley, *Growth of English Policy*.

For the story of affairs in Ireland see Robert Dunlop's *Ireland under the Commonwealth*.

The interesting and important religious movements and personalities of the time are treated in: L. F. Brown's *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England*, the best source of information on the subject. The seventeenth chapter of Rufus Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* deals with the Anabaptists; the author is the most interesting of all writers in our country at the present time on religion. G. B. Tatham's *The Puritans in Power* is very useful for the effects of Puritan rule, especially upon the Universities.

CHAPTER XVII

RESTORATION AND REVOLUTION

(1660-1689)

CHARLES II (1660-1685), according to one who knew him, was "well-made, with a swarthy complexion agreeing well with his fine black eyes, a large ugly mouth, a graceful and dignified carriage and a fine figure." Early initiated into all the vices of the age, indolent and sensual by nature, this witty monarch had indulged still further in dissipation during his enforced sojourn on the continent. He was quite as unscrupulous as his father, but he was far more cautious. Never again, he is reported to have said, would he go upon his travels. He entered London "through a lane of happy faces" and amid the general rejoicing of the nation; but his French blood, and still more his training and long residence abroad, had made him far more a foreigner than an Englishman, and this, together with his character, was destined to result in disillusion and disappointment. Self-interest was the keynote of his domestic and foreign policy. About five thousand members of Monk's army were retained, and they formed the nucleus of the modern army which thus traces its descent directly from the soldiers of Cromwell. The surviving bishops were restored to their sees and the remaining bishoprics filled; and, of course, the Anglican faith and worship, which had never been legally abolished, were once more supported by the State.

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Character
of the
New King

For the first seven years of the new reign the affairs of the country were administered by Lord Clarendon (1609-1674), the historian and statesman, who was chiefly responsible for the terms upon which the monarchy had been restored. The moment appeared opportune for settling the religious question in a broad and tolerant manner; but the Cavalier Parliament, less comprehensive in its sympathies than the chief minister, at once proceeded to enact the narrow and tyrannical measures against all persons outside the State Church that came to be known as the Clarendon Code. The first measure in this "Code" is the Corporation Act of 1661, which required all members of the municipal bodies who ruled the towns to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant en-

The
Clarendon
Code

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tered into in 1643 with the Scots (which provided for reforming the Church of England "according to the example of the best reformed Churches," or in other words the Presbyterian), and to receive the communion in accordance with the usage of the Anglican Church. This, of course, put the government of the towns into the hands of members of the Established Church; and, inasmuch as in most of the towns the corporation elected the representatives of the town in the House of Commons, the measure also served to exclude all Catholics and Dissenters from the Lower House. In 1662 a new Act of Uniformity required all ministers to use the *Prayer Book* and to acknowledge that it was unlawful to bear arms against the sovereign; and another act required all clergymen holding benefices to receive episcopal ordination if they had not already done so. About two thousand ministers, mostly Presbyterians, resigned their positions rather than fulfil these stipulations, and those who continued in the ministry set up congregations of their own. Up to this time it had been the general plan of the Puritans to remain within the State Church and endeavor to change its character. This was evidently no longer feasible, and so, not only the minor sects who had maintained independent religious communities of their own ever since the time of Elizabeth, but also Presbyterians now established permanent organizations separate from the Anglican Church. Despite the fact that rigorous laws were passed for the purpose of preventing the organization of separate congregations, this was the beginning on a large scale of Protestant dissent. Two years later, in 1664, the Conventicle Act was passed. It declared that any meeting of more than five persons for religious purposes, not in accordance with the Anglican requirements, was illegal and severe punishments were prescribed for attendance at such a conventicle. In the following year, 1665, the Five-Mile Act was passed. It forbade ministers who had refused to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity to teach in schools or reside within five miles of any place where they had formerly acted as a minister. These harsh laws filled the plague-stricken prisons with Dissenters who defied them. One of these unyielding pastors was John Bunyan, who wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress* in Bedford jail where he was confined for more than twelve years.

Clarendon's
Personal
Attitude
Towards
the Code

It would seem that Clarendon agreed to these measures only reluctantly, and that in administering them he made efforts to mitigate their injustice and severity. He did not favor the policy of general indulgence desired by the King, who had privately become a Catholic and who wished to enable his Catholic subjects to worship according to the usages of their own religion; and, on the

other hand, he did not favor those Anglicans who were bent upon excluding from the affairs of government all who were not members of their Church. He occupied something of a halfway position. But gradually he became committed to the policy of intolerance and involved in all its consequences. It was the merchants, the lower middle class, and the working classes that suffered most from the Clarendon Code, and to this fact we must look for the subsequent "strict and remarkable influence of class upon religious observance in England."

The reaction against Puritanism was displayed not only in the intolerant laws, but also in a striking exaltation of royalty, which in sermons and books was sublimated into something like a religion, and in the deplorable dissipation that found its leaders at the court and left its stain upon the literature of the time. This reaction, however, should not blind us to the fact that a deep and permanent impression had been made upon all classes of the laity by Puritanism. The virtues and the defects of the Puritans are henceforth plainly discernible even in the laity of the Established Church; and at a time when active Dissenters enjoyed only few political rights it was these Anglican laymen who were largely instrumental in forming the Whig party.

At the end of 1662 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence to free his co-religionists from the two acts passed against all who were without the Anglican fold, but the bill to give the proclamation effect was defeated in the Lords, and, as we have seen, still further acts were passed against all who were not Anglicans. A second Declaration of Indulgence, issued by virtue of the royal power of dispensation, the power claimed by the Crown to exempt persons from the necessity of obeying some law, and published in 1672, suspended all laws against Catholics and Dissenters for failure to comply with the ecclesiastical requirements of the state. The attempt to brush aside the requirements and penalties of the recently enacted laws was in itself a just and liberal undertaking; but most of the people were convinced that in reality it was nothing more than an attempt on the part of the King to restore the Catholics to power; and those who were well informed were certain it was illegal. The members of the Cavalier Parliament, who had long been drifting in opposition to the King, found this alleged prerogative to be intolerable. The successful assertion of such a right would have taken away much of the recently acquired power of Parliament. Then, too, the Cavaliers were opposed to it because they realized it would defeat the fundamental article of their political program, the establishment of the supremacy of the Church of England in civil as well as eccle-

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Reaction
Against
Puritanism

Differ-
ences
Between
the King
and His
Subjects
Regarding
the
Catholics

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Fear
of the
Catholics
and
Measures
Against
Them

siastical affairs. They feared the Catholics and despised the Dissenters. To such an indulgence they were unalterably opposed, and they were clever enough to base their opposition upon constitutional grounds. The right of the Crown to suspend laws was sharply questioned, and its claim to special authority in ecclesiastical matters was flatly denied. The cautious sovereign knew it was well to keep on good terms with Parliament, so he withdrew the Declaration. Yet this did not suffice. In 1673 the Test Act was passed, making ineligible for office under the Crown all persons who did not disavow the doctrine of transubstantiation and who declined to receive the communion according to the Anglican rites. This, of course, prevented any Catholic from taking part in the national government. In conjunction with the Corporation Act it put the exclusive control of ecclesiastical, educational, and charitable organizations into the hands of the Established Church and made that Church the most powerful institution in the land.

The groundless but general fear of the Catholics was greatly increased by the growing power of France, and by the fact that close connection existed between the courts of the two countries. Charles was suspected of being a Catholic, and his brother James, Duke of York and heir apparent, was definitely known to be one. A Catholic monarch, it was thought, could easily secure the effective military aid of the growing military power across the Channel to restore the ancient religion. At this auspicious moment the widespread fear was increased to panic by a great imposture. Titus Oates (1649-1705), after a varied career as criminal and conspirator, made an affidavit before Sir Edmund Godfrey, a London magistrate, that he knew of a plot by which Charles was to be assassinated, James to be placed on the throne, and a French army to be landed to effect the complete suppression of all forms of Protestantism. The long story was manifestly improbable, and its discrepancies were apparent; but certain passages in letters written by the secretary of the Duchess of York, seized at the instigation of Oates, completely established the credit of the informer in the eyes of the people. Two weeks after the affidavit was made the body of Godfrey was found with indications that he had been murdered. It has never been conclusively proved whether this was the work of robbers, or of Catholics, or whether it was a case of suicide, but it served to break the dam of pent-up passion, to madden with fear not only the common people but also judges and juries. Numerous persons accused of favoring the alleged plans were hastily tried, many were executed, and much innocent blood was shed. Three Parliaments attempted to pass a bill excluding James from succession to the throne, but each was

in turn dissolved by the King, who, with a devotion to principle he rarely displayed, supported his brother's right with determination. The parliamentary leaders wished to secure the succession for the Duke of Monmouth, the eldest illegitimate son of Charles, who was a Protestant; but as the panic subsided more and more persons became "willing to let matters take their usual course." It seemed unlikely that James would outlive his brother very long; and his two daughters, Mary and Anne, were Protestants. Mary was the wife of William, Prince of Orange; she would naturally succeed her father; and so it seemed quite certain that before long England would again be ruled by a Protestant. Only the second marriage of James, this time to a Catholic and Italian princess, seemed to give pause to this expectation. Then a reaction of popular feeling took place. Some of the men who had been most diligent in prosecuting Catholics were now themselves brought to trial and put to death; and the charter of London, where the exclusionists were particularly strong, was confiscated. In the last four years of his reign Charles ruled quietly, without summoning Parliament, and thus insured the peaceful accession of his brother.

Under Cromwell, who for the first time had succeeded in completely conquering the country, peace had prevailed in Scotland. North of the Tweed the rejoicing at the restoration was almost as exuberant as in England, but the old and bitter quarrel of State and Kirk was soon revived. The Presbyterians expected that Charles, because of the agreements he had signed before his accession, would maintain their faith and government, not only in the northern kingdom but in the southern one as well; but, while their faith and worship were left intact, government by bishops was once more established. The most outspoken of the preachers who opposed this change were driven into exile, many of them going into Holland, and from there they carried on a war of pamphlets. The once effective force of the preachers, who claimed by virtue of the alleged "power of the keys" paramount authority in secular matters as well as sacred, was finally broken by the last two Stuart Kings. Ruthless methods were employed to crush those who aspired to make Scotland inclusively Presbyterian, and from this time on the idea of tolerance gradually supplanted that of ecclesiastical absolutism which had been upheld by Knox and Melville. Yet the memory of the courage and devotion of the Covenanters, of the men and women, and even children, who faced torture and death for the sake of a narrow and hopeless ideal, lingered for many generations in that northern land.

Enforced
Religious
Tolerance
in
Scotland

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Oppres-
sion in
Ireland

The chief problem in Ireland under the Restoration was that of the land. The Cromwellians were deprived of about one-third of their lands, but very little of it was restored to former Irish or Catholic owners. At the end of this new settlement it was found that the great rebellion had resulted in reducing the Catholic share of the fertile lands of the country from two-thirds to one-third. From this arose the grievous agrarian question that has so greatly disturbed the subsequent history of the island. Divorced from their lands, the Catholics were condemned to hopeless poverty, and their deep sense of injustice was intensified and embittered. Then, too, the inhabitants of the island suffered other wrongs. In 1663 they were excluded from the benefit of the Navigation Act and their embryonic shipping interest was thus ruined. Three years later the importation of Irish cattle and horses into England was forbidden, and, in consequence, the value of the former at once fell to one-fifth and that of the latter to one-twentieth. Irish meat and butter and cheese were also excluded from England. Yet peace brought a certain prosperity. Woollen manufacturers flourished and gave employment to many. The Catholics were treated less harshly than under the Commonwealth; but their priests were persecuted, the laity were subject to frequent alarms, and altogether life was far less pleasant for them than for members of the State Church. Under James II the Catholics, who despite persecution succeeded in holding their own in numbers, fared better in several ways; they were given offices in the army and in the civil administration. But no pretense was made of giving self-government to the island. James was enough of an Englishman to refuse a local Parliament that would soon repel Poynings's Law and the Act of Settlement.

Foreign
Affairs
and the
Second
War with
the Dutch

Charles II continued the alliance with France made by Cromwell; and it was due to the diplomacy of Louis XIV, in carrying out his policy of opposing Spain, that in 1662 Charles chose as his wife Catherine of Braganza, sister of the King of Portugal. This was a marriage of some importance. Twenty-two years previously Portugal had declared her independence of Spain and the new connection went far to insure the continuance of her freedom. Then, too, as a dowry England secured Tangier and the island of Bombay. The latter was given to the East India Company, all of whose other possessions were held of the Mogul Empire, and though the Company still continued to be occupied exclusively with commerce, its acquisition marks the beginning of the British possessions in India. A new charter was given to the Company in 1661 confirming the privileges already granted and bestowing additional rights of jurisdiction over all English-

men in the East and the right to build fortifications and maintain troops for defense. While the English government became ever more friendly towards France, the relations between it and Holland were increasingly hostile. Dutch commerce was world-wide and prosperous. Englishmen regarded it with jealousy, and disputes between traders of the two nations, especially in the East Indies, were constantly recurring. Holland had long been at war with Spain, but when Portugal successfully revolted the Spanish power was greatly weakened and the relations between Holland and Spain assumed a different aspect. The conquests of the Dutch, in Asia and America, had been made in Portuguese territory. Relations between Holland and Spain improved, and in 1648 a treaty of peace, virtually dictated by the Dutch, was signed at Munster. The reënactment of the Navigation Act, the enactment later on of still stricter ones, and the seizure in 1664 of New Amsterdam, renamed New York, precipitated a second war between England and Holland. Several severe battles were fought in the two years' struggle, but, so evenly balanced were the naval forces of the two countries, no decisive result was reached. By the terms of the peace signed at Breda in 1667 England retained the territory afterwards divided into Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, thus securing a continuous line of settlements on the Atlantic seaboard of North America; and to the Dutch was ceded Suriname, a district now known as Dutch Guiana. In Asia the Dutch were permitted to keep the little island of Poleroon, or Pularum, in the Moluccas, valuable for the spice trade, which they had captured in the time of the Commonwealth, and thus English trade in that part of the world was confined to the mainland of India. In Africa the Dutch forts on the western coast were surrendered to the English.

When their fields of commercial activity in the three continents were thus distinctly defined and separated, the old forces of racial affinity and religious similarity once more made themselves felt and, together with the common fear of the growing power of France, drew the two peoples together again. The desire of Louis XIV to seize additional territory and thus make France the dominant power in Europe was plainly evident, and so in the following year the Triple Alliance, of which the members were England, the United Provinces and Sweden, was formed to check so ambitious a design. The arrangement was of little benefit to Holland, however, for owing to the subservience of Charles to Louis, between whom a secret agreement, commonly known as the Treaty of Dover, had been made in 1670, that country was left to meet the vengeance of her powerful neighbor unaided.

Coming
Together
of the
British
and Dutch
in Face
of the
Growing
Power of
France

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Indeed, English ships joined those of France in attacks upon the Dutch; and in 1672 a third war with Holland began. Under the brave and able young stadholder, William III, Prince of Orange, the Dutch heroically resisted the enormous armies of their enemy on land and fought desperately against the English and French ships on the sea. The English people did not approve of the war. They believed Holland to be slowly but surely declining in power and that she was already left behind in the race for commercial supremacy. They saw clearly enough that their rival was France, whose ascendancy threatened not only their commercial prosperity but also their political independence. Louis and Charles were well aware of this feeling. They realized it would be hopeless to seek to enlist English soldiers in the war and that English sailors could be relied upon less and less. They knew the most that could be attained was to prevent England from joining the coalition that William was forming against France. For this purpose Louis paid large sums to Charles to enable the latter to dispense with asking Parliament for money, which, it was quite likely, would be granted only on condition of giving aid to the Dutch. Yet, despite this arrangement, Mary of York, eldest daughter of James, the King's brother, was married to the valiant William; and if Louis had not signed a treaty of peace with his enemies in 1678 it is quite probable that an English army would have helped to resist the aggressions of France.

**Opposition
to
Clarendon**

Owing to his "aversion to be troubled with the intricacies of his affairs" Charles was content to leave to others the chief share in the conduct of the government. It was this freedom from interference that enabled Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, to make his influence predominate in nearly every department of state during the early years of the reign. His industry and his devotion to public business were unusual, and in his character there were elements of greatness; but his essentially legal mind was narrow and implastic, and his conception of the constitution as being unchangeable and adequate to meet all the requirements of the future was unfortunate. Before long he became unpopular with all classes. Charles and the members of his court disliked him because he disapproved their debauchery; Dissenters were antagonistic to him because he upheld the privileges of the Established Church; statesmen blamed him, quite unjustly, for the King's ignominious servility to France; and the Commons turned against him because they deemed him responsible for the immorality and corruption of the court and because they disliked his high tone of prerogative and authority. On the ground that it would limit the proper freedom of the King and his ministers, Clarendon had re-

sisted the demand of the Commons for an investigation of the expenditure of the funds they had voted, and thus, misunderstanding his motive, they were confirmed in their unjust suspicion. In 1667, in the midst of this general and outspoken animosity, the faithful minister was deserted by the faithless monarch. His last years were spent in exile where he completed his famous *History* and his *Autobiography* which we are to note later on.

In the following years no one statesman occupied as important a position as that held by the exiled Chancellor. Five of the more important ministers seemed to have about equal influence and power. The coincidence that the initial letters of their names (Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale) formed the word "cabal," a word derived from the French *cabale*, then coming into use as the designation of little groups of politicians engaged in secret intrigues, served to fix that name upon them. The word came to have an invidious meaning because of the suspicions attaching to these ministers, and that meaning was confirmed by the character of various political groups to which it was afterwards applied. The group whose five members we have just named was formed and held together solely by the King. It was not a compact ministry, such as those of the present day, united upon a common policy, meeting for the consideration of public questions, and supporting each other against the attacks of political opponents. They asserted themselves to be upholders of tolerance at home and peace abroad, they professed alarm at the aggressions of France, but perhaps the only thing that bound them together was their common opposition to the old party of the Cavaliers. The group did not last very long, for its membership was changed by resignations, dismissals, and appointments; and it was weakened by internal dissensions. It is significant only as being one of a series of inner groups of members of the Privy Council that appeared from time to time and that led eventually to the Cabinet. One other governmental practice begun at this time led to an important result. Whenever a minister became unpopular with Parliament the King dismissed him from office. Charles never acknowledged a legal compulsion to do this, but nevertheless he was shrewd enough to realize that he would get along better if his ministers were acceptable to Parliament as well as to himself. Thus was a beginning made of the rule that the ministers of the Crown must be responsible to the Commons.

In addition to these foreshadowings of the modern ministry, we come at this time upon the beginnings of permanent political parties. In mediæval times the divisions of the members of Parliament into those who favored the various measures and those who

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Fore-
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of the
Modern
Ministry
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sible to
the
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of Perma-
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Political
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opposed them were only temporary. Under the Tudor despotism Parliament met too infrequently and had too small a share in the affairs of state to permit the formation of permanent groups devoted to differing policies. And the period of civil war found men in opposing armies rather than in opposing parties. All this was now changed. Parliament met frequently, and for some time it had been gaining a greater share in the work of government. When, therefore, opposing principles came to the surface it was inevitable that the respective champions of those principles should group themselves in permanent associations. At this time there were those who gave their support to the Crown and the Established Church, and those who wished still further to limit the royal power, to bring about religious tolerance, and, in general, to secure greater freedom for the individual man.

**Whigs
and
Tories**

When Charles dissolved Parliament in 1679 in order to prevent the passage of the bill designed to exclude his brother James from the throne, those who favored the bill sent petitioners to the King asking him to permit the meeting of Parliament. They were called Petitioners. Those who were in favor of letting the law of hereditary succession take its natural course expressed their abhorrence of this attempt to interfere with the royal prerogative. They were called Abhorrrers. These names, however, had too fleeting a significance; and each of them failed to express the vigorous feeling of the members of the opposite party. So gradually they were replaced by two short and telling nicknames,—Whigs and Tories. “Whigs” had been the name of the wild and fanatical Covenanters in south-western Scotland. The upholders of the monarchy now applied it with contempt to their opponents. “Tories” had been the term by which the Catholic outlaws in the bogs of Ireland were known. The men who were struggling for the recognition of dissenting religions and further limitation of the royal power used it to stigmatize those who stood in their way. These two parties drew their adherents from distinct classes of society. The great nobles, who had far-reaching influence among the tenants of their country estates, were nearly all Whigs; and so, too, were the merchants in the larger towns. Theirs was the party “that usually favored trade and freedom of enterprise and of thought.” Nearly all the country gentry and the clergy were Tories. The country squire with his lands and manor house, and the country clergyman with his parsonage and parish church, were the most numerous of all the conservative elements of the population. The country gentleman, whose time was taken up in looking after his lands, in acting as justice of the peace, and sometimes, though rarely, in literary and scientific pursuits, found his

chief amusements in hunting, drinking, cock-fighting, and in carrying on social intercourse with other families of the same rank in the neighborhood. He was commonly dressed in a plain drab or plush coat, large silver buttons, a jockey cap, and tall boots; and his manners were not altogether unlike those of Tony Lumpkin in *She Stoops to Conquer*. For the most part he was untraveled, unlettered, opinionated, and coarse, opposed to all improvement and a hard master. The smaller squires began to disappear at the time of the Civil War; and once their ranks were broken the process went on with accelerating speed. Their free gifts and loans to the royal cause and the exactions of the Parliamentarians left them saddled with financial obligations they were unable to meet. Some went into trade, others by judicious management, or by lucky marriage, rose into the higher ranks of the squirearchy, while still others simply dropped back into the yeomanry and shared the misfortunes of that sturdy class in the agrarian revolution of the eighteenth century. Most of these "bonnet lairds" were bought and replaced by the more modern squire with ten times their acreage and twenty times their rental.

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Perhaps the first great party leader in the modern sense was Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621-1683), Earl of Shaftesbury, who had strongly opposed all the acts known collectively as the Clarendon Code, who favored the Declaration of Indulgence, who had written a treatise on religious tolerance, which however excluded Catholics and Anabaptists, and who in general was far in advance of the economic fallacies and social selfishness of the age. The most popular and intellectual leader of the Whigs, he was generally successful in his opposition to Anglican and Royalist measures, and to him is due in no small degree the famous and invaluable Act of Habeas Corpus. Throughout his public life Shaftesbury continued to advocate religious freedom within the limits already mentioned and to uphold an enlightened policy in all the contemporary questions of trade, but many of his acts in the latter part of his career are incapable of defense, and he was finally compelled by reason of his violent courses to seek safety in Holland where he died.

The First
Great
Party
Leader

What are the provisions of the Act of Habeas Corpus? The earliest records of the English law show that no free man could be imprisoned except when charged with crime or with a civil debt. This right is incorporated in *Magna Carta*. A writ of habeas corpus is one issued by the Chancellor, or by any one of the justices of the royal courts, upon an application containing a sworn statement of facts indicating at least a probable case of illegal confinement. It is addressed to the person in whose custody

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the applicant for the writ is detained, and it requires him to bring the prisoner before the court immediately and to make known the reason for imprisonment in order that the lawfulness of the restraint may be investigated and determined. By the time with which we are now dealing such writs had become fully established as the ordinary instrument for checking illegal imprisonment. The principle of habeas corpus had been fully settled. Many defects, however, still remained. Ways had been found by which the principle might be avoided. It was contended that the command of the King, particularly when approved by the Privy Council, was sufficient to remand to prison any person in whose behalf such a writ had been issued; it was not clear whether any court but that of the King's Bench could issue the writ, and whether a single judge could do so in the long vacation, which lasted about half the year; jailers had not been compelled to make immediate returns, and it had been possible for them to avoid giving up their prisoners by moving them from prison to prison. Leaving untouched imprisonment on civil process, the act of 1679 provided for the prompt production in court of any prisoner held on a criminal charge, for the disclosure of the true cause of imprisonment, for the issue of the writ by the Chancellor, or by any one of the justices, for the release of the prisoner upon the giving of adequate security for his appearance before the proper court, for the prevention of recommittal for the same offense except by due process of a court having cognizance of the case, for speedy trial, and for the imprisonment of the inhabitants of England only within the borders of the country. The granting and enforcing of this prerogative was therefore greatly facilitated. Persons imprisoned for debt, or on civil process, were unaffected by the act. They were able, as before, to test the legality of their confinement by applying for a writ of habeas corpus under the common law. As time went on further defects were discovered, and so in 1816 additional legislation was passed. In times of public danger it has been deemed advisable to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act; and wherever martial law is proclaimed the act is automatically suspended.

Royal
Attack
Upon the
Towns

The liberal ideas of the prosperous townfolk were expressed in determined opposition to the dictatorial tendencies of Charles. Their influence in the thought and life of the towns was clearly shown in the elections to the later Parliaments of his reign, and in the parliamentary agitations that were so nearly successful in forcing the King to accept a bill excluding from the throne his brother James who was known to be a Catholic. They threatened to become a very potent influence in lessening the autocratic power

of the Crown. At the elections in 1679 the country was swept by the Whigs. For the first time that party found itself in control of Parliament. It was they who were bent upon passing the Exclusion Bill, and it was they who had enacted Habeas Corpus. In order to end or to mitigate this opposition the King and his ministers bethought themselves of a plan to put the control of the towns into the hands of men upon whose support they could depend. Every town of importance, it will be remembered, had a charter, or series of charters, giving it a right to carry on its own government in its own way, but at the same time requiring its officers to fulfil certain stipulated conditions. These charters had been granted by the Crown. What the Crown had granted, might it not also take away? In 1682 a prosecution against the city of London was brought into the courts by a writ called Quo Warranto. The writ was an old prerogative of the Crown that required any person accused of usurping, or failing to use, or misusing any office or franchise or privilege belonging to the Crown to show "by what warrant" he maintained his claim to the office, or the privilege, when he had failed to fulfil the conditions upon which it had been granted. The burden of proof rested upon the defendant. It was his duty to prove, if that were possible, that he had done all the charter or privilege in question required of him. If the case was proved against the defendant, judgment of forfeiture was rendered against him. In issuing this writ against the greatest municipality in the kingdom the Crown claimed that the city had failed to conform to the requirements of its charter and asked that the charter should therefore be forfeited. In 1683, after a long trial, the judges, who were much influenced by the Crown, declared the charter of the city to be forfeited to the King. Then, in answer to "a humble petition" of the city, the King promised to restore the charter on condition that the election of the more important officers should be subject to the royal veto. The common council of the city, however, rejected these terms; and so the ancient borough, deprived of its charter, passed under control of the Crown. This procedure having proved successful in the case of the most powerful municipality in the islands, similar suits were brought against a number of other towns. Some of these suits, indeed, had already been concluded, and others were under way. The towns in each case were compelled to surrender their charters, and, although new ones were granted them, the members of the new government or corporation, who were named by the King in the charter itself, were in almost all cases Tories. The result was that the subservient governments of these boroughs now elected Tories as members of Par-

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liament where formerly men had been chosen because they were Whigs. Such political manœuvres, however, could not hope to be permanently successful. The forces making for municipal independence were too strong thus to be overcome. The governments of the larger towns, therefore, gradually came again into the hands of the Whigs. For the time being, however, these strongholds of independent political opinion were in the hands of the King.

So much of the social life of England was concentrated in London that it is well for us to see something of the general conditions of life in that city. The streets were mostly narrow and dirty, especially in the older part of the town, overhung with the projecting stories of the buildings, winding in their courses, and noisy with talk and manifold cries. The great highway was the river, the banks of which were crowded with stairs, or landings, for boats. The watermen of that day were the forerunners of the chairmen of a later day and the cabmen and motormen of today. For a long time the eastern suburbs, such as Moorfields and Mile End, had borne an evil reputation, for all the disreputable persons who had been unable to find shelter in the city settled in these outlying districts. "How happy were cities," said a contemporary writer, "if they had no suburbs." Many of the courtiers and the more prosperous merchants, however, had built residences for themselves in the country beyond the suburbs. The great meeting place of the townsfolk in the daytime was the interior of St. Paul's cathedral. Scores of merchants with their hats on transacted business there and used the baptismal font as a counter upon which to make their payments; lawyers and their clients made the place a rendezvous; unemployed serving-men went there to find new masters; and gallants dressed in the latest finery strutted up and down the nave. Better society was to be found in the garden of Gray's Inn, the buildings of one of the voluntary societies of students and practitioners of law that had their origin about the end of the thirteenth century, which is still a leafy place in the midst of the great metropolis. In those days of public conviviality the taverns were important places. The Boar's Head has been immortalized by Shakespeare; and the Mermaid, the Windmill, and the Miter are all mentioned by Ben Jonson. The taverns flourished when beer and ale, far more strongly alcoholic than the similar drinks of recent times, were the principal popular beverages; but when tea, coffee, and chocolate were introduced they were gradually rivaled by the coffee-houses. Chocolate was a drink, made from a paste of the ground kernels of the cocoa bean, found by the Spaniards in Mexico; and from

Spain it was introduced in other parts of Europe. "In Bishopsgate Street, in Queen's Head Alley, at a Frenchman's house," said a London newspaper in 1657, "is an excellent West India drink called chocolate, to be sold, where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade at reasonable rates." About the same time Englishmen began to drink tea. "I did send for a cup of tea, a China drink," wrote Pepys in 1660, "of which I had never drunk before." The first coffee-house in London was opened in 1652, in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. Very soon coffee-houses became popular and played an important rôle in social and political matters for more than a hundred years. They became the resort of the more sober classes of citizens, who had their coffee and their news for the same charge. Charles II endeavored to suppress them on the ground that they were the resort of disaffected persons "who devised and spread abroad divers false, malicious and scandalous reports, to the defamation of His Majesty's government, and to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the nation"; but the order was rescinded a few days after it was issued. Interference with so popular a habit was a risky thing. At the end of the century there were almost three thousand coffee-houses in London, and at the end of the following century there were more than nine thousand.

The news of the day was now to be learned in other ways than by frequenting the taverns and coffee-houses. For long it had been the practice of great men to employ writers of manuscript news-letters to keep themselves well informed of the happenings at the court and in the city while they were away. Then some of these writers came to have a number of regular customers, to whom they sent the same letters. One of these professional news-writers eventually established an office with a staff of assistants, and then others followed his example. Such an office is described in *The Staple of News* by Ben Jonson. Good specimens of these early news-letters are *The Sydney Papers*; and for later examples one may turn to the interesting *Letters and Despatches of Strafford*. In time these news-letters were printed; and in due course they were succeeded by pamphlets issued at irregular intervals and known as news-books. The earliest publication containing news of the day issued at regular intervals was the *Frankfurter Journal*, a weekly started in 1615; and so it is to the continent we have to turn for the first newspaper. In 1622 the *Weekly Newes*, the first English regular weekly newspaper, though its title varied from week to week, began its career in London; and three years later *The Oxford Gazette*, soon removed to London, a periodical of two pages, made its appearance. The jour-

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nalists were not content with merely reporting the news, but they presented it in such a manner and made comments upon it in such ways as to influence public opinion. The "leading article," or editorial, in which such writers as Swift and Defoe did effective work, soon became an important factor in public affairs; and in this respect, despite imprisonment and fines and the pillory, English newspaper men led the way. Perhaps it was fear of punishment that induced the first newspapers to fill their pages chiefly with news from foreign lands. At any rate when the Court of Star Chamber was abolished in 1641 they enjoyed a larger freedom, and in November of that year we come upon the first weekly publication devoted principally to domestic news. The Civil War increased the bitterness of discussion and curtailed freedom of publication, but with the Restoration normal conditions were once more established. By far the most important paper of this time was *The London Gazette*, started, as we have seen, at Oxford, whose business management was unrivaled and whose editorials were unusually able. From the first the paper was closely connected with the government. It still appears twice each week and its editor is appointed by the government. It is a valuable source of information to historians and complete sets of it are very rare.

The Great
Plague
and the
Great Fire

Two great calamities, plague and fire, made radical changes in the population and appearance of London. The plague, last of a series of outbreaks covering three centuries, made its first appearance some time in the winter of 1664-1665, and about the following May it began to spread. Its greatest activity was attained in September, after which it began to decline but lingered well on into the next year. "I have stayed in the city till above 7,400 died in one week, and of them about 6,000 of the plague," wrote Pepys in September, "and little noise heard day or night, but tolling of bells." The population of the city at that time was estimated at 460,000, and of that number about two-thirds are thought to have fled to escape contagion. Yet of the remainder, according to the contemporary bills of mortality, at least 70,000 died from the dread disease. The plague was perhaps imported into London in bales of merchandise from Holland that originally came from the Levant. Ill-considered regulations were largely responsible for the spread of the pestilence. The custom of shutting up infected houses with all therein was usually fatal to all or to most of the unfortunate inmates, and it served to make one house after another a focus of the disease from which, despite the harsh measures, it spread to other habitations. Efforts were made to improve the unsanitary condition of the city, to relieve the poor.

and to provide adequately for burials; but, while they alleviated the suffering, only the approach of cold weather caused the disease to decline. Its final disappearance was no doubt accelerated by the Great Fire. The plague spread widely over England, though no other town was so severely affected as the metropolis; and since then there has been no similar epidemic in the islands. The Great Fire broke out on September 2, 1666, and, raging violently for five days, swept away almost all the medieval part of the city. Many people suffered heavy losses in property, and there was much privation; but the disaster was not without its compensations. The extinction of the Plague was accelerated, and the narrow streets of lath and plaster houses with their projecting upper stories gave place to wider thoroughfares and more substantial and sanitary structures. In the time of the early Stuarts the wealthy and fashionable residents had begun to move from the ancient part of the city (the "City" proper) to the west. There, equipped with well-combed periwig and cinnamon coat, with agate-headed cane and gold snuff-box, one took the air with the *beau monde* in the Mall or the Parade. Already the Strand, that runs parallel with the river from the City to Westminster, was built up; and some of the houses still standing in what is known as the West End were built at this time. Many of the new houses and churches built after the Great Fire were designed by Christopher Wren. The poor, too, found new places in which to live. Many of them were crowded out of the City into such slum districts as St. Giles, Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney.

On his death-bed Charles II acknowledged himself to be a Catholic. It is impossible to indicate the time of his formal conversion; and it seems safe to say the change was not due to any deep-seated conviction, but rather to an esthetic preference for an impressive ritual, to the alliance with Louis XIV, to the attacks of Dissenters upon the royal prerogative, and to the personal opposition of Cavaliers and Anglicans. Only his fine constitution and unremitting devotion to sport and exercise postponed the effects of his continuous and uncontrolled debauchery; and so great was the corruption of his court, and of private morals in the upper classes of society, that it pervaded the literature of the time and gained for the period, despite all the constitutional, commercial and intellectual progress, a lasting and unenviable notoriety. Some of this immorality was perhaps due to the reaction from the Puritanic austerities of the preceding generation; but beyond all doubt much of it was inspired by the flagrant example of the fastidious libertine who attempted to cover a multitude of sins with an easy-going amiability.

Death of
Charles II
and the
Character
of His
Court

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and Their
Punish-
ment

Though James II (1685-1688) was a Catholic he ascended the throne amid the applause of the large majority of the people. The hysterical passion against members of his religion had partially subsided, and the firmly implanted respect for legitimacy asserted itself in a decided manner. Yet not all the subjects of the new King were satisfied. A rebellion broke out in Scotland under the Earl of Argyle, and though it soon collapsed the Covenanters were subjected to increased persecution. The other rebellion, under the Duke of Monmouth (1649-1685), thought to be one of the many illegitimate sons of the late King, attracted more attention, but was scarcely more serious. It was in favor of this spoiled child of a corrupt court that Parliament had previously attempted to exclude James. Landing at Lyme Regis, on the south-west coast, in June, 1685, he declared himself to be the lawful son of Charles and therefore the rightful King of England. Gathering about himself an undisciplined body of some fifteen hundred peasants and miners, he marched through Somersetshire to Bath and Bristol. Both these towns refused to admit him, and so he was compelled to retire by much the same way he had come. On the flat wastes of Sedgemoor he attempted to surprise the royal troops who were in pursuit of him, but his horsemen fled in panic and his infantry, utterly inferior in every respect to their opponents, were completely defeated in the last pitched battle fought in England. Monmouth was found hiding in a ditch and a month later he was beheaded.

Cruel vengeance was visited upon the rebels. Many were put to death immediately after the battle, and hundreds of others were victims of the savage judge sent to try them. Chief Justice George Jeffreys (1648-1689), an ardent supporter of the Crown who had been particularly active in opposing those who desired to exclude James and in procuring the surrender of the municipal charters, carried on a series of assizes. This handsome and witty man had a masterly power of cross-examination, a keen sense of humor, an unfailing flow of racy eloquence, and an irrepressible spirit of mockery. Like other judges of the time, most of whom he excelled in ability and, in ordinary cases, in fairness of procedure, he railed and stormed at prisoners and witnesses in a virulent manner, and it seems not unjust to say that he was the worst example of the time when the administration of justice reached the lowest depth of degradation ever known in England. Numbers of the prisoners were tricked into pleading guilty, while many other cases were not even given a hearing. The official records show that at least three hundred and fifty-one were transported to the West Indies where they were sold into virtual

slavery. On his return from the west the merciless judge was made a peer and appointed Lord Chancellor.

James was now flushed with success. Far more sincerely devoted to his religion than his brother, he was singularly tactless and incapable of profiting by advice. He proceeded to carry out his plans independently of either Whigs or Tories, so greatly did he overestimate his strength, and in consequence he soon became very unpopular. He openly went to mass, showed favor to those who left the State Church, forbade preaching against Catholicism, and cruelly treated Protestant non-conformists. Monmouth's rebellion had given him an excuse for increasing the army to twenty thousand men, and they were established in a permanent camp on Hounslow Heath, not far from London, where most of the opposition was to be looked for. In order to carry out his plans it was necessary to revive the claims of the Crown to the dispensing power, by which the operation of a law was withheld in any particular case, and to the suspending power, by which the entire operation of a law was temporarily stopped. Absolving them, by means of the first of these powers, from the necessity of taking the religious tests required for holding office by the Test Act, he put Catholics and Dissenters into every department of state, and also into many municipal corporations. One of these appointments was contested in court, but by undue pressure upon the judge the decision in the case (*Godden vs. Hales*, 1686) was given in favor of the Crown. Then he proceeded to make a still more extensive use of the power and appointed many Catholics to civil and military, and even to ecclesiastical, positions. When Anglican clergymen ventured to express their disapproval, he created a new Court of High Commission and at its head placed the notorious Jeffreys. The Long Parliament had put an end to the former Commission. It had also forbidden the creation of a similar one. But James invented the excuse that the old Commission had exercised power over laymen as well as ecclesiastics, whereas the operation of the new one was to be confined strictly to clergymen and so was not similar to the institution abolished by Parliament.

It seemed evident that the cause of Protestantism was gravely endangered, not only in England but on the continent as well. In 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which for a century had granted a measure of tolerance to the Huguenots, and in consequence thousands of French Protestants now sought refuge in England and still more of them fled to other lands. These refugees stimulated the fear of papal intrigues, and so opposition to the royal measures in behalf of the Catholics gradually increased and became bolder. In 1687 James, realizing it was hope-

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Favoring
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Catholics

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less to attempt to persuade Parliament to grant tolerance, issued a Declaration of Indulgence, similar to those issued and then withdrawn by his brother, that suspended all laws against Catholics and Dissenters. And in the following year a second Declaration went still further inasmuch as it requested the election of representatives who would aid him in securing freedom of conscience by statutory enactment. A week later a royal order required the Declaration to be read in every church in the kingdom on two consecutive Sundays. Against this the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops presented a petition, whereupon they were promptly arrested and imprisoned for libel; but, amid general rejoicing, they were acquitted of the foolish accusation.

The
"Glorious
Revolution"

While the trial of the seven bishops was in progress an event of great importance took place, a son was born to the Queen. Thus far many men had put up with the royal deeds because James was getting on in years and there was, therefore, a reasonable hope that in the near future the throne would be occupied by his eldest daughter and her husband, both of whom were Protestants. The birth of a Prince dispelled that hope and finally induced the leaders of the opposition to invite William of Orange, with whom they had been in correspondence for some time, to accept the English Crown. With a large fleet and an army of fourteen thousand men William landed at Torbay, on November 5, 1688, and with the aid of those who flocked to his banner, swept all before him on the way to London; while James, who had made an ineffectual effort to conciliate his angry subjects, fled to France. A Convention was then called, which, lacking only the royal signature and seal on the summoning writs, was in all essential respects a Parliament. It met on January 22, 1689, asserted the throne to be vacant, drew up a Declaration of Right, which was immediately ratified by William and Mary, and then offered the throne to these invading sovereigns as joint rulers, the duties of administration to rest with William. When the throne was accepted on these terms there was completed the event known as the Glorious Revolution. It was largely a Whig victory; for a regency in the name of James, or the single rule of Mary, was desired by the Tories. Thus were the attempts of the Stuarts to make the King superior to Parliament finally defeated. From this time forward no ruler of the land has ventured to revive the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, but each has acknowledged the constitutional limitation of his authority, each has owned that his will is controlled by the will of the people as expressed through their representatives in Parliament. Aside from this, the revolution is not an event that commands our admiration. It was not brought about by the ardent

devotion to principle that characterizes men on each side of the Civil War, nor did it mark any advance along the road towards democracy. All it did was to sum up the things for which the people had contended in the past, to emphasize the power of Parliament over the Crown.

In the meantime the colonies were developing in North America. The Massachusetts settlement extended itself northward until eventually it came to include all the territory that, after separation from the mother country, was made into the state of Maine. Boston, its principal city, became a thriving seaport with extensive trade with the other colonies and with Europe. Maryland was settled in 1634, by the second Lord Baltimore, chiefly as a refuge for Catholics who were persecuted at home, and its industrial and social life closely resembled that of Virginia. Very soon, however, the Catholics formed only a minority of its inhabitants. In 1639 the settlers in the Connecticut valley drew up the first constitution written in America; and throughout the entire colonial period a more liberal spirit than that of Massachusetts, from which the first settlers had come, was characteristic of the colony. In 1643 the religious dissenters who had fled from Massachusetts to form a colony about Narragansett Bay and on Rhode Island, in which democracy and religious freedom should prevail, were granted a royal charter. The wide tract of land lying between Virginia and the Spanish settlement of Florida was granted in 1663 to a group of noblemen and given the name of Carolina. Two communities, three hundred miles apart, grew up in it and gradually developed into North and South Carolina. The Dutch colony of New Netherland lay like a wedge between the northern and southern groups of the British colonies situated on the western shore of the Atlantic. A second war was brewing between England and Holland, and so in 1664 the surprised Dutch colony was seized by an English fleet, and its name was changed to New York. The English flag then waved over all the land between the French possessions on the north and those of Spain on the south; and in the basin of the Hudson River had been gained the key to North America. A part of the former Dutch possession became the colony of New Jersey, and another part became the colony of Delaware. The city of New York was almost as large as Boston, and its trade perhaps half as great. In 1679 New Hampshire was formally separated from Massachusetts. Its only considerable town was Portsmouth which traded in fish, timber, and foodstuffs with the West Indies and Europe.

As early as 1653 members of the Society of Friends began to go to America. Quakers could not hope for material comfort and

Develop-
ment of
Colonies
in North
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of Penn-
sylvania

for tolerance of their religious views in the second half of the seventeenth century in England. Some of them sought a home, where they might be free from persecution, in the colonies across the sea. They were not wanted, however, in any of the New England colonies, except Rhode Island; and they were oppressed in Maryland and Virginia. Yet after the passing of the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670 the number of their emigrants rapidly increased. They formed isolated communities, widely scattered and without unity, in several colonies. Their life was characterized by humility, simplicity, and thrift. In 1672 George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, of whom we are to see something more a few pages further on, made a memorable journey among them, visiting all the communities from Rhode Island to Carolina, holding meetings, and inspiring his followers with his own enthusiasm and dauntless courage. More than ever before the Quakers now longed for a place where they could live in peace under their own government. Eight years later William Penn (1644-1718), son of a leading naval officer from whom he had inherited a claim of £16,000 against the Crown, petitioned for a grant of land in America. He wished to found a colony for his fellow-believers, though it was never intended to be composed exclusively of Quakers. He wished to try the experiment of tolerance in religious matters, and in person to build up a settlement in which desirable economic conditions and liberal ideas should prevail. The charter of the new colony was granted in 1681, and immediately Penn set about organizing the new colony. The new settlement prospered. It found its outlet to the sea by way of the Delaware River. All the trade of a large area passed solely through its principal city, Philadelphia.

Coming
of the
Hugue-
nots to
North
America

The Quakers were not the only oppressed and persecuted people to seek refuge in the colonies of North America. When Richelieu took up the establishment of colonies for his country in 1624 he insisted that they should be settled only by orthodox Catholics, and so when tolerance at home was withdrawn from them in 1685 by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes more than four hundred thousand Huguenots sought refuge in England, Prussia, South Africa, and the British colonies in North America. These lands profited by the heroism and ability lost to the home land and the colonies of France. The French Protestants were numerous enough to form several churches of their own in Virginia and South Carolina, and everywhere they settled they added a valuable and interesting strain to the richly mingled blood of America.

Still other racial stocks were added to the population of the colonies in North America. An entire generation of continuous

warfare throughout all Germany, followed by another of intermittent invasion from France, made many of the homeless and despairing inhabitants of those principalities eager to escape to lands that promised freedom and peace. Before the close of the seventeenth century a stream of emigration had started to flow from Germany to America. It furnished one-third of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania previous to the separation from the mother country; and in several other colonies it supplied a considerable part of the population. In Pennsylvania the Germans combined with the Quakers to form an industrious, peace-loving, and reliable element that in due time opposed separation from England more strongly than any other colony except New York. Early in the eighteenth century a considerable number of Menonites, from the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland, emigrated to Pennsylvania. They were humble folk, quiet and industrious, whose religious thought was much like that of the Quakers, and who wished to live more or less apart from the world.

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German
Emigration to
North
America

One of the most notable of all the immigrant streams to the colonies was that of the Scottish-Irish. From the subordination of the industrial interests of Ireland to those of England no exemption was granted to Ulster. As the seventeenth century progressed the economic injustice under which all the inhabitants of the island suffered became more pronounced. The Navigation Acts were so interpreted as to exclude Ireland from all their advantages and to cut her off from any direct trade with the colonies. So the men of Ulster of Scottish descent began to migrate to the colonies in a narrow stream which by 1720 had become a wide river. They formed the largest body of emigrants that crossed the Atlantic, and they became a prolific and influential element of the population of America.

Emigration of
Scottish-Irish to
North
America

Now that we have noted the chief political events in the reigns of the later Stuarts, and glanced at the continuance of colonial expansion, let us retrace our steps to see something of the progress of the people in other phases of life. And first let us deal with the development of scientific discovery and philosophic thought. Discoveries in the various fields of science went on apace, and in due time attempts were renewed to reduce to order and systematize the rapidly accumulating mass of new information, to build upon the foundation of the new scientific knowledge a broader and better philosophy. For the purpose of encouraging scientific research, societies, generally known as academies, were formed in the more progressive countries of western Europe. One of the earliest of these was the Royal Society of London, founded in

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of
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1660, the nucleus of which, in the form of weekly meetings of "divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy," had been in existence for a number of years previous to that date. Charles II approved of these meetings, and so a public and permanent organization was effected, and two years later the association was incorporated under its present name. An active correspondence was carried on with continental philosophers and men of science, and from time to time selections from these communications were published. These selections formed the beginning of the *Philosophical Transactions*, a publication now numbering some two hundred and fifty quarto volumes, and that, under the title of the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, has attained a place of world-wide importance in the field of scientific and philosophic thought.

Develop-
ment of
Mathe-
matics

The elaboration of mathematics was the principal concern of these early English scientists. By this time the results of Greek and Arabian and Hindoo schools of mathematics had been assimilated by the indigenous school of western Europe, algebra and trigonometry had undergone notable developments, and the science of dynamics had been established by Galileo. In the development of algebra John Napier (1550-1617) played an important part; while Henry Briggs (1556-1631), who held the earliest professorship of mathematics in England, constructed the first table of common logarithms, useful, of course, in astronomical and other calculations; and Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) did much to extend and arrange the theory of equations. We have not here to deal with the progress of mathematics on the continent, and so it must suffice to say that the continental scholars had thus far made more notable contributions to their science than had those of the western islands. When so much progress had been made in pure mathematics, it was inevitable that developments should take place in applied mathematics, in which scarcely any advance had been made in the eighteen centuries that had elapsed since the time of Archimedes. In this connection we must mention Edward Wright (1560-1615), who put the work of navigation upon a scientific basis. Thus by the opening of the seventeenth century the fundamental principles of arithmetic, algebra, and trigonometry had been formulated and their outlines traced, and a beginning had been made of renewed activity in the science of mechanics, in the field of applied mathematics. But in order to insure progress in this latter field it was desirable that a knowledge should be obtained of the principles of analytical geometry and of the calculus. The gaining of such knowledge may be considered as ushering in the period of modern mathematics, because it has

completely revolutionized the development of the subject. Analytical geometry was invented in 1637 by René Descartes (1596-1650), a French philosopher and mathematician, but his exposition of the subject, valuable as it was as a step in the progress of integrating and simplifying mathematics, was unnecessarily difficult and intentionally obscure. The method was subsequently made intelligible to all mathematicians by John Wallis (1616-1703), whose work in mathematics was particularly important in that it prepared the way for the invention of the calculus, the supreme and most fruitful effort in the coördination and simplification of mathematics.

It was at this time that Christian Huygens (1629-1695), a Dutch scholar, enabled to do so by the recent development of mathematics and by the researches of such physicists as Galileo, and working principally in the field of light, laid the foundation of a satisfactory procedure in dynamics. Ancient science had dealt almost exclusively with statics, with ideas of balance in mechanics, and ancient society had been interested not so much in progress as in order in the state; but the new studies were dynamical, they were devoted to ascertaining the mathematical laws of movement, and they were sometimes inspired by the growing conception of constant progress in social conditions.

The Englishman who in this period contributed most to the development of mathematics and physics was Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), who ascertained the fundamental properties of light, who invented the fluxional calculus, and who discovered the law of gravitation. First of all, with his eminently synthetic mind, he made himself master of the store of scientific information his age had inherited, and then he proceeded in the most careful and systematic manner to extend the horizon of man's knowledge in the fields of inorganic science. The minds of scholars in many countries were steadily set in the direction of scientific discovery, and the moment was ripe for the announcement that a central attractive power accounts for the revolutions of planets and other satellites, and, indeed, for the movements of those distant suns we call fixed stars. Many scientists were searching for the sublime order of the heavens, and some of them had actually glimpsed it. But Newton was the first one to supplement conjecture with demonstration. The man who was to discover the great law of the universe, however, was compelled to discover the necessary method. The old geometry was altogether inadequate. A new method, dimly foreshadowed in the previous generation, had to be perfected before the path of physical inquiry could be pursued, and the method destined to prove the key of the heavens was the fluxional

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ment of
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Sir Isaac
Newton
and the
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calculus. Profiting by the disconnected mathematical essays of his predecessors, Newton formulated the calculus, a new and powerful method of scientific analysis, an invention that still remains the last stage in the work of measuring that, ever since men built the pyramids and grouped the days into weeks, has sought to bring the world of nature into subjection to man. Almost at the same time the calculus was independently discovered by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716), a German philosopher and mathematician, and, because of Newton's delay in making public his invention, it was held by some that the German scholar was the original discoverer, but investigation revealed the fact that the honor belongs to the Englishman. Then the continental scholar gave his rival the highest praise ever paid to a man of science. "Taking mathematics from the beginning of the world to the time when Newton lived," he said, "what he had done was the better half."

The
Law of
Gravitation

The law of gravitation discovered with the aid of this new body of mathematical rules and processes may be stated in these familiar terms: Every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force proportional to the mass of each and to the inverse square of the distance between them. The discovery of this law finally demonstrated the Copernican theory of the universe, but on a far vaster scale and by virtue of a more universal principle than the lonely scientist living on the frontier of civilization had conceived. The earth lost the central position, the fixity and the importance, in the universe which for so long the thought of man had attributed to it. And the teachings of the telescope were now beginning to show in turn the insignificance of our solar system. The universe was growing perceptibly larger and larger. Then the calculus aided men to measure the distance from star to star. The distance from the earth to the nearest star whose distance from us has been ascertained has been found to be more than light can travel in three and a half years, though light travels 186,000 miles a second. And when it came to be known that there are many millions of stars, each of which is a sun greatly larger than our own, man realized that the globe on which he lives is only a relatively unimportant planet in our solar system, and that our solar system itself is lost amid the countless millions of other suns with their attendant planets. This sense of the vastness of space is deepened when we pause to think that the most powerful telescope we can possibly construct can reveal to us no more than a mere corner of the universe. On all sides our island home, swinging ceaselessly upon its appointed way, is surrounded by a shoreless sea of space. Only

by his great clearness of perception and his unusual aptitude in experimentation, and by profiting fully by the hypotheses and investigations of his predecessors, and not by any fortunate accident such as the popular story of the falling apple would seem to imply, was Newton able to solve the greatest of all the problems at which the world had been working since the dawn of scientific inquiry. Like most men of eminent ability Newton was very modest. "I know not what the world will think of my labors," he said, "but to myself it seems that I have been only as a child playing on the seashore; now finding some pebble rather more polished, and now some shell rather more agreeably variegated than another, while the immense ocean of truth extended itself unexplored before me."

While these important developments were being made in the closely related fields of mathematics and physics, only slight progress was made in chemistry. In classic times chemistry had consisted chiefly of an inquiry into the nature of substances, of an attempt to discover the "essence" of each of the various metals and other substances. This search for "essences" was gradually changed into attempts to transmute metals, especially to transmute base metals into silver and gold, and such efforts were the chief constituents of the pseudo-science of alchemy. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century Paracelsus (1490?-1541), a Swiss scholar of rare originality, gave a new direction to alchemy by asserting that its true purpose was not to transmute base metals into gold but to prepare medicines. Investigation then began to concern itself with the properties of substances and their effects upon the human body. The study then passed into the hands of men steeped in the scientific culture of the time. This relation of chemistry to medicine remained paramount until well on into the seventeenth century. It increased the knowledge of compounds, but it contributed little to the theory of the science. In the second half of the century, chiefly under the impulse given by Sir Robert Boyle (1627-1691), chemists began to turn their attention to the study of the composition of substances. This was not a return to the search for the mythical "essence," but an attempt to reduce by scientific analysis the various substances to their actual component parts. Boyle regarded the acquisition of knowledge as an end in itself, and so he gained a wider view of the aims of scientific inquiry than shown by most of his predecessors. Yet this did not mean that he ignored the practical application of science and failed to appreciate useful knowledge. When he directed chemistry to the study of the composition of substances a new science arose; and his masterly exposition of the method of

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Dis-
coveries

experimentation and induction is his most important contribution to scientific progress. With him, it may be said, descriptive chemistry began its career. Another century, however, was destined to pass before it could be said that the science of chemistry was definitely founded.

None of the biological sciences, the studies that deal with living matter, was yet established. It was the custom in the Middle Ages to explain vital phenomena by supernatural theories, and only gradually were such theories supplanted by natural explanation. At first physics and then chemistry were relied upon to furnish adequate explanation; and, when these failed, investigators and speculators resorted to mystical expositions. Gradually, however, scientific knowledge increased in the field of biology. In 1628 William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood. It was quite well known before this that the blood is not stagnant in the veins. Servetus had learned that it circulates in the veins of the lungs. But no one had demonstrated the true and complete movement of the blood. Harvey gave a correct and almost complete solution of this difficult and fundamental problem in physiology, one lacking only the discovery of the capillary channels by which the blood passes from the arteries to the veins. This discovery, however, is essentially mechanical in character, and it did not do much to advance the development of biology. In the three fields of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, the most exact and mechanical of the sciences, man's knowledge naturally developed first. We shall soon see the information gathered in these fields furnishing data for new philosophic thought, and we shall also see it rendering invaluable aid to mechanical inventors, and thus initiating the great Industrial Revolution.

Influence
of France
Upon
English
Literature
and the
New
Spirit
of That
Literature

English literature passed into a new phase in the period of the Restoration. Italian inspiration had diminished and the classics it had created in its floodtide no longer exercised their former influence. The influence of Spanish literature, once so marked in the cases of the novel and the drama, had also declined. And the Germanic countries were only just beginning to make themselves felt in the field of letters. France had won the leadership in literature. Continental courtiers who came over in the royal retinues, and the Cavalier exiles who returned from their involuntary residence abroad brought with them something of the spirit animating the literature of *la belle France*. So the Renaissance made a new impression upon English life and literature. It now came across the sea colored with the spirit of another nation. French influence, clinging closely to the classic unities of time and place, modified the drama and epic in England. English literature lost

much of the inspiration and freedom that had given it so vital an impulse in the days of its golden splendor. The closer confinement within the confines of rigid convention corresponded to the growing analytical and critical character of the age, and its patronage by a corrupt court had a consequence that could not be escaped. So there was a lessening of creative power in drama and epic, and, in its stead, a prevalence of highly polished secondary verse and scandalous comedy, and a gradual development of the critical essay. The peaceful and profound pursuit of science dominating the intellectual activity of the time inevitably produced a literature widely different in spirit and expression from that of the surging energy of the age of Shakespeare.

Men who wrote in prose now tried to write as spontaneously as they spoke, to be more natural than their predecessors, and to be more persuasive. Amid the various kinds of prose written at this time there were, naturally, survivals of the more rhetorical manner of the immediate past, but the change to a more modern style is unmistakable. One of the last works for a long time to be composed in the grand style is the *History of the Great Rebellion* by the Earl of Clarendon (1609-1674), whom we have already noticed as a statesman. Thus far in the field of historical writing England had failed to take rank with France and Italy, but now, out of a vast body of pamphlets and disputatious writing, rose this great record which is one of the most vivid of all portrait galleries. Clarendon considered the disturbing questions of the day with a mind strict and narrow. He regarded the constitution, of which he spoke as "that great and admirable mystery," as stationary and sufficient for all future time. He failed to understand the deep social forces effecting changes in the life of the time, and so he failed to use them as a statesman, and as a writer he was decidedly lacking in spiritual appreciation of his political opponents; but his character, and therefore his writings, bear plainly the stamp of greatness, and the remarkable series of realistic portraits lends to his sedate prose a certain air of liveliness. The reaction against splendor in prose went too far; it made for uncouthness of manner and even for poverty of spirit. But the writers of the next century developed a placid prose that often combined the best features of conversation and declamation. Among the other histories of the period must be mentioned the *History of My Own Time* by Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), the work of a careful observer of public affairs, both at home and abroad, lacking in literary style, but full of interesting and valuable information such as a born memoir-writer would naturally gather. It was sharply criticized at the time of its appearance, and

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Diary of
Samuel
Pepys

its accuracy has been impugned by later writers, but its general dependability has been increasingly proved as investigations in the original sources have proceeded. It is decidedly favorable to the Whigs, but its leaning that way is easily perceived. The general candor of the author's mind, his wide and intimate acquaintance with the leading political characters of the period, and his genuine ability as a historian give the work a lasting value.

Confessions, diaries, journals, and autobiographies are numerous, but another such complete revelation of a man's self as that to be found in the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) has never been made. It remains unique. Pepys was chief of the secretarial staff of the navy, and a participator in the administration of that branch of the government. He began his diary on January 1, 1660, and, because of the serious condition of his eyes, brought it to a close on May 31, 1669. It is written in a complicated cipher, in neat and minute characters, and is contained in six small volumes still to be seen at Oxford. In these volumes is recorded a decade of the daily life of a man engrossed in the external things of human existence and vividly apprehensive of them. The use of the cipher, which he thought would be intelligible only to himself, enabled him to write as candidly as though he were writing of a stranger. A part of the diary was published in 1825, and enlarged editions have been issued from time to time. In a colloquial and garrulous style it runs along, blending little and great things, recording diligent attendances at the author's office, at plays, weddings, christenings, charity sermons, bull-baitings, executions, fires, riots, concerts, book-stalls, city feasts, merry-makings, philosophical meetings, high jinks, and low jinks, displaying a complete harmony with the license and vulgarity of the period that make it by far the most correct general witness of the private manners and habits of its day.

Other
Prose
Writers

Quite different from this lively panorama of the plebeian Pepys is the stately picture painted for us by the patrician John Evelyn (1620-1706), whose *Diary*, covering more than half a century, is a valuable chronicle of contemporary events from the standpoint of a moderate politician and a devout adherent of the Church of England. The literary works of Sir William Temple (1628-1699) are mostly political, but not to be overlooked is his *Essay on Poetry*, generally sound in thought and always graceful and well balanced in style. Even more modern in style are the political tracts, essays and maxims, of George Saville (1633-1695), Marquis of Halifax, who, both as an orator and a writer, exercised an influence on the public opinion of the day probably unsurpassed. Temperament and intellect enabled him to view the various polit-

ical and social problems of the time from a height above the dust and din of conflict, and so his opinions have, for the most part, triumphed and found acceptance in the succeeding years. The most important prose of John Dryden (1631-1700) is the preface he wrote to his poems and plays, the first connected body of criticism in the language. His views are often shallow and inconsistent, but they are interesting because they display continual progress towards the classical point of view and thus reveal the deep change taking place in English literature. In the next century this point of view became dominant.

Another and a nobler variety of prose is to be found in the writers on religious subjects. One of the first of them was Richard Baxter (1615-1691), a popular preacher and a prolific and broad-minded writer, whose *Saints' Everlasting Rest* has a vigorous and virile eloquence and a rare and spontaneous felicity of diction, and whose *The Reformed Pastor* explains the sense of clerical responsibility to the laity with great power. Tinged with Platonism and informed with generous tolerance and fine culture, the writings of John Howe (1630-1706), especially *The Living Temple*, are indicative of the broadening and mellowing thought of the age.

Every great religious leader has left behind him, in sermon or parable or diary, some definite personal information. Only through the force of their personalities have they been able to prevail, and after the invention of printing the appeal of personality, whenever it has sought to reach as wide an audience as possible, has been made not on a mountain side nor in a market-place, but in pamphlets or in books. When such an appeal is confided to the printed page it can make itself felt, though with diminished force, centuries after its author has descended to the dust. The *Journal* of George Fox (1624-1691), founder of the Quakers, is not so much an exposition of his religious views as an autobiographical account of the religious crisis of his life, of the days when he dwelt in solitude and despair. He had little book-learning, and that was self-taught; but, despite this, his record reveals an undeniable gift of literary power. The ideas he promulgated came from many sources, foreign and English. He proclaimed the wickedness of all war, the influence of a good daily life, the inner well-springs of constant joy, the heaven each man carries hidden within himself on earth, and, finally and most important of all, the doctrine of the "inner light,"—that inspiration comes not from a book or a priesthood but from within.

The spiritual experiences of John Bunyan (1628-1688), greatest of all these religious writers, are set forth in his *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* with intense earnestness and in the

Writers on
Religion

The
Founder
of the
Quakers

John
Bunyan

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most vivid manner. The essential theme of the book is the prevailing contemporary conception of the universe as consisting of two mutually exclusive spheres, one of good and the other of evil, one of divinity and the other of man, between which the only means of communication is the arm of God stretched down to man. In the sphere of sin man struggles to win salvation, but unaided his struggle is in vain, for his nature is inherently and absolutely evil. Only the mercy of God avails to save him from everlasting fire. A novel in dialogue form describing the successful earthly career of a scoundrelly tradesman, *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, has also, in its earlier chapters, some autobiographical touches. Because of his conversion this son of a tinker, who followed the same trade with success, became a non-conformist preacher, going about the midland counties and gathering groups of listeners wherever he could. Such preaching, as we know, was illegal, and so he was thrown into Bedford jail. For twelve years, with one brief interval, he was nominally a prisoner, at times closely confined and at other times permitted to be at large on parole. Written in prison, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, his greatest work, is a book that has gone the circuit of the world. Bunyan was completely immersed in the *Bible*, and so its language became the sap of his daily speech. He effected a perfect interfusion of biblical language with the homely dialect of the Bedfordshire peasants, and in that direct and moving speech he recounted the facts of his simple life, and wove them into an allegory of the soul's progress, as it was conceived by the great majority of men in his age, without losing any of the distinctness of the concrete facts. It is this vividness of the story, not the allegory, that endows the book with immortality, for allegory is a living thing only in so far as the central idea is a vital force in shaping our own conduct. When an allegory fails of spiritual application it can continue to live only if the narrative in itself be sufficiently vital, and such vitality this story possesses in abundance. Bunyan was not a romancer, for he lacked the poet's imagination, but he had vigor, forthrightness, the gift of narration, ingenuity, and a certain homely vision. His book will remain, perhaps, the best literary expression of Puritanism.

Satire in
Verse

With the passing of the Cavalier poets the note of chivalry ceased to sound, but the transition from the older to the newer poetry was only gradually effected. Old themes and melodies were slowly forgotten, and in their places others, thus far given only slight attention, rose into favor, and some quite new ones made their appearance for the first time. Satire now became an important element in literature. Direct imitation of classical sa-

tirists is to be found in the poems of Donne and other writers of his time; and then, influenced largely by Molière (1622-1673), the most consummate artist of their school, the satirists came into their own. Written in the old style are the exquisite garden verses of Andrew Marvell (1621-1678), but the forces of the time were too strong to be resisted. Poems on gardens and orchards gave way to the *Last Instructions to a Painter*, in which the gross mismanagement of public affairs at the time the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames is lashed with unflinching scorn, and to other verses, probably circulated in manuscript, in which the corruption of the court is painted blacker than in any of the numerous contemporary memoirs. Avowedly polemic in its purpose, the *Hudibras* of Samuel Butler (1612-1680), very popular in its day, revealed a multifarious learning and deluged with ridicule the eccentricities and extravagances of the many dissenting sects. Impregnated with the spirit of satire are the songs of John Wilmot (1647-1680), Earl of Rochester, whose youth, wit, and good looks made him a favorite with Charles II despite his audacious lampoons of the court party; yet with all their malice and frivolity one finds in them a music and a passion that do not come again until Burns.

The poems of John Dryden (1631-1700), greatest of all the men of letters of this time, placed English satire on a level with that of the continent in contemporary and classical times. He began his career with panegyric verse, first on Cromwell, and then on Charles. The *Annus Mirabilis*, which celebrates the Plague, the Great Fire, and the naval victory of 1667, is the chief example of this style. His first great satire, *Absalom and Achitophel*, reveals his command of the rhymed couplet, which for twenty years he had carefully cultivated, and also not a little of the character of his genius. He was not endowed with delicate wit. His ridicule and invective were broad and sweeping. His weapon was not a rapier, but a club; and his blows were intended not merely to wound, but to demolish. The combination of good temper, unscrupulous unfairness, and technical skill to be found in his satirical poems is unique in our literature, and their vividness remains unimpaired by the flight of time. Scattered through his plays are songs that with their luster and their license express the interests and the spirit of the age. When James II ascended the throne Dryden became a professed Catholic and wrote the religious allegory of *The Hind and the Panther*, in which the "milk-white hind" is the Catholic Church and the panther the Church of England. The accession of William and Mary deprived him of his offices and his income, and in his retirement he was obliged to provide the neces-

Dryden's
Poetry

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XVIIRevival of
Tragedy

sities of life by increasing his literary activity and thereby impairing its quality.

When the Stuart monarchy was restored the reign of the saints was ended and that of the sinners began. In 1666 the theaters, closed twenty-four years previously, were reopened. Not one of the heroic tragedies of the Restoration and the Revolution is entirely successful, and few are more than moderately satisfactory. It is difficult to read them now with pleasure, and none of them has kept its place on the boards. Dryden's *Aurengzebe*, a play of contemporary interest inasmuch as the Great Mogul whose name it bears was then living, is his last and best rhymed tragedy. Greater than any of his original plays is *All for Love*, a rearrangement of Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra*. The action of the older play is here confined within the classical unities, restricted in time and place, and the two principal characters are simplified by substituting for their varied and conflicting motives the single impulse of love. The *Venice Preserved* of Thomas Otway (1652-1685) delighted audiences just escaped from the panic of the Popish Plot. It is lavishly endowed with passionate language, and held the stage for a hundred years.

Revival of
Comedy

The age, however, demanded not tragedy but comedy. On the comic stage the immorality of court and town found a lively expression. New plays, setting forth the mold and fashion of the time, were written and acted. Dryden tried to supply the kind of comedy that would win the approbation of contemporary society. He was unfortunate. It was impossible for him to be moderate in anything, and so we find his humor boisterous and his indecency savage. *The Kind Keeper* was removed from the boards at once as being too licentious for even that time. In his last year he wrote *Alexander's Feast*, an ode that rises "again and again to heights of lyric rapture." Dryden was the forerunner of the classical literature of the next century. Something he retained of the spirit and freedom of an earlier time, but for the most part he upheld somewhat artificial standards. He prescribed laws to poetry. In his hands it grew less "rich and strange." Yet his scope was wide, his vigor splendid, his spirit half romantic, and his mastery in the field of his own highest achievements unsurpassed by the greatest of his followers.

Progress
of Comedy

A new light comedy began with Sir George Etherege (1635?-1691) who with skill and insight pictured the gaiety and arrogance of the world he knew. In *She Would if She Could*, a play full of action and spirit, but frivolous and immoral, he showed himself a new force in dramatic literature. The rudeness of his predecessors and the vulgarity of his contemporaries were replaced with an

airy and fantastic world in which the chief business of life is flirtation. *The Man of Mode* is even more sprightly and has a more genuine wit. His genius was slight and his character cynical, but the delicacy of his touch and the sparkling quality of his wit enabled him to leave his stamp upon the literature of the stage. Not so light, but more brilliant, are the plays of William Wycherly (1640?-1716) whose *Country Wife*, a play of unparalleled licentiousness, and *The Plain Dealer*, another drama of intolerable wickedness, by their skilful management of dialogue are a distinct step in the development of the comedy of repartee.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the general history of the time see, in addition to those mentioned in the last preceding list: Richard Lodge's *Political History of England*, a clear account of the many political changes in the half-century with which it deals. Thomas B. Macaulay's *History of England*, of absorbing interest, but to be used with discretion. And C. B. R. Kent's *Early History of the Tories*.

Of the biographical works that relate to this period the following are among the best: Osmond Airy, *Charles II*. Anonymous, *Adventures of James II*. A. C. A. Brett, *Charles II and His Court*. Sir Henry Craik, *Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*. W. D. Christie, *Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury*. Allan Fea, *King Monmouth*. George Fox, *Journal*, edited by N. Penney. Thomas B. Macaulay, essays on *Temple* and *Mackintosh*. A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne*. H. B. Irving, *Life of Judge Jeffreys*.

To the primary sources named in preceding lists should now be added: Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time*. Roger North, *Lives of the Norths*, edited by Augustus Jessopp. Samuel Pepys, *Diary*. Lady Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*.

For social matters see: Rose M. Bradley, *The English Housewife*. E. Godfrey, *Home Life under the Stuarts*, and *Social Life under the Stuarts*. Eleanor Trotter, *Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish*.

Religious matters may be studied at greater length in: Edward Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican*. Rufus Jones, *Story of George Fox*, an admirable brief biography, lucid and dispassionate. J. Pollock, *The Popish Plot*.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AGE OF REASON

(1688-1714)

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The Bill of Rights

WHEN, on February 13, 1689, William III and Mary were enthroned, much remained to be done in order to complete the revolution. The Convention was changed into a Parliament, and the statutes were enacted to make impossible a recurrence of the arbitrary actions of the last of the Stuarts. The Bill of Rights put into definite legal form, with some minor changes, the Declaration of Rights previously acknowledged by the new rulers. It declared illegal, among other things, the levying of money and the keeping of a standing army without parliamentary sanction or consent, denial of the right to petition the Crown, suspension of laws by the sovereign, the use of the dispensing power "as it hath been exercised of late," interference with parliamentary elections, questioning, outside that body, of speeches made in Parliament, requirement of excessive bail, imposition of excessive fines and infliction of excessive punishments; and it declared incapable of inheriting the Crown any Catholic or any one married to a Catholic. The act, like *Magna Carta*, is important as an effort to make the law, and not the Crown, supreme in the state.

Control of the Army and of the Purse by the Commons

Several other important laws were passed by the same Parliament. The Mutiny Act, 1689, provided for the payment of the troops and authorized the use of martial law for the purpose of enforcing discipline. But it was so worded that it was required to be renewed every year. The Crown was thus prevented from exercising an independent control over the army. When they had thus secured themselves against military oppression the Commons proceeded to make the Crown still further dependent upon them for financial support. Hitherto the monarch had been voted a large grant for life at the beginning of the reign, but now the grant was greatly reduced, and other appropriations for the King were made only from year to year. These changes have resulted, without a special law to that effect, in bringing about an annual session of Parliament. Should Parliament not be summoned every year the standing army would become illegal, and there would

be no legal obligation for the payment of the larger part of the taxes.

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Something had to be done towards a settlement of the religious question. It was no longer possible to continue unmodified the cruel provisions of the Clarendon Code. In 1689, therefore, the Toleration Act was passed. By its terms all Protestant dissenters who believed in the Trinity were permitted to hold services in their own churches. It was not a liberal or comprehensive measure. It failed to include Catholics and Unitarians, and it failed to repeal the Test Act, by which all who were not members of the Established Church were excluded from office. But the narrow spirit of earlier days was gradually giving way to a broader humanity, tolerance was beginning to prevail, and so the government refrained from persecuting those not granted formal freedom by the new law. Many a battle, however, had still to be fought and won before complete religious liberty could be said to exist in the British Isles. A few years later this partial religious tolerance found its complement in the liberty of the press. In recent years several acts of Parliament had been passed from time to time, known as "licensing acts," which were intended to limit the freedom of the press. They authorized the appointment of an official licenser without whose approval no book or newspaper could be published. In 1695, however, Parliament defeated the licensing act of the year, none was ever afterwards introduced, and political pamphlets once more became numerous and outspoken. Only the ordinary libel and sedition laws have since controlled the press. The attempt to suppress opinions displeasing to those in power was abandoned. The ideas expressed in the *Areopagitica* at last prevailed.

Religious
Tolerance
and
Liberty
of the
Press

Not all Englishmen viewed William and his measures with favor. The High Church party, not yet so-called or known but which was gradually gaining coherence, were opposed to religious tolerance and viewed with disfavor the growing power of the people. Some of them became partisans of King James, and were therefore known as Jacobites; and thus, even in England, the new rulers encountered opposition. In Ireland and Scotland the opposition was more formidable. In March, 1689, James, accompanied by some French troops, landed in Ireland. In answer to his summons a Parliament met in Dublin. It repealed the Act of Settlement, of 1661, by which the greater part of the island had been placed in possession of English and Protestant owners; and it gave to the Crown the property of all who failed to return to their estates within the brief period of two months. Thus it confiscated almost all the property of the Protestants. Some of the dis-

Rebellion
in Ireland
and
Further
Oppres-
sion
of That
Land

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possessed landowners fled to England, while others flocked into Ulster, where they made a gallant stand. Londonderry and Enniskillen were the chief strongholds of the Protestants and in them they were besieged. In 1690 William took an army over to Ireland and scattered the forces of James in the decisive battle of the Boyne. James fled to France, but the Catholics continued their resistance. They made their last stand in Limerick. In October of the following year they accepted the terms offered by the commander of the Protestant forces. All the Irish who wished to do so were to be permitted to go to France; and all who were willing to swear allegiance to William were to be protected in their property and guaranteed the same liberty of faith and worship they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. But the Irish Parliament at Dublin, now exclusively Protestant, refused to ratify the agreement. The paragraph relating to the protection of property was omitted, and so the subsequent settlement of Ireland rested upon the shameful basis of a violated treaty. More than a million acres belonging to Catholic owners were confiscated and sold by the English Parliament to the highest bidders. The victorious Protestant colonists, who themselves had been turned out of house and home twice within fifty years, were determined to make impossible another uprising of the native Catholics. They inaugurated a régime even more cruel than that of Strafford or Cromwell. Under the penal laws the attrition of Catholic property was slow but sure, until by the end of the century such property was probably not more than one-tenth of the whole. In despair of securing justice at home many Irish enlisted in foreign armies. It has been estimated that between 1691 and 1745 some 450,000 left their native land. The course of events in the island was much affected by this emigration. Many of the natural leaders of the people departed, and the names of their families became prominent in the annals of several continental countries, especially France and Spain, while the unhappy land they left behind them became to a great extent a nation of peasants.

Unjust
Regulation
of the
Irish
Woolen
Industry

The small minority of Protestant settlers in Ireland were not the only oppressors of the Catholics. The English government, having control of all Irish legislation by means of Poynings's Law, and being thus an accomplice in all the repressive measures enacted at Dublin, was also directly active in the tyranny. The exportation of woolen goods from Ireland was prohibited to all countries except England, and heavy additional export duties were placed on such goods. Thus woolen manufacture in the island was virtually extinguished. Entire towns and districts, especially in the south and west, where wool is the natural staple, were reduced to

a most distressing degree of poverty. Smuggling was resorted to, and that did something to restore prosperity, but the moral effect was disastrous. The English government promised to assist the development of the Irish linen industry, and, though the promise was never fulfilled in its entirety, something was done. This, because the north-east of the island is peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of flax, inaugurated the manufacturing prosperity of Ulster.

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In Scotland, where popular opinion had been greatly offended by James, a Convention of the Estates met at Edinburgh, in a somewhat irregular manner, and offered the Crown to William and Mary, with a claim of right to depose any sovereign who infringed the laws and with a demand for the abolition of Episcopacy. William accepted the Crown with these conditions, and so the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government was restored and with it the Westminster Confession of Faith. The Episcopal party among the ministers was denied participation in managing church affairs and it gradually declined in power and influence. But before these changes were made, fighting had begun. John Grahame, of Claverhouse, whom James had made Viscount Dundee, rode into the Highlands with a small body of horsemen to rouse the clans. A clan was a small tribe claiming descent from a common ancestor, and the chiefs of these tribes had great power over their followers because of their heritable jurisdiction. The Highlanders were not deeply interested in the disputes between bishops and presbyters, Jacobites and Williamites; but, because he had actively assisted in putting William on the English throne, the revolution meant the restoration of the Earl of Argyle to his possessions, the renewal of the immense territorial influence of the Campbells, and to this the smaller clans, such as the Macdonalds and the Camerons, objected. So the Tory clans flocked to the banner of James and, in 1689, under Dundee, they defeated the Lowland army of William in the pass of Killiecrankie. But in the moment of victory Dundee was slain. In a few days after the loss of their skillful commander the Highlanders began to separate and wend their various ways homeward. Amnesty was promised to all who, before the end of the year, should pledge themselves to live peacefully under the new King. The head of a small branch of the Macdonald clan, who lived in the valley of Glencoe, in a spirit of defiance put off taking the oath until the last day. But then he found no one within reach empowered to receive his subscription, and he did not succeed in getting to the sheriff and making the required submission until the sixth day of the new year. This trifling delay might well have been overlooked, but a certain

Rebellion
in
Scotland

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John Dalrymple, who was William's chief adviser in Scottish affairs, and who as a Lowlander was bent upon compelling Highlanders to respect the law, secured from the King, who was probably ignorant of the real purpose, permission to send a punitive expedition against "that set of thieves." Like other clans the dalesmen of Glencoe had stolen cattle from the Lowland valleys in the days of the lawless past. The punitive force was made up of soldiers who had long been enemies of the Macdonalds. They were entertained by the unsuspecting dalesmen for two weeks, and then they suddenly fell upon their hosts and massacred men, women, and children without pity and without discrimination. But when peace was restored after this barbarous massacre, the northern land became a country governed by law; the absolutism enjoyed by the Stuarts ceased; and a free debating Parliament exercised to the full its privileges and powers.

**Combined
War Upon
France**

France had given support to James, and there was talk of an invasion. William found it all the easier, therefore, to persuade his new subjects to take up arms against that country. Other motives, too, actuated the English. France had now definitely replaced Spain as the chief champion of the Catholic cause; her colonists had clashed with those of England in Asia and America; and the growth of her army and navy threatened to subordinate every other European country to her power. England, therefore, entered into an alliance with Holland, Spain, and the Germanic Empire, and the war, which broke out in 1689, lasted some eight years. At first, while the struggles were going on in Ireland and Scotland, France was victorious on land and sea; but in the battle of La Hogue the French fleet was decisively defeated and the command of the sea went to the English and Dutch navies, though the enemy was still able to make occasional raids upon English commerce. In the battles on land, which took place along the border between France and the Netherlands, the allied forces were commanded by William. Not until he captured Namur in 1695 did the tide of misfortune turn. Two years later the war was concluded by the Peace of Ryswick. The French relinquished all the places they had conquered in the war. It was evident that the attempt to limit the expansion of France at the expense of her neighbors had succeeded, and that England had become a power to be reckoned with in continental affairs.

**Personal
Unpopularity of
William in
England**

William had thus made secure his position as ruler of the British Isles; and apparently he had thwarted the ambition of France to dominate Europe. But now he was confronted by internal difficulties and problems in the settlement of which he was not to be so successful. He was, in the first place, a foreigner,

and that was by no means a virtue in the eyes of the natives of the islands. He was a silent, wary, self-contained, almost gloomy man; and everything about him, all the little traits of character that made so many of his predecessors intelligible and endurable, if not lovable, to the people were either not noticed or else misunderstood by his new subjects. And then his aims, though beneficial to the world and, in the long run, to his new kingdom, were not English. As a patriot he remained first of all a Dutchman; and as a statesman he was not so much a reformer of insular affairs as a leader of a great continental alliance. It was in the swiftly moving drama on the continental stage that his greatest qualities were revealed,—his sleepless vigilance, his endless resource, and the iron resolution that not even a long series of disasters could daunt. Resistance, passionate and uncompromising, to the aggression of the great neighbor of the land of his birth was the dominant impulse of his life. Then, too, he was Calvinist, Presbyterian by training, and therefore very sympathetic with the Scots. The real reason of his unpopularity was the perception by the proud island race that they and their affairs held a secondary place in the esteem of their King. His place in history, then, is that of a man who influenced the destiny of the continent rather than that of one who directed in a notable manner the policy of England. Matters did not improve after the death of his wife in 1694, for she was bright, gracious, and popular, and in all respects a woman congenial to England.

The Revolution was far more than a mere change of sovereigns. In the conduct of government it had definitely and permanently made Parliament supreme. And in Parliament the predominant chamber was the House of Commons. That body by no means represented the mass of the people. In the country only freeholders voted; and in the towns, for the most part, only the well-to-do possessed the franchise. The Commons, therefore, were hardly less aristocratic than the Lords. Their House represented the interests of the trading, legal, and landholding classes, rather than those of the working classes. By this time the party system, its development no longer hindered by a struggle for supremacy between Parliament and King, had become definitely established. The two parties, as we have seen, were the Whigs and the Tories; each tried to secure control of the Crown; and the feeling between them was very bitter. Party spirit, free, coarse, and vigorous in expression, pervaded fashionable society, commerce, and even scholarship. It may be seen in all its dramatic intensity in the writings of Swift. William failed to understand the system. He wished to choose his ministers indifferently from

Need of
a Sense
of Respon-
sibility on
the Part
of the
Commons

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both parties, but the two hostile factions would not work together loyally for the welfare of the nation. Sometimes the party in power in the Commons pressed with unscrupulous severity upon its opponents; and sometimes, influenced by momentary gusts of passion or sympathy, members of one party would lend support to their opponents, thus, as a contemporary said, often making it impossible to predict the action of the House. The first of these dangers could be met by dissolving Parliament and appealing to the electors, who were not always animated so strongly by party hatreds as were their representatives. The second danger, that of impulsiveness and waywardness, could be avoided only by making the members of the Commons feel a greater degree of responsibility.

Develop-
ment of
the
Cabinet

The method of producing this increased sense of responsibility in the Commons, suggested by Robert Spencer (1640-1702), Earl of Sunderland, a brilliant but unreliable politician, afterwards became known as Cabinet government. Beginning in 1693 William selected his ministers, those to whom he entrusted the highest ministerial offices, from only one party, the party in the majority in the Commons. In this way the support of the predominant party was secured for the ministry, and in turn the majority in the Commons came under the influence of the Cabinet. The word "cabinet" came from the private room in which the confidential advisers of the sovereign met. The application of the name to the body of advisers is like the use of "the House" as meaning the Commons. More than one inner group of advisers had appeared before this. The Privy Council, the historic body of counsel and control, was too large for modern conditions. The Cabinet was born out of the necessities of the times, and it came into being gradually. The Whigs now had a majority in the Commons. More and more, therefore, they came to have conduct of the war with France. Naturally the King preferred to select his ministers from the party able to carry ministerial measures through Parliament. He did not always govern by the advice of his Cabinet; sometimes, especially in foreign affairs, he acted without their advice; less frequently, he even acted against it; and occasionally he sought advice from men who were not in the Cabinet. But a beginning of the system was made. Its advantages were obvious. When the ministers were selected from the party in the majority in the Commons things went along more smoothly. All that William had intended to do was to harmonize the relations between his ministers and the Commons and thus enable himself to carry on the war more energetically and with greater success; but in reality he had completely changed the character of

the English government. He was able to dominate his ministers, despite the fact that all of them belonged to the same party and were supported by the members of the more important of the two Houses; but when a ruler of inferior character sat on the throne the ministers, assured of the support of the majority of the Commons, assumed control. In his own time the Whig members had to be dismissed because the Whig party had ceased to have a majority in the Commons, and so already the new institution was revealing itself to be the greatest result of the Revolution.

Through all the years of disorder and civil war in the seventeenth century, the middle class had been gaining in wealth. Industry and commerce had brought into existence a class of wealthy men, especially in the large towns, who possessed more ready money than had been known before. They had money to lend; and the government was in need of it. The cost of carrying on the war against France had been so great that new methods were resorted to for raising money. New taxes were found to be insufficient, and so large sums of money were borrowed from prosperous capitalists of the time. Most of these capitalists were Whigs. This was the beginning of the permanent national debt. The government entered into no obligation to liquidate its debt at a definite period, but met the interest on its borrowings by reserving for that purpose a part of the income from the taxes. Throughout the subsequent years the government has paid the interest on all it has borrowed, but it has made no attempt to extinguish the national debt. It has lessened the debt occasionally, but it has also borrowed more money from time to time whenever it has had a special need. When any person to whom the government owes part of its debt wishes his money back again, he obtains it by selling his claim to some one else who has money and who is willing to lend it to the government. Thus the national debt has become a permanent institution; and it has helped to make the interests of the moneyed class and the government identical. It has been an elastic resource to the government; but in many countries it has also been a deplorable temptation. In our own time, national debts are the greatest of all financial problems.

Beginning
of the
National
Debt

A company of capitalists that made one of the earliest loans to the government was organized as the Bank of England. These men, too, were Whigs, and in establishing the Bank they encountered the opposition of the Tories. This was the first important bank established in the country. Previous to this time banking had been carried on principally by the London goldsmiths, who from the time of James I had received deposits, and

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ment
of the
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who in the time of the Civil War had begun to receive the rents of gentlemen's country estates remitted to town. The goldsmiths, who had strong vaults and who enjoyed an enviable reputation for honesty, allowed interest on deposits, and because of these things people were willing to put money into their hands. The more important of them lent money to Cromwell, in advance of the revenues, as his need required, at a higher rate of interest than they allowed depositors, and thus the banking business proved highly profitable. The new bank, which had been given special privileges for carrying on its business, was able to give better security to its depositors than the goldsmiths could offer, and so it gained large numbers of customers; and to it was confided the management of the national debt. It was also empowered to issue notes, though they were not legal tender. A pamphlet was issued explaining the purposes for which the bank had been established and the use it would be to the country, and deprecating the fear "lest it should hereafter join with the prince to make him absolute and so render Parliament useless." From time to time the bank has been rechartered by Parliament, and the rules under which it conducts its business have been frequently changed, but it still remains the chief financial agent of the government. The fears that it would render the Crown independent of Parliament, of course, proved groundless; but through it the wealthy classes, who lent their money to William and who had no hope of gain from a second restoration of the Stuarts, became financially interested in insuring the permanency of the Revolution. In establishing this modern financial system of the National Debt and the Bank of England the capitalists consulted Newton and Locke, two of the leading philosophers of the day, who were also Whigs.

Reorgan-
ization
of the
East India
Company

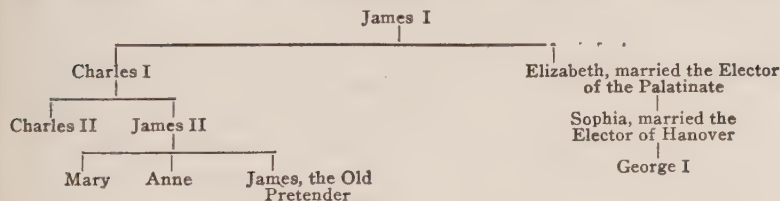
By this time the East India Company, founded as the sixteenth century was drawing to its close, had grown from a simple trading association, with no political aspirations, into a company having the right to acquire territory, exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, coin money, maintain troops, enter into alliances, and make war and peace. Its ruling career, hastened by the actions of the French in the Carnatic, may be said to have begun in 1689 with the establishment of the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. From that date its history becomes the story of British India. The enormous profits made by the company attracted other traders, known as "interlopers," to the field. These newcomers formed themselves into a second company, formally sanctioned in 1698 by act of Parliament. Finally, however, in 1701, the two companies were united, and then the golden

age of these merchant adventurers, now much better organized and stronger than before, began and continued for more than a hundred years. The East India Company and the Bank of England were the most powerful institutions of the money power of the eighteenth century.

The death of Mary had given rise to the question of the succession to the Crown. She left no children, and it seemed certain that her husband would not marry again. The next heir, according to the Declaration of Rights, was her younger sister Anne. But all the children of that princess were dead, and her brother, or at least her alleged brother, was a Catholic; and so the question arose as to how the Protestant succession should be secured after her reign had come to an end. In 1701 the Act of Settlement decided that after Anne's death the Crown should go to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I and the nearest Protestant in the direct line from him. The act was

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Act of
Settlement
and
Further
Limitation
of the
Royal
Power



passed by a Tory Parliament that, because of his Whig sympathies and connections, was very jealous of William. It ignored the strict law of inheritance, and thus it declared that the highest office in the land is one that can be conferred by act of Parliament. It also put still further limitations upon the power of the Crown. Every future sovereign was to be a member of the Established Church and was not to marry a Catholic. No sovereign who was also the ruler of foreign dominions was to declare war in behalf of those dominions without permission of Parliament. Judges were to have fixed salaries, they were to hold office not during the King's pleasure but during good behavior, and they might be removed only upon address of both Houses. And no royal pardon was to be pleaded in answer to impeachment. Several other provisions, intended chiefly to wound William's feelings and to lessen the power of the Whigs, were repealed in the next reign before they came into operation.

Only a temporary peace was effected by the Treaty of Ryswick. Charles II (1661-1700), the childless King of Spain, who suffered the worst consequences of the intermarriages of the Hapsburgs, had long been dying of senile decay. His elder sis-

The Grand
Alliance
and
Death of
William

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ter, now dead, had been married to Louis XIV of France, and their two grandsons were his nearest heirs. But other nations were not content to stand idly by while Spain and all her vast possessions were handed to the already great power of France. At the instigation of William, two successive treaties, known as the Partition Treaties, were arranged between England and France and other countries for the division of the Spanish dominions. The Spanish, who had been completely ignored in the matter, were naturally very angry that foreign rulers should proceed to dismember their empire at their pleasure; and at the death of Charles, who shared the indignation of his countrymen, it was found that nearly all his possessions had been left to Philip, the younger of the two grandsons of the King of France. Louis, disregarding the partition agreement, sent Philip to Spain and prepared to keep him on the southern throne by force of arms, while the countries opposing this apparent increase of French power likewise prepared to put him off. William was able to secure parliamentary support in his opposition to the aggrandizement of France because Louis, upon the death in 1701 of the exiled James, had recognized the latter's son, whom his followers called James III, and who was styled by his opponents as the Pretender, as the rightful ruler of England. Even the Tories were angered by such gratuitous ignoring of the Act of Settlement. So the Grand Alliance, an agreement between England, Holland, and Austria, was formed for the purpose of preventing the union of France and Spain. But before William could lead his English troops in the field he died, in 1702, as a result of a fall from his horse. His premature death was made more pathetic because it came when he had effected an alliance that was to fulfil the aim to which he had devoted his life and when he had attained a popularity in England which hitherto he had never enjoyed.

Accession
of Anne
and
War
of the
Spanish
Succession

Queen Anne (1702-1714) was a woman of slight ability, narrow-minded and obstinate, but kindly and generous. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, who died in 1708, was even duller than she, and took no part in the government of the country. For many years her chief companion was Sarah Jennings, violent in temper and coarse in nature, strong-willed and quick-witted, by whom she was completely dominated. The real ruler of the realm, especially in military and foreign affairs, was John Churchill (1650-1722), Duke of Marlborough, who had married the tempestuous companion of the Queen. He was a man of singular tact and diplomatic skill in the management of men, handsome and gracious, blessed with strong sense and great

practical sagacity, intrepid and imperturbable, a great soldier, but a man who had deserted James in the hour of greatest need and who had proved unfaithful to William. He was in command of the English forces, and, together with the other leaders of the allies, he began the work of bringing to nought the ambitions of the French. The principal allies were England, Holland, and Austria. The Emperor of Austria, who, of course, was also at the head of the loosely associated Germanic Empire, hoped to win the Spanish throne for his youngest son. Several of the smaller Germanic states, the most important of them being Brandenburg, where the Elector had been offered the title of King in Prussia, were also arrayed against France. On the other side France did not stand alone. Spain was now her active ally, she controlled the Spanish Netherlands, and Bavaria and several of the Italian states sided with her. Year after year campaigns under various leaders were fought in the Low Countries, in the southern states of the Germanic Empire, along the Rhine, in Italy, in Spain, and in Asia and America. Naval engagements took place in the Channel, in the Bay of Biscay, in the West Indies, but chiefly in the Mediterranean. In these numerous battles on land and sea both successes and reverses were experienced by the allies; but Marlborough himself never fought a battle he did not win, nor besieged a place he did not gain, nor undertook a campaign that did not prove successful. Of the many battles on land, four were of particular importance. In 1704, at Blenheim, a little village on the Danube, the Franco-Bavarian army, which aimed to take Vienna, was severely defeated, and, in consequence, the Bavarians were forced to make peace, while the French were compelled to withdraw from the Empire. The victory of Ramillies, in 1706, resulted in the capture of almost all the Spanish Netherlands. The battle of Oudenarde, in 1708, was followed by the recapture of the fortresses in the Netherlands that had been retaken by the French. In the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709, the allies, though victorious, lost more heavily than their enemies. It would have been well had the war ended at this time. France offered favorable terms. But the Whigs in Parliament were determined to prolong the struggle because they thought they would thus further the interest of their party, and the leaders of the allied armies hoped for still greater success. So the proffered conditions were declined. With both sides exhausted, the war went on its weary and comparatively uneventful way for four more years.

The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713 by England and Holland on the one hand, and by France and Spain on the other,

Treaty of
Utrecht

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recognized Philip V as King of Spain and the Indies. The Spanish possessions in the Italian peninsula were divided between the Duke of Savoy and the Emperor; and to the latter were also given the Spanish Netherlands. Holland was relieved at last from the constant danger of being invaded and conquered by France. England retained Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had captured in the war; her claims were recognized to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, the land around Hudson Bay, and St. Christopher, one of the West Indian Islands; and by a lucrative trade agreement with Spain, called the *Asiento*, she gained a monopoly of the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish colonies for thirty years and the right to send one ship a year with merchandise to Portobello, the entrepot between the East and the West on the Isthmus of Panama. The conclusion of peace found England in possession of the strongest fleet in the world, and a maritime supremacy which she has ever since maintained. The colonies on the mainland of North America and among the islands of the Caribbean Sea had been kept in security from French aggression by this fleet all through the wars of the Grand Alliance and the Spanish Succession, yet it was a service only imperfectly realized and scarcely even admitted.

Union of
Scotland
and
England

For a century England and Scotland had been united only by having the same ruler. The time seemed ripe for a closer union, and from the beginning of her reign this was advocated by the Queen. But the plan was not popular. There were Scots who realized that as long as they remained under a separate government they would be excluded from participation in the commercial activity that was proving so profitable for England, but there were others who desired complete separation from the southern kingdom. There were Englishmen who took a broad view of the question and saw that a close union would greatly benefit both countries; but there were others, jealous of the trade with distant parts of the world, who were reluctant to permit the Scots to share it. In 1706 commissioners from the two countries were authorized to draw up the terms of a treaty, and in the following year, after a ready consent on the part of the southern Parliament and bitter disputes in the northern Estates, the Act of Union received the royal sanction. By the terms of the statute the new country thus formed was to have the name of the Kingdom of Great Britain; it was to have one flag, the Union Jack, made up of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George combined; there was to be a single Parliament, in the Lower House of which there were to be forty-five mem-

bers, elected by counties and boroughs, from Scotland, and in the Upper House sixteen peers, elected by the entire northern peerage; the Scottish system of courts and law was continued, though now an appeal could be taken from the highest Scottish court to the House of Lords; the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland and the Episcopal Church of England each remained established in its respective country; the money and banking systems, the Universities, and other institutions, remained separate; and complete commercial equality between the two countries was guaranteed. It was this last clause that had induced the Scottish Estates, especially the Highland members, by a small majority, to accept the union. At first the new arrangement caused a good deal of friction; and for more than a generation it was unpopular in the north, while in the south it was regarded with little favor.

The strongest motive in the conduct of Anne was devotion to the Established Church. She took no interest in the thought, or the art, or the literature of the day; she disliked both Catholics and Dissenters; and she did all she could to favor the Tories in politics and the High Church party in ecclesiastical affairs. At the beginning of her reign the Tories had a majority in Parliament. Marlborough was associated with that party; in fact he was one of its leaders; but he was not an ardent advocate of its policies. The chief thing he desired was adequate support in carrying on the war. Yet it was the Whigs, and not the Tories, who were most enthusiastic and energetic in prosecuting the struggle. Inasmuch as the nation approved the war, the number of Tory members was gradually reduced, and by 1705 the Whigs had a majority in the Commons. Marlborough now came to realize that the Whigs rather than the Tories were to be depended upon for support in the war, and so as first one office and then another became vacant he filled them with Whigs; and, in 1708, much against her personal wishes, the Queen was compelled to appoint a ministry made up entirely of Whigs. Thus the principle of party unanimity within the Cabinet may be said to have been established, despite the wishes of the Crown. It should be remembered, however, that the Cabinet had not yet acquired exclusive powers, for the Queen could follow the advice of others. The truth of the matter is that for some years the supreme influence in government was the Duke of Marlborough.

Marlborough had gone over to the Whigs, but that party did not long remain in power. Slowly but surely they lost the support of the country. Men were becoming weary of the war;

**Appoint-
ment of
a Whig
Ministry
Against
the
Wishes
of the
Queen**

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Increase
of the
Power
of the
Commons
at the
Expense
of the
Lords

and the Queen was becoming weary of the dictatorial Duchess. The wife of the great commander was gradually replaced as the royal companion and confidante by the relative of a leading Tory, Mrs. Abigail Masham, a woman of gentle character and genial disposition, who persuaded Anne that the Whigs were plotting against the Church. Then, just at the critical moment, the Whigs made a serious mistake. A vehement Tory preacher, Henry Sacheverell, vigorously asserted in two sermons that the Church was in danger from the Whig ministry. The sermons were printed, and the fiery preacher became the idol of the Tories. When the Whigs impeached him he was suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermons were burnt in one of the public places in London. The sentence, light as it was, made him a martyr in the eyes of the people; a wave of excitement swept the country. "Everything is turning upside down," wrote Swift. "Every Whig in great office will, to a man, be infallibly put out; and we shall have such a winter as hath not been seen in England." The election of 1710 went strongly in favor of the Tories. But, though they were now in the minority in the Commons, the Whigs still had a small majority in the Lords. What was to be done in such a case? The new ministry did not hesitate to advise a bold proceeding. Acting upon their suggestion the Queen raised twelve men, all of whom were known to be Tories, to the peerage. Thus they became members of the Lords and gave its control to the party that controlled the Commons. In this manner it was demonstrated, more plainly than ever before, that just as the King has to give way in any contest with Parliament, so if at any time the two Houses are definitely opposed to each other upon an important matter the Lords may be forced to give way to the popular chamber.

Reaction-
ary
Measures
of the
Tories

The Tories now hastened to bring the war to an end, and in their factious zeal they abandoned their Catalan confederates to the vengeance of Spain and deserted their Germanic allies on the field of battle. But peace was popular, the country became prosperous, and so the Tories were able to enact a number of reactionary measures. The Corporation Act of 1661, which made the taking of communion in the Anglican Church a prerequisite for holding office in a corporation, and the Test Act of 1673, which extended the same requirement to all positions under the Crown, both civil and military, were still in force. In 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act was passed. It was intended to prevent the practice by which a dissenter conformed to this test only upon a single occasion before assuming office and then at other times attended his own church. It provided that any

person who had qualified himself for office by taking the sacrament according to the rites of the State Church and who should subsequently be convicted of attending a non-conformist place of worship should be fined and forfeit his office. In the same year a property qualification act, revealing the growing dislike of the land-owning aristocracy for the well-to-do mercantile class, prevented any one from being a member of Parliament who did not have an income drawn from land amounting to at least £200 a year. In 1714 a Schism Act made it necessary for every one, even though he were an instructor in one of the schools established by the dissenters, to obtain a license from the bishop of the diocese in which he lived before he could teach. The avowed purpose of the act was to get rid in the course of the next generation of all dissent. Only murmurs of civil war coming from the dissenters prevented the enforcement of this act of bigotry. Some of the more extreme Tories in their reaction against the liberal policy in force since the Revolution became out-and-out Jacobites. They planned to crown the Pretender after the death of Anne, the heavy, sad, and lonely woman "whose marriage had brought only a mournful series of infant funerals." But this alienated the moderate Tories, who, despite their attachment to the old line, were unwilling to see the throne occupied by a Catholic; and so they joined the Whigs in proclaiming the Elector of Hanover as King George I. His mother had died two months previously, otherwise she would have become Queen of Great Britain.

Scientific inquiry and philosophic thought went steadily on their way in England. The facts accumulated by preceding workers, hitherto more or less ineffectively organized, were now arranged in a more systematic manner; and, insuring a greater efficacy of research in the future, the principles of experimentation and induction received a more explicit definition and a more complete coördination. Let us note, in the first place, the progress in mathematics. Brook Taylor (1685-1731) discovered the calculus of finite differences, and he applied it in a number of ingenious ways, among them being the ascertainment of the movement of a vibrating string. His famous formula, known as "Taylor's theorem," has been declared to be "the principal foundation of the differential calculus." One of the ablest mathematicians of the eighteenth century was Colin Maclaurin (1698-1746), who excelled especially in geometry. He is probably the only immediate successor of Newton who can be regarded as the equal of the great contemporary mathematicians of the continent. But his influence on the progress of English mathematics

Further
Progress
in Mathe-
matics and
Astronomy

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Range
of the
Thought
of John
Locke

was not altogether desirable, inasmuch as its tendency was to lead to an almost exclusive dependence upon geometrical demonstration and, consequently, to the disuse of the more powerful methods of modern analysis. Naturally the first science to which the new discoveries in mathematics were applied was astronomy. They enabled Edmund Halley (1656-1742) to calculate for the first time the orbit of a comet; and they stimulated James Bradley (1693-1762) to make observation a methodical science. After Newton's investigations, however, mathematics had to undergo still further development before the arduous tasks that remained could be attempted with any reasonable hope of success.

A free inquisitive temper led John Locke (1632-1704) to experiment in physics and chemistry. Such experimentation was admirably adapted as a foundation for his famous attempt to define the limits of human understanding. Still more so was his study in the field of medicine, because the complicated and fugitive and often equivocal phenomena of disease require in the observer a far greater degree of discriminating sagacity than do those of the inorganic sciences. But his thought was by no means confined to the field of critical philosophy. In politics, education, and religion he displayed a notable power of original thought and gave the world writings whose practical value the lapse of almost two and a half centuries has lessened but slightly. His position as the confidential secretary of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by bringing him into contact with public men and revealing to him the springs of political action, caused him to consider the principles of government and its current problems. The unsatisfactory character of private instruction, and of school and college curricula, induced him to define the aims of education and outline its methods. And the subtle theological controversies of his time, and the dogmatic and intolerant spirit of contemporary theologians, induced him to urge freedom for all religious views that did not threaten the safety of the state.

How Far
Does
Man's
Capacity
for
Knowing
Reach?

Locke's chief work in philosophy, the *Essay on Human Understanding*, published in 1690, was born of his recognition of the narrow range of man's faculties for acquiring knowledge, and of his conviction that the most fundamental and difficult task of a philosopher is to ascertain the limits of knowledge and thus to mark the boundaries of the region within which man may safely philosophize. Impassable barriers surround us on all sides. In no direction is it possible for us to advance far in the pursuit of knowledge without coming to a precipice looking upon a bottomless abyss. With what things are our intellectual powers fitted to deal, how far do they reach, and where precisely do they

fail us? The answers to these questions made up the task which, with a rare combination of boldness and caution, independence and humility, and with a logic remarkable for its vigor and precision, he set himself to accomplish. "It is of great use to the sailor to know the length of his line," he said, "though he cannot with it fathom all the depths of the ocean." The *Essay* gave only an ambiguous and incomplete answer to its leading question. It paid too much attention to the nature of matter, and too little to the subtle and evanescent phenomena of the mind. It was concerned too much with the subject-matter of knowledge and too little with our apparatus for obtaining that knowledge. But, though it failed definitely to describe the limits of our understanding, and to assign completely and accurately the causes of that limitation, it demonstrated, to all who were open to conviction, that our power of knowing is sharply limited, and it served to stimulate men to investigate still further the causes of that limitation. Sturdily it thrust aside all authority but reason, and so aroused a storm of hostile criticism. Yet steadily, despite opposition, it won its way. Few books in any language have been more effective in implanting in the soul the love of truth, few have been more successful in exposing sophistry, in training the mind to think clearly, in arousing ambition to know all that may be known, and few have recognized with equal sincerity and humility the boundary where knowledge fails. It is inspired with a spirit of philosophy that exerts a more lasting and beneficial influence than the philosophy itself.

On all the important topics of his day Locke has left us his conclusions; and in none of those fields did he fail to push back the horizon of human knowledge. In his *Two Treatises on Government* he asserted the ultimate sovereignty of the people. The political and ecclesiastical revolutionists had failed as a party of construction when the Crown had been replaced by the Commonwealth. But the ideas, both theoretical and practical, for which they had contended showed no signs of disappearing. The strife between prerogative and Parliament, and between the State Church and non-conformity, continued throughout the period of the later Stuarts. It also continued during the reigns of William and Anne. In "copious floods of sacerdotal literature" the Anglican prelates did all in their power to enforce the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings and the passive obedience of the subject. And in 1693 the University of Oxford formally condemned "certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society." Among the doc-

Sover-
eignty
of the
People

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trines thus condemned was that of popular sovereignty, which holds that government is an institution created by men for their own safety and welfare, that its terms can be altered from time to time as experience directs, and that it is not imposed upon them from above or without. Locke's first pamphlet refutes the arguments of the Divine Right of Kings, and the second advances a systematic conception of government based upon the popular theory. Neither treatise is strikingly original in thought. The doctrine of the social contract, that men had voluntarily entered into an agreement to establish government for their mutual protection and interest, was current in the thought of the time. And the doctrine of the natural rights of man, that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights that no government can rightfully impair, is but a development of the point of view of the Independents. Yet the effective presentation of the subject-matter gave the two pamphlets a far-reaching influence. For more than a century his theories were the chief source of the political philosophy of the Whigs.

Theories
of the
Separation
of Church
and State
and of
Religious
Tolerance

Locke's political doctrines inevitably led to similar conclusions in the field of religion. They led to ideas of complete separation of Church and State, and to the toleration of religious views that differ from those of the majority. Thus far only one or two of the lesser religious groups on the continent, and a handful of individual reformers, had consistently and sincerely advocated religious tolerance. In Holland the idea took deep root. There Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), a Jew whose ancestors had fled from persecution in Spain, wrote an eloquent and well-reasoned treatise in defense of religious tolerance. At that time the religious contact of Holland and England was unusually close. Englishmen fled thither to escape persecution, and when they returned brought with them ideas that influenced the development of thought and life in their native land; Dutch radicals carried their ideas across the sea. It is to a Dutch Prince, William III, that England is indebted for her first effective act of tolerance; and it was in Holland, whither he had gone to seek freedom of thought, that Locke found his own religious thought confirmed and came into contact with still other liberal ideas. His famous *Letter on Tolerance*, written in 1675 and published in 1689, involved him in controversy, and so a *Second Letter* was published in 1690; and, in 1692, a *Third Letter*, more elaborate than the others, appeared. In these pamphlets he contended that Church and State should be entirely separate. The function of the State is limited to providing for the material and temporal security and welfare of its members. It is not possible to com-

pel that intimate conviction which is the essence of religion; in the field of religion, as in that of philosophy, probability rather than certainty is all that may be affirmed. Yet four limitations should be placed upon tolerance. Excluded from its privileges should be dogmas antagonistic to the safety of the State and the welfare of society; those sects maintaining it is unnecessary to keep faith with those who differ from them; all who acknowledge allegiance to a foreign ruler; and atheists, upon whom "promises, covenants and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold." Another work relating to religion is *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, in which he attempted to separate the essence of the simple teaching of Jesus from the accretion of subtle and sophisticated creeds that have gathered about it in the course of the intervening centuries, and that in so great a degree have obscured it. In the place of these creeds, we should study the laws of nature and of reason, for they will enable us to win eternal blessedness. He was violently assailed by theologians, but he conducted all his public discussions in an admirable manner. Nothing was concealed and nothing misrepresented. "To love truth for truth's sake is the principal part of human perfection in this world," he said, "and the seed-plot of all other virtues."

Locke's *Thoughts on Education* still holds its place among the classics that deal with the subject. The pamphlet is not a general treatise upon education, but only a series of suggestions as to the bringing up of a gentleman's son. It has for its basic principle the old idea of a sound mind in a sound body. It is stamped with a rather narrow common sense and informed with only a limited vision. Locke had a strong utilitarian bias, and was insensible to things of no immediate practical value. The sense of duty as a spring of action he ignores. And yet public spirit, the altruistic desire to do all he could to improve the condition of his fellow-men, was the mainspring of his life and inspired all he wrote.

Locke's
Views on
Educa-
tion

This age in which thoughtful men were interested chiefly in science and philosophy was an age of prose. Quite naturally, too, the prose was clear rather than ornate, lucid rather than lofty. The writers of the time are admirable for their common sense, their neatness, their wit, and their urbane grace; but they are deficient in spirituality. It was an age in which men had awakened from the dreams which for more than a hundred years had fed and haunted the imagination. When it was recognized that the horizon of man's knowledge is limited, that there is a line at which his capacity to know comes to an end, the imaginative

Transition
from
Romantic
Enthusi-
asm to
Measured
Thought

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of Reason

impulse, for a time at least, was distinctly checked. In Dryden one finds something of the spirit of the earlier and the later time. He bears witness to the transition from romantic enthusiasm and rhetorical exuberance to measured thought and classic elegance.

The charm of eighteenth century literature is its rational and urban character. Reason was rapidly becoming the sole criterion in conduct and belief, and city life was fast increasing in extent and variety. More people than ever before were reading, and so the character of books and pamphlets was now determined not so much by what a few scholars desired to write as by what the people desired to read. Lyrical verse and the printed drama, and theological pamphlets, disappeared, and in their place came the essay, the satire, biography, and the novel. To the lucid prose of the time, the ceremonious gallantry of the upper strata of society, of which the lace ruffles, silver shoe-buckles, and powder and patches were an accompaniment, lent a light and limpid grace.

Jonathan
Swift

In the writings of Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) one finds both a negative and a positive expression of the new age. He was scornful of the desire and the capacity of men to effect social improvement, and he said what he had to say with matchless clearness, incisiveness, and exactitude. Duty and interest led him to support the aristocratic party in the Established Church, but he does not seem to have made any serious attempt to assimilate the Anglican doctrines or to interpret them. Yet his religious convictions were sincere and they never wavered. He regarded the Low Church party with intense dislike. Their latitudinarian views, and the indulgence with which they treated the non-conformists, made them, in his eyes, the most obnoxious and formidable of enemies. In *The Tale of a Tub*, which exposes various abuses of religion and keenly criticizes those who differed from his theological views, almost the full compass of his powers is displayed. It is a model of satirical excellence. So extreme are some of its passages that he fell under the suspicion of being hostile to all religion. Perhaps it was as a reply that he wrote the *Argument against Abolishing Christianity*, the best example of his irony, whose charm and dexterity the intervening centuries have failed to diminish.

Swift
as a
Power in
Politics

In his early manhood Swift was inclined towards the Whigs, but gradually he went over to the Tories whose policies and spirit were more in accord with his religious leanings. He became very influential in party counsels. His relations with the ministry inaugurated a new era in political life, the age of public opinion. The circumstances of the time were chiefly responsible

for the change, but Swift's notable statesmanship and literary power greatly accelerated it. He contributed to the chief Tory paper of the day, and in his hands it rose to an importance without precedent in journalism. Everywhere, by friends and foes, his articles were read with eagerness. They are masterpieces of argumentation, but each displays in its turn an increasing animosity and is more darkly colored with the spirit that was to end in misanthropy. In 1711 his *Conduct of the Allies*, a pamphlet written against the war under Marlborough, touched the nation to the quick and did much to hasten the treaty of peace. The downfall of the Tories at the death of Anne brought this period of power to a close. Swift then retired to Ireland, where most of his remaining years were spent.

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We have seen something of the cruel laws intended to annihilate Irish trade, and we have glanced at the deplorable condition of the Irish people. Swift was filled with burning indignation by this injustice, and his writings soon set the island in a flame. His pamphlets, known as *Drapier's Letters*, are written with such lucidity that even the dullest mind can understand them, and with such contagious wrath as to inflame the most apathetic heart. And his *Modest Proposal* for eating children at the age of one year to prevent their becoming a burden to the poverty-stricken parents is a masterpiece of tragic irony. These writings are due in some degree to his disappointed egotism, to his temper and sullen pride, but in a larger measure they were born of hatred of injustice and oppression. It is he who first taught the Irish to rely upon themselves. Embedded in his inflammatory passages are many words of sober counsel. He advised Ireland to close her markets against English goods and depend completely upon her own manufactures. So deeply did the Irish become attached to him that today his memory is cherished as one of the men who began the work of securing freedom and justice.

Swift's
Denuncia-
tion of the
Treatment
of Ireland

Far more important than any other of Swift's later writings is his *Gulliver's Travels*, one of the most famous books in the language. Under a thin disguise of allegory it pictures human society as he conceived it, in all "its pettiness and baseness, its know-nothing science, its do-nothing curiosity, its capering and creeping for courtly favor." Here we find all his hatred and disdain for the mass of mankind. It is the product of a mind poisoned by a settled misanthropy. But it is born of a romantic imagination, as well as a mournful and mocking mind, and so it lives and has a perennial charm.

Swift's
Most
Popular
Work

Newspapers had been in existence for nearly a century; and

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ment
of the
Newspaper

the essay, as a literary form, had become familiar. Thus far the newspapers had been true to their name. They gathered and retailed information. Criticism and commentary they left to essays published separately as pamphlets. But now these two literary forms were combined, and the new form became very popular. Two men, Steele and Addison, were chiefly responsible for bringing the periodical essay to perfection. They were schoolfellows at the Charterhouse and at Oxford, they helped each other in writing plays, and they wrote together in their famous journals.

Richard
Steele

Richard Steele (1672-1729), who had been for ten years in the army, was "a gay man about town, a frequenter of the coffee-houses, with a little of the nature of the profligate and the drunkard and a great deal of the spendthrift," good-natured, simple, frank, and understandable. Although the debauchery of the Restoration was twenty years away, ladies still deemed it necessary to wear masks at the theater in order to hide their blushes. It seems rather strange that "Poor Dick" was the first to attempt to purge the stage of its grossness. His three comedies were the pioneers of a purer drama, the true progenitors of the sentimental comedy. They led the way to the nobler works of a later time in which we have fun without ribaldry, and humor without indecency. Far more significant than his writings for the stage, however, are those for the press. It was a time in which literary talent was eagerly sought by statesmen. In 1709 the *Tatler*, a penny paper published three times a week, made its first appearance. News was retailed and commented upon, and essays dealing with questions of manners and morality gradually became a popular feature. What that urbane age needed and desired was not preaching and denunciation, but genial and playful criticism, clothed in felicitous style. This the warm humanity, the original genius, and the animated literary manner of Steele enabled him to do.

Addison
and the
Spectator

Joseph Addison (1672-1719) began his contributions to the paper in its eighteenth issue; and he contributed to forty-seven numbers. The periodical suddenly ceased in 1711, and two months afterwards the immortal *Spectator*, published daily for nearly two years, took its place. Addison and Steele both contributed to the new venture, and the intimate blending of their personalities is the secret of its success. Steele's nimble and inventive mind sowed the seed, and Addison's more delicate taste and refined art brought the bloom to perfection. The nature of one man and the art of the other served to keep their joint production sweet and sound. So the paper went on its way, temper-

ing wit with morality, and enlivening morality with wit, "giving now a character sketch, now a bit of criticism, now a pleasant fable, and now a sugared sermon for the week's end." In its delightful pages the panorama of the time unfolds before us. Twenty thousand copies of it were sold in its hey-day every morning. It was the candid but kindly critic of the sophisticated and self-indulgent age, speaking bravely and intelligently for all that is honest and hearty in daily affairs, winning men to a regard for higher things than the fashions and follies of the moment, and shining "like a cheerful beacon above the shoals and quicksands of life." Both Addison and Steele gave their support to the Whigs.

The Age of Reason had its poetry as well as its prose. In the lines of Alexander Pope (1688-1744) it found, indeed, its supreme literary expression. Seldom has a poet been more a child of his age than this poet, whose hatred of immorality was affected, but whose contempt of folly and dullness was indubitably real. Like other poets of the time, he saw the world of nature chiefly through "the spectacle of books"; but for the classics he had a deep and genuine admiration. But if the spirit of which he was the exponent was only slightly concerned with nature, it was deeply interested in men. Nothing gave it greater delight than to arrange or rearrange the canons of art and the results of mental speculation. Such an attempt is the *Essay on Criticism*, a poem intended to present in systematic form the floating opinions of the time concerning the aims and methods of the literary art. There is nothing original in it, but the conventional commonplaces of criticism are exquisitely phrased. Pope could look at nature only through books; he had slight ability to sound the depths of passion; but his power to observe the manners of his contemporaries remains unmatched. His power to portray the manners of his time, together with his polish of language and skill in versification, are nowhere better displayed than in *The Rape of the Lock*. This masterpiece of society verse is a mock-heroic treatment of the theft by a certain noble of one of the tresses of a young lady's hair. The playful larceny had strained the relations between the two families, and the poet was induced to allay the ill-feeling by creating a laugh. All the petty frivolities of the fashionable life of the time are unfolded before us with sprightly gaiety and delicate ingenuity, and the poem as a *tour de force* in refined raillery is still unsurpassed.

For twelve years Pope devoted himself to translating the two great Greek epics into English. Then he turned to the writing of satirical and didactic verse in which he had first distinguished

The
Poetry
of Pope
as the
Supreme
Expression
in
Literature
of the
Age of
Reason

Social
Satire

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himself. He had accumulated an unusual number of personal quarrels, and *The Dunciad* is a savage satire upon the many minor men of letters and others with whom he had fallen out. He was sanguine enough to believe that satire can be successful against stupidity. Personal spite, as well as a disinterested championship of the honor of literature, is easily detected in the poem. But much is to be attributed to an elfish, if unscrupulous, love of fun; and it would be altogether wrong to conclude that in malignity and revenge Pope is comparable with Swift. Then, too, beneath the storm of insolence, insults, and scurrilities, it is possible to catch a passionate protest against the waning influence of intelligence in party counsels and the growing triumph of party expediency.

Pope
and the
Rational-
ization of
Religion

Pope, sensitive to every contemporary current of thought and feeling, took part in the effort of his century to rationalize religion. This he did in the *Essay on Man*, a didactic poem in which he adopted the religious thought of the time and decorated it with brilliant epigram. But he was no philosopher, and so the scraps of thought which he had gathered in the course of conversation and reading remain more or less an incoherent mass. His own reasoning, which forms the thread of this rosary of commonplaces, is intrinsically feeble, and all his fine power of expression is unable to conceal the poverty of thought.

Pope
as the
Inter-
preter
of the
Mind and
Manners
of His Age

In his last years Pope wrote satires, epistles, and moral essays. In these his matter is gathered not from books but from his own experience. True he had not lived profoundly. Into no great cause had he thrown himself heart and soul. But in his later verse, especially, are reflected the politics and passions of the time with all the pitiless truth of a mirror. In those days politicians played for high stakes. It might have meant death at the hands of the headsman to have lost. So they played fiercely and unscrupulously. Men of letters were involved in the intrigues of the time. They were therefore affected by the prevailing low political morality. Little wonder, then, that usually we look in vain in their writings for sustained imagination, for piercing vision, or for lofty ideals. Such things were not generated by the social atmosphere. Instead we find depicted with undying grace the little actions of life, the fashionable follies imprisoned in sparkling epigram, and the heart-burning politics embalmed in verse whose polish has never been surpassed. Pope was eminently fitted to interpret the mind and manners of his age. He was the true embodiment of the exclusive reliance upon reason and the almost exclusive concern with urban life of the artificial time in which he lived.

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Useful biographies are: H. R. Fox Bourne's *Life of John Locke*, which contains much unimportant and irrelevant matter, but which reveals the man and scholar whose wide and lasting influence is of so great importance in the history of civilization. Edward S. Roscoe's *Life and Times of Robert Harley* is a careful and, generally, a judicial study of a leading and sometimes mystifying politician and a good picture of the crowded scene in which he moved. H. D. Traill, *William III*. S. J. Reid, *John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough*. Andrew Lang's *The King over the Water* and Martin Haile's *James Francis Edward*, of which the first is the more important, contain much hitherto unpublished material relating to the Old Pretender, and show him as an engaging and dignified prince in exile, quite unlike Thackeray's portrayal of him in *Henry Esmond*.

CHAPTER XIX

FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE

(1714-1763)

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George I
and His
Association with
the Whigs

THE Act of Settlement had secured to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and to her descendants, the inheritance of the English Crown. She died two months before Anne, and so her son became King. George I (1714-1727), then over fifty years of age, was mentally slow, and confirmed in his habits; and his chief interest in his new position was to obtain petty advantages for his Electorate, to which he was genuinely devoted. The long military struggle was ended, and so there was nothing to distract the ruler and his ministers from the work of composing the party disputes and furthering the progress of the nation. The Tories, whose chief strength lay in the country gentlemen and the clergy were numerically superior to their opponents; but the Whigs, whose principal support was drawn from the higher aristocracy and the merchants of the towns, were apparently gaining ground. Below the two parties was the mass of the people, who as yet did not possess the franchise, and who went their way very largely regardless of political contentions. Men strained their eyes to note the comings and goings of the new monarch, and threw a thousand straws into the air to see how the wind was blowing. George I was not too dull to perceive that his island possessions might possibly be invaded in the name of the Stuarts. And so, deeming most of the Tories to be devoted to the Jacobite cause, he threw in his lot with the Whigs. In the next Parliament the Whigs were in the majority; and, as many of the Tory principles and some of their prejudices relating to domestic and foreign affairs were incorporated in the governmental policy, they succeeded in maintaining that position for almost half a century.

Uprising
for the
Old
Pretender

In 1715 there was a Jacobite rising in Scotland in favor of James Francis Stuart (1688-1766), called James III by his supporters, and known to the Hanoverians as the Old Pretender. The silent and melancholy prince, who landed at Peterhead and proceeded to be crowned at Scone, was weak of purpose and not

especially prepossessing in appearance. Nothing was certain regarding the sentiment of the country. Many things might happen to turn the waters back into the old channel. But the attempt to divert the stream of national history was destined to fail. The rebellion soon collapsed, most of the leaders were permitted to escape or were pardoned, a few were put to death for treason, and a half a century later its chief leader died, as he had lived, a pathetic figure, brave but unenlightened. This uprising revealed its instigators as disturbers of the peace, lost for them much of their public support, and displayed the energetic character of the new government. The development of domestic affairs and colonial enterprises could now be carried on with less fear of similar interruption.

One of the most important consequences of the uprising was the extension of the life of Parliament from three to seven years by the passing, in 1716, of the Septennial Act. The defeat of the rebellion and the prolonging of Parliament assured for a long time the supremacy of the Whigs.

Septennial
Act

2

One other matter should be noticed before we proceed with the story of the expanding life of the people. Since the close of the continental war commerce had increased and there were now many people who had money to invest. A popular form of investment was the purchase of stock in mercantile companies. The formation of these companies was now greatly stimulated, and some of them were flimsy in character. Conspicuous among them was the South Sea Company, formed in 1711, and granted a monopoly of British trade with South America and the Pacific Islands. At first the company prospered and good dividends were paid. Its capital was increased from time to time, and further concessions were obtained. Yet the hostility of Spain restricted its operations, and so it attempted to increase its business in other directions. It entered into competition with the Bank of England for control of the financial affairs of the government. In 1719 an act of Parliament committed to its care, upon payment of a large sum of money, the management of the national debt. The company then tried to persuade the holders of the government bonds to exchange their annuities for stock in the company. Enormous profits, so it was asserted, were certain to result from the commercial undertakings of the company, and all who held company stock would, of course, participate in the gains. Speculation was rife. France was delirious over John Law and his Mississippi Company. The infection spread to England. All sorts of rumors were afloat. Gibraltar and Minorca, it was confidentially whispered, were to be given to

South Sea
Bubble

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Spain and in return England was to receive certain gold mines in Peru that were to be immediately confided to the care of the South Sea Company. All classes of the people were carried away by the passion for speculation. Many other companies were started, some of them so foolish in purpose as to make their patronage by the public seem incredible. Country gentry sold the estates that had been in their families for generations to buy stocks. Clergymen, courtiers, merchants, artisans, farmers, widows, and others invested their earnings in shares, especially in those of the South Sea Company. Clerks sat in the streets with their tables to receive the names. The price of the shares of the favored company rose and rose, and yet there were thousands eager to buy them at the most exorbitant rates. "It is impossible to tell you," wrote a contemporary, "what rage prevails here for the South Sea subscription at any price." The stock finally sold at ten times its par value, and a dividend of sixty per cent was announced. The entire nation was intoxicated with dreams of fabulous fortune. Then the excitement began to die down. People began to doubt whether they would get such large returns for their money as they had expected. The stock suddenly lost more than half its inflated value; a panic set in; people rushed to sell at any price; the bubble had burst. The collapse of the fraudulent companies was inevitable, and that affected those of substantial character. There was a general ruin of such enterprises. Everywhere was sharp distress. But soon rage supplemented despair, and a loud cry went up for punishment of the guilty. Parliament investigated the affairs of the South Sea Company; fraud and corruption on a large scale were discovered; the members were disgraced, and their property was appropriated to the relief of the sufferers. This reckless speculation and its consequent losses turned public sentiment against the Tories, some of whom had helped to originate and had subsequently been closely identified with the South Sea Company, despite the fact that in the last few years of the affair several of the leading politicians involved were Whigs. The general situation suggested to the Whigs the advisability of composing their internal differences and reconstructing the ministry. It helped to put at the head of the new ministry the ablest financier of his time.

It was a difficult, if not a dangerous, situation in which Robert Walpole (1676-1745) found himself when he became the leading minister of the administration. True he was at the head of a unanimous Cabinet and a large majority in the Commons; but there was a widespread desire to restore the Stuarts. Defeat

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and Mate-
rialism the
Dominant
Forces of
Society
in the
Time of
Robert
Walpole

of the Pretender had not put an end to treasonable thought. And other jarring elements were active in each of the three Kingdoms. Yet for twenty years the new administration was unusually peaceful. There were some favoring circumstances. The attention of the nation was no longer directed so much to the doings of the government as in the stirring times now past. The struggle of the preceding century had left its mark in many ways upon the national life and character. The reaction against Puritanism had gone to an extreme. There was a great relaxation of morals. Men were more ready to condone shortcomings on the part of public officials. And new interests were successfully competing with those of a bygone day for the attention of the more thoughtful men and women. Politics, as a theme of conversation and controversy among the members of the educated class, had been largely supplanted by social and philosophical problems. The recent discoveries in science had quickened thought. Men were now engaged in submitting even the most fundamental of the commonly accepted doctrines to the test of reason. Such was the spirit of the time in which Walpole began his career as the chief director of governmental affairs. Yet if the mass of the nation was not conscious of political wants, it was keenly alive to its material interests. Manufacturers required regulations favorable to their industries, and merchants demanded protection for their interests. Even the voters welcomed election days for the sake of the guineas quietly put into their pockets, and members of Parliament were not loath to sell themselves. Votes, in and out of Parliament, became a marketable commodity. This widespread ignoble traffic was possible because the Commons was not really responsible to the electors. Its members were not popularly elected, nor was there any way of holding them to account. The votes of its members were not published, and their speeches were not printed. If there were any demand for such publicity it was not audible. People were busy with their own personal affairs. The great questions of religion and taxation, that had set the country on fire under the Stuarts, were now temporarily settled. To reawaken them in any shape would be dangerous. "Let sleeping dogs lie," said the new leader. So Englishmen concerned themselves with the new intellectual interests, or with business affairs. The tone of political life remained low. And in other aspects life was often coarse and cruel. Its spirit is revealed in the pictures of Hogarth, and it may be found in the pages of Fielding. Reason and materialism were dominant, and for the moment imagination and idealism were asleep.

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Feature of
Walpole's
Policy

The salient features of Walpole's policy were four in number. His first task was to keep the new dynasty on the throne. And with the fortunes of the reigning house were bound his own. He believed they would stand or fall together. This double duty may have appeared to him great enough to condone all delinquencies committed in its discharge. Political corruption increased. "All these men have their price," he said, in speaking of a group of members of the Commons. And he had no scruple about breaking his word, if by so doing he thought he could advance the cause to which he was committed. The great danger to the Hanoverian succession has not been generally realized by historians, and so the ability of Walpole in warding it off has seldom been fully appreciated.

Second
Feature of
Walpole's
Policy

Walpole endeavored, in the second place, to complete the foundations of government by the Commons and the Cabinet. It was plain that, under ordinary circumstances, there would always be different groups of men with different opinions upon political questions. For a quarter of a century after the revolution of 1688 the Crown had given its confidence simultaneously to men in different groups whenever it seemed to suit the public interest to do so. If a man were an expert financier it was not deemed expedient to exclude him from the Exchequer simply because he was a Whig; or if he were an accomplished diplomat it was not thought well to refrain from appointing him to the Foreign Office merely because he was a Tory. This was the open party system. The close party system, in which the ministry is selected exclusively from one party, was greatly furthered by Walpole, and, with the exception of some coalitions, it has continued to our own day. This he was able to do by securing an understanding with the first two rulers of the new dynasty that they were to manage the affairs of Hanover and leave England to be governed by the Whigs, and by securing and maintaining, despite his frequent unpopularity with the nation, a firm hold upon Parliament. He was an unrivaled manager of men and affairs. In his time Parliament became absolute; and in that body, by force of his personality and the exercise of an intelligence very practical in its character, he succeeded in transferring the supreme power from the Lords to the Commons. In the Commons leadership was concentrated in the Cabinet. And the leadership of the Cabinet was invested in a Prime Minister. George I could not speak English, and none of his ministers could speak German. So their conversation was carried on, painfully and unsatisfactorily, in Latin. The King soon ceased to attend Cabinet meetings, and so it became necessary that one of the ministers should preside

in his place, that there should be a Prime Minister. The title of "Prime Minister," however, was not commonly used until the next century; not until 1878 do we find the first formal mention of it in an official document. But for all practical purposes the position began with Walpole. In a fully developed system of parliamentary government there must be in the ministry one supreme will. If no such authority is entrusted to a member of the Cabinet, if there is only a government by departments, the supreme power will inevitably be retained by the sovereign. We shall see that under George III this is what actually happened. The Prime Minister is the medium of intercourse between the Cabinet and the Crown. He has to be well informed upon all important matters that take place in the different departments so as to exercise a controlling influence in the Cabinet. This fundamental idea of Cabinet government was, in general, only imperfectly understood at this time and for many years to come. To many it seemed that the confessed absolutism of the sovereign had been removed only to be replaced by the disguised absolutism of the Prime Minister, and that the new despotism, precisely because it masqueraded in the garb of liberty, was in reality more dangerous than the one it had supplanted. Cabinet government, like so many other things in English political life, was a gradual growth; and in the course of its development there were, unavoidably, many misunderstandings. Only with its establishment did constitutional parliamentary government acquire homogeneous leadership.

The third feature of Walpole's policy was his steady advance towards free trade. He reversed the traditional attitude towards imports. They were regarded now, not as intrusive foreign products, but as raw materials necessary for the support and development of English manufactures. So he brought about the removal of hindering duties; and he also secured the removal of export duties from many articles of home manufacture. He was the first minister for more than a century who had made a special study of finance and commerce. Lightness of taxation, stability of public credit, and equality of justice were the chief boons he labored to confer upon the nation in domestic affairs.

The fourth feature of Walpole's policy was his unwearied efforts to conserve peace by avoiding all continental entanglements, and only under great pressure was this feature abandoned. None knew better than he the wide extent of Jacobite sentiment, and the many connected interests, by which the new dynasty was threatened. For the sake of peace with France, the chief power from which the Stuarts and their supporters

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War with
Spain;
War
of the
Austrian
Succession;
and Death
of Walpole

had anything to hope, no sacrifice, moral or material, was too great for him to make.

The revival of Spanish power under Philip V (1700-1746), whose able advisers inaugurated a series of important financial and administrative reforms, and whose second wife, Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, was determined to obtain Italian dominions for her sons, alarmed many Englishmen. Then, too, the Spaniards desired a complete monopoly of commerce with their colonies, and resented the limited rights to trade with them given to England by the *Asiento*; while, on the other hand, the English were dissatisfied with their right to send one ship a year to Spanish America, and resorted to smuggling on a large scale. The search by Spaniards of English vessels, thought to be illegally engaged in trade with Spanish ports in America, was very irritating, and the demand for war became so strong and persistent that Walpole realized he must either acquiesce or resign. So in 1739 war was declared against Spain. The attack upon the hated Spaniards was so half-hearted as to give rise to vigorous denunciation. In the following year Charles VI (1711-1740) of Austria died, and immediately an attempt was begun to dismember the Empire. The struggle between England and Spain was gradually merged into a great war of the Austrian Succession. Even then England remained comparatively inactive, and so, because the people wished to strike a decisive blow at their commercial rival, the opposition grew in strength. The gathering clouds loomed ominously on the horizon, and at last, in 1742, Walpole was forced to resign. Three years later the famous minister, broken in health and spirit, died. Walpole was a bold and self-confident man. He was never over scrupulous. He had no reverence for the past, and no eager anticipation for the future; he was animated by no exalted motive, and he had a low opinion of mankind in general. Yet he strove to carry out the principal features of his policy with great tenacity of will and unusual ability, and it is not too much to say that, had he done nothing more than lay the foundations of Cabinet government, his career would still be "one of the capital facts of English history."

The
Cabinet,
not the
Crown,
Chooses
the Prime
Minister

The indifference of the people to all but the more important political questions, their immersion in business affairs, the willingness of George II (1727-1760) to let Walpole have his own way, and the consummate management of the great minister, had thrown power into the hands of the large landholders, nearly all of whom were Whigs. But dissenting voices had been raised and the party had begun to lose cohesion. An opposition, made

up of Tories, discontented Whigs, discarded minor officials who were eager to regain their lost salaries, and inexperienced purists who thought that all corruption would cease with the downfall of Walpole, had gradually been formed. For a time a composite ministry, made up partly of the fallen leader's colleagues and partly of his opponents, managed the affairs of government. When the next occasion offered, the King desired to appoint as leading minister a statesman who was personally congenial to him, and whose views as to foreign policy coincided with his own, but by his acceptance of Henry Pelham (1696-1754) as chief minister he tacitly acknowledged that the function of choosing the Cabinet and directing its policy had slipped from royal hands. Pelham, an able financier and a disciple of Walpole, who became Prime Minister in 1744, united his party once more, and, as far as possible, carried out the policies of his master.

One of the chief features of Pelham's administration was the adoption of the reformed calendar. Up to this time the Julian calendar, established by Julius Cæsar and subsequently amended, had been in use. Each Julian year was nearly six hours too short, but the added day of every leap year made the quadrennium too long by forty-four minutes and fifty-six seconds. This error amounted to a day in every one hundred and twenty-eight years. In 1582 a reformed calendar, devised by a number of Italian scholars, had been proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII, one that is not quite perfect inasmuch as it exceeds the true solar year by twenty-six seconds, but yet far preferable to that which it was intended to displace. There was by this time a difference of eleven days between the old and the new calendars; and, because they believed they were about to be defrauded of time or pay, many people who did not understand the proposed change objected to it. But in 1751, despite riotous opposition, the "new style" of reckoning the flight of time was legalized by act of Parliament.

Adoption
of Our
Present
Calendar

The principle of responsible government had taken root under the first two Hanoverians to a degree unthinkable under the Stuarts. Yet sentiment in favor of the displaced dynasty still lingered in every part of the islands, and especially did it smolder deep in the hearts of the Highlanders. The melancholy and incompetent Prince who had invaded Scotland a generation ago was now an old man, but in 1745 his son Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788) landed on the rocky coast of Inverness-shire with only seven companions and called upon the clans to flock to his banner. He was far more attractive than his father, and certainly more engaging than the boorish Hanoverians. The star

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on his breast, the keen glance of his eye, the winning smile, the beautiful golden hair, the fair face and the lofty forehead all combined to produce the thrilling talismanic influence of his appearance, and his graceful manner and unfailing good humor retained to the last the affection of his followers. It was a rash enterprise, but the enthusiasm of the mountaineers was stirred. Prince Charlie marched into Edinburgh, and from the market-cross he proclaimed his father as King. A victory over the government forces at Preston Pans made him virtually the military master of all Scotland; and for two months, winning new adherents by the charm of his personal appearance and the gallantry of his bearing, he held his court at Holyrood Palace. Yet many held aloof. In order to conciliate the Calvinist clergy he had announced on the day of his arrival in the northern capital that under his government every one should be free to profess the creed of his choice. But most of the Lowlanders continued to regard him as a Pretender who clung to a faith they had discarded long ago, and they looked askance at his supporters as no more than a rabble of plundering Highlanders. And the further one looked down the road the greater were the difficulties seen to be. Not only Scotland but England had to be secured if the daring enterprise was to succeed. Great preparations were being made in the south to defeat the uprising. So the still bolder plan was adopted of invading the southern kingdom. On through Cumberland and Lancashire the motley forces marched. But greatly to the Prince's disappointment few new adherents increased his ranks. The Jacobites of England, when put to the test, remained apathetic, or else they deemed discretion the better part of valor. At Derby it was decided, against the protest of the unhappy Prince, who wished to make a dash to London, to retreat. From that moment the prestige of success was gone, and the extinction of the rebellion was delayed only by the inexplicable incompetency of the government. A few minor successes were gained by the rebels on their way back to the Highlands, but on April 16, 1746, they were decisively defeated in the battle of Culloden Moor. Charles did not leave the field until all was lost. Then he hurried away to the western coast and the western isles. The bravery that had induced a few thousand mountaineers to follow him into the heart of England was matched by the true-hearted devotion that sheltered him in their lonely glens. Though a heavy price was set upon his head, and at times there were a hundred poor men who knew of his hiding-place, he was not betrayed. One of his faithful followers escaped to France and represented to Louis XV the pitiful plight of his master. Two

armed vessels were sent to the Hebrides, and the luckless Prince, squalid, emaciated, in rags, after five months of hardships, was discovered in the heart of Lochaber. Thus did the ill-starred expedition come to an end. Charles Edward, unlike his father, failed to meet disaster manfully. Very soon after his return to the continent he began to lead a life of debauchery, and eventually he lost all the gracious and noble traits that in his youth had endeared him to thousands.

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With the failure of this last attempt to "break the union" the history of Scotland is merged into that of Great Britain. The anarchy of the northern mountains that had made possible the revolt gradually disappeared. The clans were disarmed, many of them emigrated voluntarily, and later on others were forced to leave in order to make possible the enclosure of sheep farms and deer forests. In order to break the ties that bound the clansmen to their chieftains, hereditary jurisdictions were abolished and the claims of feudal superiors to military service were denied. Thus new social and economic conditions were established. The chieftains became landlords like those in the southern counties, and the clansmen became crofters, paying high rents for their little farms. Schools were opened, principally to spread the use of English; and gradually many of the characteristic features of Gaelic life disappeared. The men of letters abandoned their native tongue. Even Robert Burns, who summed up the popular past of Scotland in his vernacular poetry, as a rule wrote his letters in English.

Social
Changes in
Scotland

The progress of science, and the new philosophies based upon that science, were antagonistic to the theological creeds of all the leading churches. Thoughtful men grew skeptical of all the time-honored creeds. In politics, law, and theology an increasing number of thinkers discarded the claims of external authority and became satisfied to have their thoughts and deeds guided only by the light of reason. The rationalism of the time was varied in its aspects, but in every one of its phases there was a distinct repudiation of the belief in the complete depravity of man (consequent upon the original sin of our first parents) and his utter helplessness to save himself by his own effort. In place of these beliefs there was substituted the conception of man as a free and intelligent being, responsible for his own spiritual progress, and able, under favorable circumstances, to achieve that progress. Supernaturalism began to pale in the light of rationalism; natural law, all-pervading, unbroken and unbreakable, was gradually substituted for the miracles that had impressed men in a more credulous age.

Disappearance of
Theological
Dogmas
in the
Presence
of Rationalism

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ism in the
Realm of
Religion

An early and limited school of rationalistic thought is seen in Unitarianism. With the spread of free thought and scientific knowledge, the number of these thinkers increased. Eventually they formed a distinct denomination. In 1689 they were expressly excluded from the benefits of the Toleration Act. But belief in the single personality of the Deity is not incompatible with supernaturalism. It does not, necessarily, in itself, take one very far along the road of reason. Not to it, therefore, was due the spread of a consistent and inclusive rationalism, but rather to the increasingly scientific spirit of the age. Francis Bacon had given a great impetus to the rationalistic spirit; Lord Herbert of Cherbury had encouraged thinkers with his negative attitude towards orthodox doctrines; Hobbes had carried on the work with an uncompromising iconoclasm; and Locke had helped to spread skepticism. All through the seventeenth century an increasing number of thinkers discarded external authority and permitted themselves to be guided in politics, law, and religion only by the light of reason. And now that the fierce contentions of the Civil War had died down, and the form of government had become acceptable to the majority of the people who concerned themselves with such matters, men turned their attention more than ever before to theory and speculation. The desire to know began gradually to supplant the willingness to believe; and the freedom of the press and the slowly broadening spirit of tolerance gave publicity to the new thought. It was an age of reason; and inevitably there was great literary activity on the part of the rationalists and also on the part of their opponents.

Rational-
ists as
Historical
Critics

The work begun by the early rationalists was continued by Charles Blount (1654-1693), who, with the method of historico-criticism, began a systematic study of the *Bible*. He pointed out, among other things, its inconsistency with the theory of the universe unfolded by Copernicus; and called attention to the pronounced tendency of men, especially long after the event, to discover miracles attendant upon the death of their heroes. In the first two centuries of our era there were many Christian writings. Gradually these were sifted. Some were rejected, and others were incorporated into an authoritative collection. That collection we now call the *New Testament*. If the theory of divine inspiration of these writings is to be maintained it is obvious that divine guidance in the selection of the books that were retained, as well as the divine inspiration of the writing of them, must be established. To this problem Junius Toland (1670-1722) addressed himself; and, though he contributed little to its solution, he succeeded in calling attention to its importance.

Matthew Tindal (1657-1733) endeavored to strip Christianity of its non-religious elements, and also those that he believed to be immoral and undesirable, and to show that in its essence it is independent of revelation and identical with natural religion. Another pioneer of modern historical science as applied to the study of biblical writings was Thomas Morgan (?-1743), who criticized with great freedom the moral character of many of the persons and events of the *Scriptures* and who advanced a plausible theory of the development of the medieval Church. Finally, in the writings of Anthony Collins (1676-1729) the conclusions of previous free-thinkers were gathered together and reinforced. Free-thinking is a right that should not be restricted, he declared, for it is the only means by which truth can be learned. All these rationalists were agreed as to the denial of supernatural revelation, but they differed widely from each other on minor points. We must not think of them, therefore, as a party. They were not writers of great ability, and their scholarship was not very wide or accurate; but they were bold thinkers, who will retain in the history of their nation an honorable place as a body of daring and well-intentioned pioneers. They always emphasized the helpful social life of Jesus, rather than the creeds of subsequent theologians. Such a life, they said, is the essence of religion; and religion, when it is so understood, is reconciled with reason.

Rationalism was sufficient to nourish the spiritual life of men who were prepared, by temperament or training, to stand upon their own feet, to look at the world with their own eyes; but it could not suffice at this time for the religious life of the mass of the people, unread, and unable to rise from the concrete to the abstract. Something warmer and more intense, something nearer to their own experiences and capacities, was demanded by most of the people. This they did not find in the Church of England. Rationalism outside that Church was matched by a cool common sense within. Within the Established Church a certain degree of personal preference in matters of discipline and faith was permitted, and stress was laid upon ethics rather than upon creeds and worship. This latitudinarianism was something that could not satisfy the religious cravings of those whose minds had not been quickened, disciplined, and enlarged by the accumulating culture of the time. Against this wave of rationalism there were, naturally, several reactions. One such reflexive movement is seen in the Neo-Platonism of a remarkable group of philosophico-religious thinkers at Cambridge. But a more thorough opponent of contemporary rationalism was William Law (1686-1761), who,

Reaction
Against
Rational-
ism

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Wesley
as the
Inagura-
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Emotional
Reaction
Against
Rational-
ism

standing more or less by himself, advocated a somewhat liberal form of Christianity. His pamphlets greatly influenced the leaders of the Evangelical Revival, from whom, however, he soon became separated by his inclination towards mysticism.

This early rationalism took no account of the emotions. The reactions against it we have just noticed were confined to a comparatively small number of the educated class. There was a far wider opposition. The great majority of men are governed by their emotions, rather than by their intellect. There was, therefore, bound to be a sweeping reflexive movement against the rigorous criticism of theological creeds, against the dry intellectualism of the time, one that should enlist the sympathy of a large number of people. Such a movement was begun by John Wesley (1703-1791), who may be said to have been the greatest spiritual force of the century in England. There was a great dearth of spiritual life at this time. The governing classes were feeble and corrupt, and many of the working people were sunk in the lowest vice without restraint or reproof. Wesley, whose followers became known as Methodists, was primarily and essentially a preacher of righteousness to individuals, and his reformation was above all else a working class movement. Methodism became the religion of the neglected poor.

Wesley's
Thought

"The distinguishing marks of a Methodist," said Wesley, "are not his opinions of any sort." Yet we should err if we paid no attention to the thought of this first Methodist. Born in a country rectory, he was educated at Oxford, and entered the ministry of the Established Church. He was deeply impressed with the books of William Law. In 1738, while listening to a reading of Luther's *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*, he was profoundly affected by the assertion that faith in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus is in itself sufficient for salvation. This meant a lessening of the importance of the church, and an increase of the importance of the personal religious experience of the individual. It led to the rehabilitation of such doctrines as the fall of man, and the vicarious atonement, that were denied by the rationalists. These doctrines were preached with renewed fervor. "The fall of man is the very foundation of revealed religion," said Wesley; "if this be taken away the Christian system is subverted, nor will it deserve so honorable a name as that of a cunningly devised fable." Here one may see the fundamental contrast between the Evangelicals, as they and other similar groups came to be called because of the claim that their characteristic doctrines are based upon the Evangelists or Gospels of the *Bible*, and the Rationalists. The former insisted upon the necessity of supernatural redemption;

the latter argued that man can direct his own spiritual life aright.

Wesley insisted upon the need of faith in the sacrifice on the Cross. But he did not neglect good works. The terrible conditions of the jails, the severity of the judges, and the brutality of the criminal code, had filled him with horror, and even before he began his remarkable career as a missionary to humanity he had done something to make life better amid the reeking squalor of the prisons. He insisted, more and more, upon the responsibility of men for the welfare of their fellow-men. He made love of others and practical devotion to their social betterment an indispensable part of the religious life. Never since the bare-footed friars had first tramped the roads had religion been made so practical by an itinerant preacher. And so, inspired by his teaching and example, the Evangelicals, with great effectiveness, gave themselves to the work of humanitarianism on a large scale. In this new enthusiasm for humanity, at least, they were at one with the spirit of the time.

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Wesley
as a
Modern
Humanitarian

At first Wesley preached in the pulpits of the Established Church whenever he was permitted to do so by the clergy. He was not a schismatic, nor, even in the doctrinal sense, a dissenter. He desired to remain in the Church of his fathers and to fill it with a new spiritual earnestness and increase its practical efficiency. But the intolerance of the clergy, and still more the apparent needs of men, drove him into the open air. Then he began that remarkable career of evangelism which continued for half a century and transformed the religious life of the nation. Again and again he visited the remotest districts, the bleak moors, the upland valleys, the rocky peninsulas, where even today few visitors venture, meeting the farm laborers and the coal miners face to face in all their ignorance and all their violence. His life was full of physical as well as spiritual adventure, and in it is summed up, in both a negative and a positive way, the life of the age in which he lived.

Wesley
as a
Revivalist

Gradually the followers of the great preacher were organized into a separate and well-governed community, which, as time went on, came to be a distinct dissenting Church. The other dissenting bodies were also affected by the Evangelical Movement; and so, too, was the Anglican Church. The members of all these Churches felt a stronger sense of personal religion and were impelled to greater humanitarian efforts. The movement, therefore, was far wider than Methodism. Of this growing sympathy for human suffering, and of the gathering indignation against oppression and injustice, we shall have to speak later on. It meant much for the future that rationalists and emotionalists alike were fired with

Place
of the
Methodist
Revival
in the
History
of the
Time

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a new enthusiasm for humanity. The Evangelical Movement imparted new vigor to some of the medieval features of religion that rationalism had tried to relegate to oblivion. In all except its philanthropic work its face was set towards the past rather than towards the future. It lacked sympathy with the expanding science of the time, and with other forms of secular culture; but it made a vigorous and not unjustified protest against a narrow intellectualism, and brought the feelings once more into repute. It was part of a great revival springing from the life of the people, a wave of emotion sweeping up from the hearts of the poor and neglected, that was destined to have a lasting effect and to be immortalized in the matchless literature of the land.

A New
Spirit in
Politics
Under the
Great
Commoner

Pelham tried, as far as possible, to carry out the policies of Walpole. In turn he was succeeded by the Duke of Newcastle, who also continued the same general ideas and employed the same means. But now it was no longer possible to ignore the many new problems that were arising on every hand. A change was making itself felt in politics. Members of Parliament were becoming dissatisfied with the constant corruption, and voters were beginning to become disgusted with the open and unabashed bribery. The leader in this new political life was William Pitt (1708-1778), afterwards Earl of Chatham, a member of a group of Whigs that had been formed in opposition to the dictatorship of Walpole. He was an effective speaker, brave and daring, and, stimulating their love of national greatness and their growing desire for a loftier type of national administration, he appealed so successfully to the people that he became known as the Great Commoner.

Struggles
With
France
and Spain
for Com-
merce and
Colonies

Neither English nor Spaniards, it will be remembered, were satisfied with the Asiento. The war that rose out of this compact dragged on in a desultory manner until it was merged into the War of the Austrian Succession. This second war raged on the continent from 1740 to 1748; and, because of the continental possessions of its King, England sent large subsidies to Maria Theresa, who was resisting the attempt to dismember the great Empire she had inherited from her father. This struggle about the Imperial succession soon gave rise to a contest between England, on the one hand, and France and Spain, on the other. It was a contest for commercial and colonial supremacy. England defeated two French fleets, captured a large number of merchant vessels, and conquered Cape Breton in America. Fighting between the two powers also took place in India. At last, in 1748, a general peace, in which it was agreed to restore things as far

as possible to the condition in which they were at the outbreak of hostilities, was signed at Aix la Chapelle.

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Coloniza-
tion in
North
America

These struggles for commerce and colonies make it desirable for us at this time briefly to recount the expansion of English trade and territories beyond the seas. Ever since 1607, when their first permanent settlement was made at Jamestown, the exploring and colonizing activity of Englishmen had gone on apace. Gradually the fringe of settlements was extended along the eastern coast of the distant continent until all but the southernmost of the thirteen colonies were established and the foundations laid of a new nation across the seas. In 1713 Nova Scotia, or, as the French called it, Acadia, was ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht. Frequent quarrels concerning the boundaries of the province broke out between the French settlers in Canada and the Nova Scotians, and the latter, because of their small number, were in grave danger. The close of the War of the Austrian Succession left large numbers of soldiers and sailors out of employment. These men were encouraged to go out to the new colony as settlers by the offer of free transportation, free land, and financial support for a year. Some four thousand men accepted the offer, and as a result of this first colonizing enterprise carried out with the direct aid of the government the northern settlement became a flourishing and prosperous colony.

Founding
of Georgia

There still remained a wilderness between South Carolina and Florida, in which traders and soldiers of England, France, and Spain were competing for trade with the Indians and for final political possession. To this unsettled territory the attention of James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785) was directed. He was a member of the Commons who had served with distinction in recent wars on the continent, who had become desirous of improving the condition of the unfortunate but not undeserving men confined for debt in London prisons, and who wished also to help the oppressed Protestants in the German principalities that bordered on the Rhine. There were others, at home and in the colonies, who were thinking of a barrier colony. The two motives of forming a barrier against attack from the south and a refuge for the unfortunate are explicitly stated in the charter which, in 1732, was granted to Georgia. It was the last English colony to be established in the territory of what is now the United States. Parliament gave £10,000 to aid the enterprise; and the first settlement was made at Savannah under the personal supervision of Oglethorpe. The early colonists were Lutherans from the Archbishopric of Salzburg, Waldenses from the high valleys of Piedmont, Scottish Highlanders, who took an important

**CHAP.
XIX****New-
foundland**

part in the defense of the frontier, Swiss Mennonites, Portuguese Jews, and Englishmen of various religious sects. Twenty years later the main tide of immigration set in from Virginia and the Carolinas.

Quite apart from these colonies on the mainland was that of Newfoundland. Geographically it was more closely related to the French colonies in the region of the St. Lawrence than to those of Great Britain. From time to time since its first visitation by Englishmen small isolated settlements were made, and the first attempt to put the island under a single administration was made in 1653 by the Long Parliament. In the reign of Charles II the French were permitted to gain a foothold in the island, but their possession was always precarious, and the English claim to the entire island was formally confirmed by the Treaty of Utrecht. The chief importance of the island in the early days of expansion lay in the fisheries. It proved an admirable training ground for seamen, one sufficiently near the home land to make the men available in times of emergency. The few settlers were discouraged from doing much fishing. The bulk of the catch was made by English west-country mariners, who sold their fish in the Mediterranean and then with the proceeds returned to England. In 1720 the first governor was sent out from the mother country, but not until the nineteenth century was well under way did the island have its own legislature.

**Struggles
for Com-
mercial
Advan-
tages
in the
Malayan
Arch-
ipelago**

From the Occident we must now turn our attention to the Orient. All through the sixteenth century the Portuguese had enjoyed a monopoly of the trade between Europe and India, and they had disputed with the Mohammedans the supremacy of the Oriental seas. But Portugal was too small a country to be able to support for a long time so great a strain. The drain of men required for carrying on her conquests and conducting her commerce told upon her vitality, and so she gradually gave way to the Dutch and the English. Something of the rivalry of these two newcomers into the Orient we have already seen. All during the seventeenth century the greatest maritime power in the world was the Dutch. The decline of their great colonial empire was due to their selfish and short-sighted commercial policy that offended both natives and Europeans. They endeavored to secure and retain a monopoly of the trade in spices, and in order to accomplish this they refrained from no act of cruelty towards both easterners and Europeans. The East India Company, whose early story we have already told, was determined to expand its operations. Struggles, first with the waning power of Portugal and then with the growing power of the Dutch, were inevitable.



Eventually the English abandoned the effort to plant themselves in the Malay Archipelago. Their stubborn rivals were too strongly entrenched there. They turned their attention to the mainland. In 1640 they built Fort St. George and founded the province of Madras, thus securing, apart from the plots on which their factories, or trading posts, were built, their first grant of land in India. The East India Company was now no longer a simple trading organization. It had secured the right to acquire territory, coin money, command troops, construct forts, form alliances, make war and peace, and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. Other settlements were made from time to time, including Bombay, which was of great importance for strategic as well as commercial purposes.

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The
British as
Traders in
India

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the great Empire of the eastern peninsula was fast breaking up, anarchy frequently prevailed, the British were often compelled to resort to arms in their own defense, and so, after defeating first one assailant and then another, they eventually found themselves as rulers in place of the Moguls. The wars of religion in France, lasting from 1562 to 1598, had diverted the attention of that country from the affairs of trans-oceanic commerce and colonies. But in the second half of the seventeenth century she had succeeded in creating several new dependencies beyond the western seas, in extending the territory of those she had previously possessed, and in instituting permanent commercial relations with India. In 1667 a French expedition reached the eastern peninsula, and the first factory of that nation was established at Surah. Not much progress in the acquisition of territory was made until, in 1741, Joseph-François Dupleix (1679-1763), a man of unusual business ability, a great organizer, who understood the Oriental temperament, and who dreamed of a great empire in the East, became governor of all his country's possessions in the peninsula, of which the capital was Pondicherry. The decline of the central power in the great peninsula permitted courtiers, generals, and chieftains to carve kingdoms for themselves out of the disintegrating Empire. In such a condition of affairs as this, and with war going on between the two countries in Europe, it was inevitable that France and England should come to blows in India. This they had done in the struggle concerning the Austrian Succession; but, as we have seen, all things were restored as near as possible to the condition in which they had been at the outbreak of that destructive and useless war. This first conflict between the two powers in the Orient was merely the prelude to a far greater struggle. In a few years they were again at war in that far-off land. In bold-

Rivalry
of the
British
and
French
in India

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ness of conception and in knowledge of oriental diplomacy, no western leader was able to rival Dupleix; but in military matters he met his master in Robert Clive (1725-1774), the first of those soldier-politicians who conquered and consolidated the Empire of British India. Both leaders formed alliances with native princes and added native soldiers to their armies. The defense of Arcot gave Clive a European reputation and, together with other brilliant exploits, earned for him from the natives the name of "the daring in war." His most important victory was that of Plassey, in 1757, for it is with this battle that we may date the beginning of British imperial power in the East.

Rivalry
of the
British
and
French
in North
America

Ever since Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1535 fellow-countrymen of his had gone there for the fisheries and fur trade, but it was not until 1604 that the first permanent French colony was founded in North America. Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) had a share in establishing Port Royal, which is now Annapolis in Nova Scotia, and four years later he began the settlement that was named Quebec. Richelieu granted a monopoly of trade in the entire valley of the St. Lawrence to the Company of New France; but the company did little to promote colonization, and even its commercial activity was more or less desultory. In 1663, therefore, its charter was revoked and from that time forward New France was a royal province with a government similar to the provinces of the mother country. It was a time of missionary activity in France, and of the several religious orders trying to win converts to the ancestral Church the most zealous were the Jesuits. The story of their daring adventures in North America and of the tragic fate of many of them, is enthralling. After the middle of the seventeenth century explorers penetrated beyond the Great Lakes into the upper valley of the Mississippi, and in 1682 Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle (1643-1687), accomplished the perilous feat of descending the river to the sea. All the vast basin drained by the great water-way and its tributaries he claimed for his King and gave to it the name of Louisiana. Then the plan for an empire in the new world began to take shape, and on the horizon there loomed a struggle with the ancient rival for possession of the continent. A ruthless border warfare was carried on in which Indians were employed by both sides, and many terrible deeds perpetrated. Something of the preliminary skirmishes we have already seen. With sure instinct France, in order to secure the interior of the continent, began to establish forts at all the principal strategic points between Quebec and the city she founded at the mouth of the great river and called New Orleans. It was a far-reaching and daring plan, and

it failed chiefly because of the incompetency of Louis XV and the disinclination of the French to emigrate as colonists to the western wilderness. The English colonies became increasingly restive with the enemy thus constantly strengthening his position in their rear. And so when, in 1756, war broke out once more between the two countries in Europe it was quickly realized that the time had come for the final struggle for possession of North America. General James Wolfe (1727-1759) won a great victory before Quebec, which resulted in the surrender of that town; and a year later, at Montreal, the entire French army laid down its arms. When the war was concluded the British found themselves in possession of all New France.

Let us now retrace our steps in order to see something of the Seven Years' War. That struggle, which began in 1756, and which raged in three continents, had a two-fold origin. It was caused by the desire of the Empress of Austria to recover from Prussia the lost province of Silesia, and by the commercial and colonial rivalries of France and Great Britain. Maria Theresa did not rest content with the loss of prestige and territory resulting from the War of the Austrian Succession. After effecting internal reforms in her Empire she proceeded to form a league against her enemy, the ambitious and unscrupulous Frederick the Great of Prussia. She secured the assistance of France, Russia, and some of the Germanic principalities, and then fell upon Frederick's upstart kingdom. England, because Frederick guaranteed the integrity of Hanover, and because she was already at war with France in Asia and America, lent her aid to Prussia. At first things did not go well for England. There were two years of mismanagement and failure. But when Pitt assumed direction of the war he infused much of his own energy and determination into his country's efforts on the neighboring continent without neglecting maritime interests and the colonial enterprises in Asia and America. In the battle of Quiberon Bay the French fleet was completely destroyed. When command of the sea was thus restored to England her ships were able to carry assistance to her struggling colonists in India and in New France. In 1760, in the midst of these great successes, George II died. Had he lived three years longer he would have seen the end of the war that compelled Austria finally to abandon her lost province, that saw the Hohenzollerns acknowledged as peers of the Hapsburgs, and that left England virtual mistress of the seas and the leading colonial power in the world. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, marks the end of the first chapter in the story of the growth of the imperial power of Great Britain.

England
Secures
Command
of the
Seas and
Becomes
the
Leading
Colonial
Power in
the World

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XIXThe
Thought
of George
Berkeley

In our study of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke we saw that the new philosophy regarded the material world as being the sole subject and source of our knowledge. Man has no innate knowledge. All his knowledge is acquired with the aid of his senses. His knowledge must always be very limited. He can know only little of the finite world, and nothing at all of the infinite world. He has reached the end of his tether. To go further is impossible. Philosophic thought, when it had arrived at these convictions, seemed to be making for skepticism and materialism. The warm impulses of a spontaneous personality, and a life of devotion to the welfare of his fellowmen, made it impossible for George Berkeley (1685-1753) to accept so forlorn and pathetic a conclusion. He asked a new question: Is not matter something that exists only in the mind? He answered the question by saying that matter, apart from mind, does not exist. Man's brain, enclosed in the dark chamber of the skull, has no first-hand information about the outside world. The only information it has is that brought to it by the senses. The only knowledge we have of trees and flowers and all the other things of the outside world are the ideas we have of them. Things exist only as ideas in the mind of man. These ideas are the sign and symbol of a divine and universal intelligence and will. The universe is not a mere mechanism moved by unconscious force. Its sights and sounds are not mere impressions coming to us out of inanimate matter. They are nothing less than the voice of God speaking to us through our various senses. The true task of science and philosophy is to interpret to us this divine language. All nature is the voice of Divinity speaking to the human soul. Only in the field of thought, however, did he uphold this theory. In everyday life he never denied the existence of matter independent of human ideas.

Daniel
Defoe

The forces of life were bringing into existence a new species of literature. The Age of Reason, in which the common was no longer regarded as commonplace, in which men were more than ever concerned with the daily lives of their fellow-men, was bound to react against ideal romance and to declare itself in favor of realism. So the modern novel, with its attempt to reproduce the actual conditions of ordinary life, came gradually into existence. A connecting link between the romance and the novel is found in the work of Daniel Defoe (1659?-1731), a writer with an unsurpassed gift of spinning yarns and making his readers believe every word he wrote. The story of his immortal *Robinson Crusoe* was based in part upon a book entitled *A New Voyage round the World*, by William Dampier, a buccaneer and explorer who several times visited the island of Juan Fernandez, and in part upon the

adventures of Alexander Selkirk, a sailor who for more than four years had been marooned on the same island and who told his story to Defoe. There is no psychological analysis, and no development of plot; but there is the seeming minute truthfulness to fact, the abundant photographic detail, and the powerful invention that made Defoe one of our most realistic writers. Who does not know this book that added an island to the world's geography, that has been translated into every language boasting a literature, and that for the first time told the story of a solitary man's triumph over the pitiless forces of nature? In *Captain Singleton* he told the story of a pirate of the genuine buccaneering school; in *Moll Flanders* we have the narrative of a social outcast; the hero of *Colonel Jack* is a youthful pickpocket whose exploits might well form a complete guide to the art of pilfering; and *Roxana* is the story of a high-flying adventuress. They are all told in a plain and straightforward manner, with frequent lapses into colloquial speech, with an abundance of irrelevant detail thrown in to produce the effect of a narrative told at first hand by one of the unlettered actors in the story. This power of producing illusion, of giving the appearance of authenticity to a fictitious narration, is seen at its best in *A Journal of the Plague Year*, full of the atmosphere and sentiment of the time, that reads so remarkably like a historical document of the time. Defoe destroyed the fantastic fabric of the old romance of chivalry, and gave a great impetus to realism; but he was unable by himself to begin the modern novel. He lacked all lofty sentiment. In all his writings we look in vain for ennobling emotion; and the true novel cannot thrive in soil barren of sentiment and character.

Quite different from the ardent pamphleteer and teller of rogue stories was Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), a quiet and comfortable printer, who after fifty years of uneventful domesticity revealed a literary gift entirely original. As a boy he had made small sums by writing love-letters for maid-servants and others who could not write for themselves, and through all the intervening years the society and confidence of women held for him an irresistible charm. The story of his *Pamela* is a simple one. It is the narrative of a girl pursued and wronged by her mistress's son, and who, by her sweet fortitude, turned the unscrupulous rake into an exemplary husband. The book was received with applause from all ranks of the people, and very soon made its way to the continent. Then came *Clarissa*. This, too, is the story of a girl who fell a victim to the wiles of a seducer, but who rejected all offers of atonement by marriage, and sank brokenhearted into an early grave. In this novel the fat and fussy tradesman, softly

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Henry
Fielding
as an
Inter-
preter of
Mankind

purring over the success of his first book, and surrounded by girls who frequented his garden like so many doves, evoked a tragic figure that might have stepped out of one of the dramas of Shakespeare. How he did it is one of the inexplicable things of genius. Richardson's novels are very long, fatiguing, and full of faults; they are given too much to preaching; their sentiment often weakens into sentimentality; but they have the essential gift of life.

Quite the antithesis of the gentle and prosperous tradesman with a delicate intuitive knowledge of women was Henry Fielding (1707-1754), vigorous and manly, sanguine and sympathetic, profuse and improvident, who, in his youth, as a struggling playwright afloat amid the dissipations of the town, "warmed both hands before the fire of life." English literature gained a great deal by the collision in character of these two men and their social and literary ideals. The novel of sentiment was supplemented by the novel of character. Fielding scorned the books of his rival with their feminine standards of propriety. Men and women, he well knew, are not single and simple in their makeup, but are compact of good and evil subtly intermingled. And he also knew that in the ordinary run of affairs virtue and vice are not unfailingly rewarded and punished, according to their deserts. None of his plays, written when he seldom had a shilling in his pocket, made more than a temporary success. It was only when his novel entitled *Joseph Andrews* appeared, with its crowd of vividly presented characters, a notable study of the manners of country life, and a successful parody of *Pamela*, that he came into his own. *Tom Jones*, the greatest of his novels, is one of the cornerstones of our prose fiction. In it we see a wide range of men and women living their ordinary lives. We penetrate to their secret motives, and share their hopes and fears. Far more than any other writer of the time, Fielding was a painter of essential humanity. True his genius was limited to the commonplace, and that in his reaction against moral affectation he failed to condemn the vices of his favorite characters; but he wrote of country life with knowledge and experience, his views of life are wholesome, his morality manly and genuine, and people were delighted with the change he wrought in literature. Rural England as it was before the Agricultural Revolution is truthfully portrayed in his novels.

In Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) English literature gained another great novelist. Gifted with a remarkable power of observing external characteristics, endowed with a broad and vigorous sense of humor, and interested chiefly in eccentricities, he

painted, more in the form of caricature than portraiture, many men who live in a rough and uncivilized world. His *Roderick Random* is made up very largely of the recollections of his own adventures. In it the seaman was virtually made known for the first time to the reading classes. In *Peregrine Pickle* the keen eye for external oddity is even more apparent, and there is a greater variety of episode and adventure. These stories are picaresque. Their characters sail in ships, or wander in the roads, or haunt the wayside inns, or skulk in the alleys of the city. Incidents are gathered as the stories go along. *Humphrey Clinker* was written while the author lay dying in Italy. It differs from its predecessors in that the old sardonic power is mellowed with a kindlier feeling, and that from time to time its pages gleam fitfully with the light of romance.

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The
Picaresque
Stories
and the
Travels of
Tobias
Smollett

Laurence Sterne (1713-1768) was the son of an army officer. After a vagrant childhood spent in following the drums of his father's regiment, haunting mess-rooms, listening to the stories of idle soldiers, he was sent to school and college, and then lived for more than twenty years the life of an obscure country clergyman. *Tristram Shandy*, the first of his two strange books, is not so much a novel as a hodge-podge of shrewd common sense, amusing nonsense sometimes bordering upon buffoonery, deplorable indecency, whimsical humor, and original and vivid delineation of character. It is written in prose that makes us believe we are listening to some gifted, careless speaker talking at his ease. It is the accumulation of the observant knowledge and the meditations of many years of a man soft and sensitive in his nature, quick to catch transient emotions, skilful in recording them, with a keen eye for the picturesque, a real understanding of men and women, a subtle sympathy with their weakness, a smile that is almost a caress, and a heart that would ameliorate the harsh conditions of life if it could. The *Sentimental Journey* was intended to be an extensive work, but at last, having long been weakened by consumption, the author died a lonely death in his lodgings in London. The book is the same bewildering farrago of incidents as its predecessor, and it has the same salaciousness and innuendo, the same mastery of significant gesture, the same sentimentality that was soon to be widely imitated, interspersed with graceful vignettes of southern scenes and manners.

The Social
Purpose
of the
Writings
of
Laurence
Sterne

In our study of the Methodist Movement we saw something of the reaction against the too exclusive rationalism of the age in the field of religion. There was bound to be a similar reaction in the prose and poetry of the time, for literature and life are always closely related. In the five great writers we have just

Beginning
of the
Romantic
Revival

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noticed we see the beginning of a turning away from the literary ideals of the age. This reaction is usually known as the Romantic Revival. In literature, as in life, men were beginning to be dissatisfied with the short flights of the reason and to trust themselves more completely to the wings of imagination. They were beginning to pass from the pitiless glare of the intellect into the mellow moonlight of the emotions. Sense was slowly giving way to sensibility. The narrow range of domestic and political affairs no longer satisfied the curiosity of the mind and the yearning of the heart. The external world of nature, the allurements of strange lands, the enchantment of medieval stories, mysterious longings, vague shudderings at unknown perils, the dimly apprehended things of the shadowy distance,—all these began to arouse and retain the interest of man. This is a vague description of romanticism, but then vagueness is of its essence, and we shall do better by attempting to convey its spirit than by trying to circumscribe it with definition.

Decline
of the
Urban and
Rational-
istic
Qualities
of Poetry
and Grad-
ual Return
to Nature

It was in poetry, not in prose, that this spirit of romanticism first made itself manifest. We detect it in the *Night Thoughts* of Edward Young (1683-1765), who if he did not actually invent "melancholy and moonlight" in literature at least did much to reveal their literary possibilities. The artificial treatment of nature and the rigid poetic diction, which for over a hundred years had dominated English poetry, was more effectively challenged by James Thomson (1700-1748), who deliberately laid aside the eternal rhyming couplets of the pseudo-classic writers and recalled both readers and writers to the far greater poetic power of blank verse. He rejected the ideal shepherds and shepherdesses, who for so long had trailed their silken gowns over shaven lawns, dismissed the figures of ancient mythology, and, in *The Seasons*, turned directly to nature and transferred what he learned from her to his pages with truth and simplicity. The sentiment of natural beauty was transmitted to William Collins (1721-1759), upon whose little volume of a dozen *Odes* rests a reputation slender but secure. All of them have classic severity and refinement together with lyrical power and occasional lofty poetic suggestion. His romanticism is revealed in his liking for the supernatural, and in his exquisite susceptibility to the mood of the twilight hour. His contemporaries were, for the most part, insensible to the beauty of these delicate and sculptural poems, whose music and melancholy remain unsurpassed in their cool and silvery quality.

Another poet in whose verse glimmers the romantic dawn is Thomas Gray (1716-1771), a recluse who was content to keep the "noiseless tenor of his way" along the "cool sequestered vale

of life." To the educated reader he is known as the author of four short poems, and to the public he is known only as the author of the *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*, surpassingly beautiful in thought and expression. There are in these few and fastidious verses many things characteristic of the age then passing away; but there are also many things characteristic of the age coming into existence. There is a real love of the hills and woods, a leaning to melancholy, and, still more important, because it is essentially modern, an awakening sympathy for the lowly and oppressed among men, a beginning of "the short and lowly annals of the poor." In this silent poet the eighteenth century lived and died.

A delight in primitive literature was another characteristic of the Romantic Revival. In 1760 James Macpherson (1736-1796), a Highland school teacher, published some *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* which he claimed to have translated from the Gaelic. Then he traveled in the mountains and islands of the north and west and obtained manuscripts which, with the aid of some friends, he put into English. In 1761 he announced the discovery of *Fingal*, an ancient epic by Ossian, a third century hero of Ireland. Two years later the complete works of "Ossian" were published. The authenticity of these alleged translations was at once challenged in England. The truth seems to be that Macpherson alighted upon fragments from different cycles of ancient poems, that either intentionally or unintentionally he confounded them, and that with the original matter he mixed much that was his own. The fact that the work is a mosaic of modern and medieval verse should not blind us to its beauty. The poems were soon translated into many languages, and, with their melancholy tenderness, their glamour and gloom, their revelation of a rude and vigorous life amid the misty mountains of the north and the rain swept islands of the distant seas, they brought about, more than any other single book, the Romantic Revival in literature in its continental scope. On many a military expedition they were carried in the breast-pocket of Napoleon.

Less wide in their influence, but more important in their effect upon English literature, were the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, a collection of ballads that Thomas Percy (1729-1811) had discovered in a little town in Shropshire, to which others, found elsewhere, were added. For the first time a considerable number of the old ballads were made easily accessible to the general reader. Something of the ballads we have already seen. The ordinary ballad is just a story in verse. Usually it is a sad story, always it is old and strange, and many of them belong to that land

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The
Poetry of
Thomas
Gray
as an
Expression
of the
Spirit of
the Age

Growing
Delight in
Primitive
Liter-
ature; the
Poems of
"Ossian",

Ballads

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of raids and forays, the border between England and Scotland. The matter is the sort children like to listen to,—adventures in love and war, fairies and demons, peril, rescue, death.

About the dead hour o' the night
She heard the bridles ring.

Very often the verse is little more than the easy-going jingle that children can follow without difficulty. The vocabulary is limited, and the artistic resources are few. But always there is the appeal to the heart, and in some of them the lyrical element is poignant.

I wish I were where Helen lies!
Night and day on me she cries;
And I am weary of the skies,
For her sake that died for me.

These old narratives in rhyme, rescued from neglect in store-room and attic, were a refreshing contrast to the polished tameness of contemporary verse, to the chatter of coffee-house and boudoir.

Chatterton

A deep passion impelled Thomas Chatterton (1752-1770) to haunt the beautiful church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, spell his way through inscriptions on the tombs of knights, priests, and burghers, and pore over manuscripts taken from the muniment room. In this storehouse of romance the fatal course of the boy's life was determined. He devoured what chronicles and histories he could find in the local libraries, and in the lawyer's office where he was employed his imagination winged its way back to the time of

pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With mask and antique pageantry;
Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eves by haunted stream.

In 1765 he began to write the poems he palmed off as the compositions of "Thomas Rowley," a reputed local priest of the fifteenth century. He had doubtless found manuscripts suitable to his design, documents that were to him what old chronicles and romances had been to Shakespeare. This child in his early teens was in reality the clumsiest of literary forgers. It would have been strange had it been otherwise. Only the general ignorance of early English that then prevailed, and the eagerness with which the literature of primitive life was then being read, made deception possible. Filled with hope of literary fame the precocious boy went to London, and there, when failure and starvation stared him in the face, took poison and died.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Prime Minister</i>
1721-1742.....	Whig.....	Sir Robert Walpole.
1742-1743.....	Whigs and Tories.....	Lord Wilmington.
1743-1754.....	Whig.....	Henry Pelham.
1754-1756.....	Whig.....	Duke of Newcastle (1).
1756-1757.....	Pitt's Coalition.....	Duke of Devonshire.
1757-1762.....	Whig.....	Duke of Newcastle (2).
1762-1763.....	Coalition.....	Earl of Bute.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the general history of the period see: C. G. Robertson's *England under the Hanoverians*, which devotes much space to military matters and foreign affairs, but which has good pages on Wesley and an admirable chapter on the Industrial Revolution. H. E. Bourne, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe*. Julian Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*.

To the primary sources should be added Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*.

Important biographies are: Clive Bigham's *The Prime Ministers of Britain*, a very interesting book that will be found useful from now on to the end of our story. Frederic Harrison, *William Pitt*. Thomas B. Macaulay's essays on *William Pitt* and *Warren Hastings*. John Morley's *Chatham*, and also his *Sir Robert Walpole*. Lord Rosebery's *Lord Chatham* is a sound and just estimate of a statesman long misunderstood; and A. von Ruville's *William Pitt* is the most complete biography of that statesman. B. Williams, *Life of William Pitt*.

Colonial history may be studied in: Gerald B. Hertz, *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century*. Alfred C. Lyall's *Rise of British Dominion in India*, one of the most interesting and reliable books on the subject. G. B. Malleson's *Dupleix and the Struggle for India*, and also the same author's *Lord Clive*. F. W. Pitman, *Development of the British West Indies*. Edward Channing, *History of the United States*.

For various aspects of the social condition of the time see: N. A. Brisco, *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole*. Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, and also his *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, two well-informed and deeply thoughtful books.

Religious questions are discussed in J. H. Overton's *The Evangelical Revival*, and Overton and Relton's *The English Church from the Accession of George I*.

CHAPTER XX

THE AMERICAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

(1763-1801)

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George III
and His
Determi-
nation to
Restore
the Power
of the
Crown

EVER since the Revolution of 1688 the royal power had grown less and less. In the reign of George III (1760-1820) it was largely to be restored. The new king constantly tried to govern as well as reign. The principle of royal impersonality had not yet been fully established; in no single law or legal commentary could one have found a hint of Cabinet government; and at the moment, owing to the selfish intrigues of politicians for public place, it seemed to be failing to keep its promises. The new ruler, who was only twenty-two years of age, soon began to display unusual skill in managing the Commons. The circumstances of the time helped him. Party lines had almost disappeared. No important political question divided the country. Commercial and colonial expansion had placed at his disposal a large amount of spoils, and the parliamentary system as it then existed lent itself readily to the distribution of spoils. Corruption was especially prevalent in the towns, known as boroughs in England and Wales and as burghs in Scotland, that sent representatives to Parliament. In some of the boroughs the voters were so few they could have been gathered in the tap-room of a tavern, and few of the boroughs were without a political boss. In these places money, offices, governmental contracts, shares in loans, and peerages were judiciously distributed. George III was well meaning, plain in his habits, faithful to his duties, courageous, and strong of will; but he was narrow-minded, his early education had been unfortunate, he had deep-rooted prejudices, and his outlook was limited. From his childhood he had been trained by his mother and his tutors to regard the breaking down of the power of the great families who were in control of the government, and the creation of a party of his own, as the supreme tasks of his career. The ministers were not to be members of a single party, acting upon a common policy. They were to be, instead, nominees of the Crown, and each was to be answerable not to his colleagues but to the sovereign. To the accomplishment of

these tasks the young ruler set himself with all the skill he possessed and all the unscrupulousness of which he was capable. Circumstances seemed to favor his purpose. At that time the Cabinet had by no means attained its subsequent coherence. Even Pitt, though he was far from regarding the Premiership as a mere conduit of the royal authority, showed he was no believer in a homogeneous administration by choosing his colleagues from various political factions.

George III began to reign before the end of the Seven Years' War. When, in 1759, Don Carlos of Naples became Charles III of Spain, a "family compact" was formed by which the Bourbon courts of France, Spain, and Italy were united against England. Pitt, under whom the recent great victories of the army and navy in three continents had been gained, wished immediately to fall upon Spain before she was ready to fight. To this the King objected, and he was supported by several members of the Cabinet. Pitt then resigned, and Lord Bute, a narrow-minded man, who had been one of the King's tutors, was placed at the head of the first of the weak coalition ministries by which, in the early years of his reign, George III sought to make himself the actual director of governmental affairs. The self-willed King, it should be noted, sought to rule by playing minister against minister, party against party, by destroying the homogeneous leadership of Parliament. He made no public claim to the daring theories of the Stuarts.

These maneuvers to restore the royal prerogative were bitterly denounced in the press. Among the most abusive of the denunciations were those written by John Wilkes, a member of the Commons, a clever and dissipated man of low political principles, who had gone into public life only to advance his own personal interests, and whom we may consider as the first English Radical. Wilkes's bold and reckless opposition to the men in power had won for himself the reputation of being a fearless friend of the people. An article of his in *The North Briton* gave such offense to the court that he was arrested on a charge of libel against the King. He pleaded his privilege as a member of Parliament and was set at liberty. But both Houses voted that such privilege does not extend to seditious libel, and the Commons ordered the obnoxious issue of the paper to be burned and expelled the scurrilous writer from the House. In the meantime Wilkes had fled to France, and there he remained more than four years. It is perhaps true that little sympathy was felt for him personally, except among the lower classes; but the opposition to him, together with the arbitrary dismissal of other persons from

Resignation of Pitt and Installation of a Coalition Ministry

Subserviency of the Cabinet and Corruption of the House of Commons

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office who had incurred the royal displeasure, was considered to be nothing less than an attempt to coerce the nation, and as such it was sharply resented. When he returned to England he was elected to the Commons, from the county of Middlesex, by an overwhelming majority; but again, at the instigation of the King, he was expelled. Four times in all he was elected from the metropolitan county to the Commons, and each time that body refused to accept him. The King was delighted at his apparent victory. He had gradually got together a set of ministers who were his willing instruments; and a majority of the Commons, through manipulation of elections and judicious use of patronage, was subservient to him. But all this was extremely odious to the nation, and public ill-feeling found expression in continued support of the profligate politician and in increasing demands for radical changes in the constitutional machinery.

Popular
Opposition
to the
Intrigues
of the
King

There were other attacks in the press upon the King and his ministers. Most famous of them is the series of letters, signed "Junius," that appeared at intervals, between 1768 and 1772, in a London newspaper. Much has been written about the authorship of these outpourings of personal vituperation, but though the evidence seems to point to Sir Philip Francis (1740-1818), a politician and pamphleteer, who was immediately acquainted with many of the leading officials of the time and who had acquired a slight measure of literary fame, the matter remains a mystery. The letters are written in clear and polished prose, but their aim is not high. They speak of political corruption, of the encroachment of autocracy upon popular rights, but beyond all question the chief desire of the anonymous author was merely to wound as deeply as he could the persons in high places who had incurred his enmity. They were frequently reprinted in newspapers and magazines, as well as in book form, and they greatly angered the King and his ministers. Suit for libel was brought against the editor of the paper in which they first appeared, but the jury declared that he was guilty of printing and publishing. Thus it was left to the public to infer that he was not guilty of libel. The readiness of the public to support such a man as Wilkes, and the unwillingness of a jury to punish the editor who had published the letters of bitter personal invective, reveal something of the extent and determination of the popular opposition to the corrupt Parliament, the arbitrary and intriguing King, and the system of government that made these things possible.

In 1770, after a number of changes, in the course of which

Pitt was temporarily restored to office and created Earl of Chatham, Lord North (1732-1792) became Prime Minister, and continued in that position for twelve of the most eventful years in English history. In this amiable and courtly nominee, the first Tory to be head of the Cabinet since the days of Anne, the King had at last found a minister after his own heart. He was intelligent, tactful, ready and skilful in debate, and sincerely devoted to his master; but he was indolent, and only too willing to permit his own convictions to be overridden by the imperious monarch. The opposition, which contained several men of eminent ability but which was made ineffective by its unfortunate divisions, realized the situation and demanded parliamentary reform. Alas! that was a thing not to be secured until two more generations had slipped away.

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 Lord
North
as Prime
Minister

Let us pause here to note the general characteristics of the Whigs and Tories at this time. At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century the great landowners and the middle class may be said to have been represented by the Whigs. That party was a coalition of various social elements. It included leading aristocrats and prosperous mercantilists, and it was especially strong in London and Scotland. It was the party of Low Church Anglicans, Presbyterians, and other non-conformists. Through the great landowners the Whigs had secured their hold upon the boroughs. They sought to check, and if possible to set aside, the power of the Crown. The Tories were opposed to the ministerial government of the Whigs. They knew it to be based upon parliamentary corruption. They regarded it as a new despotism. They came, therefore, to be in favor of a reform of the existing system. They accepted George III as a leader in the attack upon the power of the great families who were the chief strength of the Whigs. They contended that, if he were supported by a majority of the Commons, the King had the right to select his ministers and dictate their policy. The Whigs denied the right of the King to any such power, and they contended that the selection of the ministry should be in the hands of leading members of Parliament. In comparing these two views it should be remembered that political corruption was widespread at that time, that many "rotten boroughs" were controlled by the great landowners. It will then be seen that the contest was one between the corrupt influence of the Crown and the corrupt influence of the great landholders. The majority in each of these two parties was at this time inherently conservative. Yet, as between the two groups, democracy had more to hope for from the Whigs.

 Whigs
and
Tories

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XXThe
Radicals

At this point, too, we should note the rise of a new party that came to be known as the Radicals. At first the men who were most determined to effect political reform were too few and too uninfluential to constitute a separate political group. Only gradually were they able to form a new party. Their first efforts were to reform the House of Commons. Many of the Whigs and some of the Tories also desired to reform that body, but the two principles that the suffrage is a personal right and that a parliamentary representative is a mere spokesman of those who elected him were first put forward by the Radicals. The first leader of the men who advocated these principles was John Wilkes, who had been made something of a popular hero by his expulsion from the Commons; and another active worker was Charles James Fox. The Radicals never formed a distinct party in the Commons; and most of their agitation was carried on outside Parliament; but they exercised much influence upon the old parties and within the House of Commons. When at last, in 1832, the first Reform Bill was carried it was due to a coalition of Whigs and Radicals.

Relation
of the
Govern-
mental
Situation
to the
Revolt in
North
America

The Whigs were ousted from office when George III offered the Premiership to Lord North. Two distinct sets of opinions then began to appear within their ranks. The principal group, influenced by Edmund Burke, insisted upon practical reforms in the parliamentary system but were opposed to any extension of the suffrage. The other group, under the leadership of Chatham, desired to put Parliament upon a more popular basis by reforming the House of Commons. But, as we have said, parliamentary reform was still more than sixty years away. It was from this deplorable situation, the unrepresentative character of Parliament, the paramount influence of a narrow-minded and unscrupulous monarch, and the lack of united and effective opposition, that the troubles arose which culminated in the revolt of the colonies in North America.

National
Life and
Feeling in
America

Before we begin the story of the events that led to the separation of the colonies in North America from the mother country it is important that we should know the people with whom we have to do. At the end of the seventeenth century the only colony that contained a large element of its population drawn from the continent of Europe was New York. There the most numerous were the Dutch, but the colony also contained a considerable number of Frenchmen. New England was almost exclusively English. A good many Welsh and Catholic Irish were to be found in Pennsylvania and Maryland; and throughout the southern colonies were scattered many Irishmen and Scots-

men. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 sent many Huguenots to live in America, principally in New York, Virginia, and South Carolina. Yet until the second decade of the next century all these immigrations had not greatly modified the predominantly British character of the population in the colonies. In every colony except New York the majority of the people were British. From that time on, however, many Germans began to cross the Atlantic. Some of them went to North Carolina and the frontier regions of New York, but most of them settled in Pennsylvania. In the eighteenth century, then, the British character of the population in the colonies became distinctly colored by the immigration from continental Europe. And even the colonists of British descent were not left undifferentiated from the inhabitants of the mother country. Leagues of ocean lay between them and the home land, and the news about them that found its way back across the waste of waters was too slight to keep them among the ordinary interests of Englishmen. Different economic interests, and a subtle influence of soil and climate, gave them different ideas and a different point of view. Then, too, a greater degree of democracy and also of economic equality prevailed in the colonies than in Great Britain, and there was far less political corruption. In their town meetings, in their county administration, and in their provincial assemblies the colonists had received a long and effective training in self-government altogether unknown to the mass of Englishmen. Gradually and insensibly there came into being the nation of America.

Each of the thirteen colonies had a governor, who represented the Crown; a council that gave advice to the governor, assisted in legislation, and acted as a supreme court of law; and a lower legislative chamber, or assembly, made up of elected representatives. The governors and councilors were appointed and chosen in various ways; but all the assemblies were elected by the people under various restrictions of the franchise. In order to keep in touch with the home government each colony sent one or more agents, whose duties were somewhat similar to those of the consuls of foreign countries, to reside in London. Colonial administration in the mother country was primarily in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Southern Department. He was supposed to act upon the advice of the Board of Trade. This body, without advocating a selfishly narrow trade policy, believed the colonies and the mother country should be a commercial unit as independent as possible of all others. But the Commons frequently took the initiative in changing the laws of trade, and

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such action caused increasing irritation in America. Colonial administration across the ocean had grown up piecemeal and uncoordinated. Of all the elements directly engaged in colonial administration there was none that "could claim to be in the last resort a supreme authority with final power to resolve a disputed question. Such questions therefore dragged on for years until sheer weariness rather than established principles laid them to rest." One of the chief subjects of dispute was the vetoing of colonial legislation. In the eighteenth century the Crown sought to exercise in the colonies the right which had fallen into abeyance at home. Yet with the exception of their foreign trade the colonists were virtually free to manage their own affairs in their own way. Most of the acts of the colonial assemblies that were vetoed sought to impede or defeat the operation of the imperial laws of trade. What were those laws? In order to answer this question we must first of all describe the Mercantile System.

Limita-
tions
Upon the
Industry
and the
Commerce
of the
Colonies

The economic policy, known as the Mercantile System, of all the leading nations of the time made wealth and money identical. Every nation, therefore, tried to conduct its commerce with other nations so as to attract to itself as large a share as possible of the precious metals. Each country strove to export as much as possible of its raw materials or its manufactures and to import as little as possible of the products of other countries. Each tried to take in more money than it paid out. In order to bring this about, governments resorted to various expedients. Especially did they try to secure a monopoly of trade with their colonies. Colonies were regarded by every European country that possessed them as existing solely for the benefit of the mother country. They were forbidden to trade with other nations than the one to which they belonged, and each parent country strove to limit the economic activity of its colonies to raising raw material and to keep to itself the carrying on of manufactures. When the American colonists began to make woolen goods, wrought iron, steel, and other articles, laws were passed forbidding the exportation of these things to other countries, and, indeed, the shipping of them from one place to another within the colonies. This naturally discouraged manufacture, and the colonists were obliged to confine themselves more and more to agriculture. But even upon the selling of agricultural products limitations were placed by the several Navigation Acts passed in the preceding century. Sugar, tobacco, and other specified products could be exported only to the mother country and her other colonies; goods could be im-

ported from the continent of Europe, with a few exceptions, only after they had passed through an English port, or had paid heavy duties and received special permission; and all trading with English colonial ports was confined to English vessels and the vessels of English colonies. These acts were not as burdensome as one might suppose. They did not apply to fish, timber, fur, wheat, pork, beef, and many other articles produced and exported by the colonies. Then, too, they were not strictly enforced. Foreign vessels could not be excluded from colonial ports, and colonial vessels could not be kept from foreign ports, without a police service far more extensive and efficient than any then in existence. Illicit trade was especially invited by the nearness of the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies in the West Indies. Smuggling was a regular occupation, and a very profitable one, even of the leading business houses of the colonial ports.

Yet despite all mitigations this system which checked the industrial and commercial activity of a self-reliant people, slowly but surely increasing in numbers and wealth, for the financial profit of a country three thousand miles away, was bound sooner or later to end in revolution. Especially was this true when fear of the French in the neighboring province of Canada was removed, and when the colonies, hitherto at odds with each other, were united in a common cause. That unifying cause was found in an attempt to enforce more effectively the restrictions upon commerce and to tax the colonies for the support of the military forces of the Empire. Up to this time the colonies had been left largely to themselves, but now statesmen began to pay more attention to them. In the recent war with France the illicit trade of the colonies had furnished useful supplies to the enemy, and so writs of assistance were issued by the home government to the revenue officers in colonial ports by which the latter were authorized to search for dutiable articles in any place, without alleging specific information regarding them. Also revenue vessels were to be sent to patrol the American coast, and all offenders against the Navigation Acts were to be tried in the vice-admiralty courts. In all this there was nothing illegal, but there was much to offend the colonists and to make them increasingly impatient of control. It was also purposed to establish in America an army of about ten thousand men to protect the colonists from the Indians, and from France and Spain. To meet the expense incurred by these innovations taxes on colonial importations were increased and a stamp tax was to be levied. The latter required the use in the colonies of stamped paper,

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Proposed
Stricter
Control
of the
Colonies;
and New
Taxes to
Meet the
Cost
of That
Control

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which could be bought only from the government, for all legal documents. The measure extended to the colonies, in a modified form, duties which had long been levied in England. In all the thirteen colonies, but especially in New England, it raised a storm of indignation. Riots broke out in several places, and all the stamped paper, except that locked up in the city hall of New York, was destroyed. In 1765 delegates from nine of the colonies met in New York, in what is known as the Stamp Act Congress, and there issued a statement of their position. The depth of the fissure which had gradually opened between the two chief constituents of the Empire was now apparent.

Inexpedi-
ency
of the
Stamp Tax

That the new tax was justifiable in its purpose, equitable in its distribution, and in itself reasonable, few perhaps will now deny. Yet equally certain is the fact that its imposition was highly inexpedient. The point of view and the sentiment of the colonists should have been ascertained and considered. The Americans distinguished between external taxation, levied for the purpose of regulating commerce, and internal taxation, imposed for the purpose of raising revenue. The right of the mother country to regulate commerce was admitted, but the right to impose a new internal tax without the consent of the taxpayers was denied. The tax gave every colony an identical grievance, and thereby facilitated combined resistance. "No taxation without representation" became the slogan of the hour.

Opposing
Views
of the
Representa-
tive
Character,
as far
as the
Colonies
were Con-
cerned, of
Parlia-
ment

True the franchise was limited in the colonies, but nevertheless the colonial assemblies were far more popular in character than was Parliament. As a consequence of this the colonists had come to think that only those for whom they had voted could rightfully make laws for them and levy taxes upon them. They acknowledged their dependence upon the Crown, but they held that Parliament had to do only with the internal affairs of the British Isles and things that concerned the Empire as a whole. Their own internal affairs, they believed, could be rightfully determined only by their own governments. They had been accustomed to obey laws and to pay taxes enacted and imposed by representatives whom they had actually elected. In the British Isles things were different. There Parliament consisted of King, Lords, and Commons. By no stretch of the imagination could the King and the Lords be considered as being representative of the mass of the people; and the Commons, as we have seen, was by no means a democratic body. The right to vote for members of the Lower House was narrowly restricted. Yet it was maintained in the mother country that Parliament was representative, not only of the British Isles, but also of all the

colonies, and could therefore rightfully make laws for the latter. The colonists said that "taxation without representation is tyranny." But the reply was made that they were represented in Parliament just as much as were Englishmen living at home. These two opposing views had come into existence gradually, and now they sharply clashed. It was not an easy matter to settle. Even with the subsequent experience of a century and a half the relations between a mother country and her colonies are difficult to determine. It was not a matter to be decided by doctrinaires, but by generous-minded and practical statesmen, and unfortunately men of the latter type were not then in control of the national government. The arbitrary temper of George III was aroused by colonial resistance, and the colonists were angered by the new tax and the new restrictions on their commerce. Stamp distributors were mobbed, stamps were destroyed, and agreements were entered into not to buy or use goods imported from England until the obnoxious laws were repealed.

The Stamp Act was repealed; but at the same time a declaratory act was passed asserting that Parliament had supreme power in taxation as well as in legislation over the colonies. Then the mistake was made of imposing new duties on glass, colors, paper, and tea taken into the colonies. There were, of course, renewed disturbances across the water, and from this time on the relations between the colonists and the mother country became more and more unfriendly. In 1770 there was a riot in Boston in which soldiers fired at the mob and killed five or six persons. This was denounced as a "massacre," and the feeling of the colonists became very bitter. It was at this time that Lord North became Prime Minister. Not realizing that the fundamental objection to the duties was the question of the right of the government to levy any such taxes whatsoever, he thought to solve the problem by lessening the amount of taxation. So he repealed all the duties except that on tea. This only increased the suspicions of the colonists and made them angrier than ever. What they objected to was not the burden of the tax, which was very slight, and was less than in the mother country, but the continuance of taxation without representation. And so when three ships laden with tea entered Boston harbor a number of men, disguised as Indians, boarded them and threw their cargoes into the sea. Parliament regarded this as rebellion, and proceeded to punish it by closing the port of Boston to all commerce and giving to officers sent from England entire charge of the government of Massachusetts. Then the First Continental Congress, consisting of delegates from all the colonies except Georgia,

Outbreak
of War
and Decla-
ration of
Inde-
pendence

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met, in 1774, at Philadelphia. It approved a policy of armed resistance, demanded a revocation of all the obnoxious acts, sent a petition to the King, issued an address to the English people, and arranged for a Second Congress to meet in the following year. With this general agreement upon resistance, the people rose in arms and the quarrel flamed into war. The first skirmish of the revolutionary struggle was fought in 1775 at Lexington; and in the next year, on July 4, the colonists issued the famous Declaration of Independence.

Pitt
Champions
the Cause
of the
Colonists

The policy of making the colonists contribute toward their own defense had been inaugurated by George Grenville (1712-1770), who, in 1763, had become leader of the Commons; and, as we have seen, it was endorsed by the King. But not all the members of Parliament were equally deficient in tact. Pitt, the first real imperialist in the history of his country, argued that it was unconstitutional to impose taxes upon the colonists, and thus he approved their main contention. His language in defending their resistance was so bold that, at that time, when freedom of debate was only imperfectly recognized, it could probably have been used with safety by no other than this idol of the people. It was most unfortunate that for several years, when events were hastening toward war, the great statesman was compelled to remain passive because of bodily and mental afflictions. When he partially recovered in 1770 his eloquence was directed against the fatal policy of the government with all the energy he could command; but by that time it was too late to prevent the dismemberment of the Empire. Pitt was the first minister to rely for support, not upon the King, or even upon the Commons alone, but upon the people at large. He was the first political leader to realize that the ultimate and paramount power in the state is the opinion of the majority of the people. And it was he who established the doctrine that there should be an avowed Prime Minister possessing the chief weight in the Privy Council and the principal place in the confidence of the Crown. In his views may be seen the beginning of that great transformation in the national politics by which from day to day the will of the majority of the people is made effective in Parliament.

Burke
Defends
the Cause
of the
Colonists

Another champion of the colonists was Edmund Burke (1729-1797), who brought to the discussion of the political questions of the day a world of thought and a great power of emotional appeal. He granted that it was legally right to tax the colonists, but he declared that it was visibly ruinous and morally wrong. "Show me the thing you contend for to be reason," he said;

"show it to be common sense; show it to be the means of attaining some useful end." Yet though he rested his case on prudence and expediency he did not fail to appeal to noble motives of sympathy and generosity, to enduring truths of human association.

Still a third prominent advocate of the colonial cause was Charles James Fox (1749-1806), whose public career was passed almost entirely in opposition to the King. He was much given to gambling and gallantry, and he displayed his shortcomings in an ostentatious manner, but that he had great gifts as an orator and a statesman no one could fail to see. And no one could help but like him, so amiable was his temper, so sympathetic his nature, and so intense his virility. Guided by the genius of Burke he denounced the folly of the war with the insurgents across the sea. In the domestic policies he supported one can detect the beginnings of the subsequent Liberal party. He desired the removal of all religious disabilities and tests, the suppression of private interests whenever they interfered with the public good, the abolition of the slave trade, and the freeing of all classes of men from the bonds of arbitrary authority.

The arguments of such men were in vain. The die was cast. War was declared. The root of colonial discontent lay in the restrictions upon commerce, and at that time only a few thinkers, much in advance of their day, realized that such restrictions do not further the prosperity of the country that imposes them. One should remember that England's colonial policy, illiberal as it was, was the most enlightened of the age. It would be unfair to condemn the statesmen of that time for lacking the experience and the breadth of view of our own century. In 1775 the Second Continental Congress gradually assumed the functions of a national government and continued to exercise them for the next six years. An army was levied and at its head was placed George Washington (1732-1799), whose dignified bearing, integrity of character, complete devotion to his country's cause, experience in warfare, and sound judgment made him beyond all question the man of the hour. At first most of the battles went in favor of the trained British troops; but in 1777 General John Burgoyne (1722-1792), more successful as a playwright than as a military commander, while leading an expedition southward from Canada, was surrounded and forced to capitulate with his army. This defeat made a great impression in England. England's enemies eagerly accepted the opportunity for revenge. France declared war against her in 1778, Spain in the following year, and in 1780 they were joined

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Fox Supports the
Contention
of the
Colonists

England
at War
Simultaneously
with the
Revolving
Colonies,
France,
Spain, and
Holland

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by Holland. Then, in addition to the active hostility of these powers, England had to face the passive enmity of Russia and Prussia. She was alone before a coalition of half the neighboring continent at a time when she was struggling with her most important colonies three thousand miles away. The right policy would have let the colonies alone and confined the contest to Europe. This plan was eloquently advocated by Fox, but his advice was disregarded. The war dragged on with varying results until, in 1781, a second decisive blow was inflicted upon the British forces by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Even the dullest and most obstinate could now see that defeat of the colonists was impossible; and so, in 1783, a treaty of peace was signed acknowledging their independence and recognizing their territory as extending to Canada, the Mississippi, and Florida, the last of which was returned to Spain. For a time England had lost command of the sea. Volunteers from France had been able to go to the aid of the colonists, and the English soldiers in India had been sore beset. Fortunately in Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the greatest man after Clive in the foundation of his country's power in India, there was a man fully able to cope with the difficulties. Uprisings of the natives were suppressed, and the ultimate possible effect of the French successes on the oriental seas was averted. War with the three continental countries was brought to an end with treaties signed at Paris at the same time as the one with the United States of America. The old British Empire had been torn into two parts; and in the part that had gained its independence dwelt five-sixths of the white men who lived overseas under the flag of Great Britain; but, in compensation, the death blow had been given to the Mercantile System of holding colonies, and the trade of England increased more rapidly than ever before with the United States.

Popular
Opposition
to
Tolerance
of the
Catholics

There were troubles at home. Some of these domestic difficulties arose from the fact that Parliament did not represent the majority of the people. In certain matters Parliament was in advance of popular opinion, while in others it lagged behind. As to religious toleration, it was much more progressive than the mass of the people. By law Catholics were liable to cruel persecution; and so, though many judges did all they could to soften the rigor of the law, they lived in insecurity. In 1778 a bill was passed freeing priests from liability to imprisonment for saying mass, and enabling all Catholics who renounced the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope to own property. This act affected only England. When a similar one was proposed for Scotland, violent

riots broke out there and the measure had to be abandoned. Encouraged by the success of the northern fanatics Lord George Gordon (1751-1793), a more or less demented bigot, organized associations to secure the repeal of the relief act in England, and made himself their head. In 1780 he led the mob that marched to the Houses of Parliament to present a monster petition against the recent act of tolerance. A riot ensued that lasted several days, during which the city was virtually at the mercy of the mob. Several Catholic churches were destroyed, houses of Catholics were pillaged, all the prisons were thrown open and one was burned, public buildings were attacked, and before the disturbance was quelled some five hundred persons had been killed and wounded. Several of the rioters were executed, some of the leaders were punished, and Parliament refused to repeal the act.

There were troubles, too, in Ireland. That land was governed as a subject country. She labored under economic, social, and legal discriminations. Only such commerce was permitted her as did not rival that of England. Most of the great landowners were absentees, and their estates were either managed by stewards or rented by middle-men. Often the same farm was sub-let several times, and the peasants were crushed by exorbitant rents. The potato, fatal gift of the adventurous Raleigh, had become the chief food of the people. Under the best circumstances, potatoes cannot be kept very long; and at this time the ignorant peasants made little effort to keep them at all. They were usually left in the ground and dug only as needed. In 1739 a frost, penetrating the earth deeper than usual, had caused a famine in which one-fifth of the population is supposed to have perished. Even the system of storing in pits does not make the potato last through the summer, and so the months of hot weather, known as the "meal months," have always been periods of hardship and suffering. As the population grew and made greater demands upon the available land the danger increased. Then to the "precarious exotic" less and less land was devoted. Commons were enclosed, villages were depopulated, starving peasants fled to the mountains, and cattle roamed at will about the deserted dwellings. The burdens of the peasants were made heavier by the tithe paid to a Church whose ministrations they rejected. Their own priests, poor and ignorant, were supported to the extent of their meager purses, and permitted to rule them with benevolent despotism. Resentment and despair found expression in violence. Secret organizations were formed to resist grievances or exact revenge; and as most of the wrongs had to do with enclosures, or unjust rents, or the hated tithe, the movement was agrarian.

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The
Parliament in
Dublin
Unrepresentative
of the
People
in Ireland

The Parliament in Dublin did not represent the people. The Upper Chamber, of course, made no pretense of doing so; while in the Lower House no Catholic was allowed to sit, and for its members no Catholic was allowed to vote. Even the greater part of the Protestant minority of the population was not adequately represented. The two Houses represented nothing more, indeed, than a narrow Protestant aristocracy. Yet, limited in its representative character as this body was, its powers were closely circumscribed. All contemplated legislation had to be submitted, by virtue of Poynings's Act, passed in 1495, to the Crown and Privy Council in England before it could be enacted into law. A bill so approved might be accepted or rejected, but not amended. This constitutional bondage had been increased. A statute passed by the British Parliament in the reign of George I gave that body power to enact laws for Ireland, as well as for England and Scotland. The Irish Parliament, therefore, had no power of independent legislation. Neither had it any power of controlling the policy of the executive. The Lord-Lieutenant was appointed by the Crown and its ministers, and to them only was he responsible. Then, too, this Parliament, the power of which was so narrowly curtailed, had until 1768 no legal limit other than that of the life of the sovereign. In that year the English ministry permitted an octennial bill to be passed, the first step towards making the Lower House of the Irish Parliament in some measure representative.

Semblance
of Home
Rule in
Ireland

Protestants in Ireland had their grievances as well as Catholics. They, too, suffered from the facts that the writ of habeas corpus did not apply in the island, that the best positions in Church and State were given to Englishmen, that manufactures were hampered and forbidden lest they should compete with those of England, and that George III was bent upon breaking the power of the great landowners everywhere. So when the proper time came they, too, were eager for reform. The success of the American colonists had greatly encouraged all classes of the population, and the foreign and domestic difficulties of England seemed to afford the desired opportunity. The island had been stripped of regular troops, and so, ostensibly to guard against foreign invasion, the Protestants enrolled and armed fifty thousand volunteers. Their chief spokesman was Henry Grattan (1746-1820), an able lawyer, who had a rare felicity of expression, and who could impart to his audience something of his own ardent enthusiasm. They were now in a position to demand reform without further delay, and the menacing attitude of their convention at Dungannon greatly influenced the decision of the

government to resist the agitation for reform no longer. In 1782 the Irish Parliament was permitted to repeal Poyning's Law, and the British Parliament revoked the act of George I. The gain was more apparent than real. The Irish Parliament was still powerless to control the Lord-Lieutenant, for he and his Chief Secretary continued to be appointed by the Crown. And the Parliament itself remained unrepresentative of the people. Yet it gave the franchise to the Catholics, and made them eligible for the magistracy, the jury, and the degrees of Dublin University. For eighteen years the people of the island lived under this semblance of home rule.

The stirring events of recent years had called public attention to the political corruption then prevailing, and they had emphasized the fact that the parliamentary system as it stood was far from being representative of the majority of the people. The growing disapproval of the reassertion of the personal power of the King was expressed in a resolution carried in the Commons, in 1780, to the effect that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Yet when three years later young William Pitt (1759-1806), second son of the Earl of Chatham, became Prime Minister that power was unexpectedly prolonged. By temperament and by affiliation the new leader was a Tory; and he owed his position, in the first place, to the favor of the King, who had called him to office in the face of a hostile majority of the Commons. The latter fact, however, had a favorable aspect. It made it easier for the stubborn King to gradually give up in the main his personal government without renouncing it. Pitt was scarcely twenty-four years of age when he came into power. He was tall and thin, rather awkward in manner, but tactful and courageous, and very popular with the members of Parliament. He cared nothing for his own personal affairs, and applied himself, with single-hearted devotion and unwearied industry, to the welfare of his country. At first he turned his attention to domestic affairs. With well-considered financial measures he restored the public credit, and then he succeeded in freeing trade from some of the artificial restrictions upon its progress. The corruption of Parliament was lessened, and many of the sinecures and useless offices, that had been ready instruments for the narrow purposes of the Crown, were abolished. In 1784 a bill was passed by which the political power of the East India Company was transferred to a Board of Control resident in London and appointed by the Crown. All the commerce and all except a few of the highest officials in India were left in charge of the Company.

William
Pitt, the
Younger

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It was obviously a compromise measure, but it worked reasonably well, and lasted until 1858 when the Company was abolished. Pitt was surrounded by powerful and determined opponents of reform; and he was not always supported by a united Cabinet. Several of the ministers combined with the King to resist all measures of organic reform. At certain times, therefore, the Prime Minister tactfully gave way. His yielding was a necessity. Especially was this true of electoral reform. Twice he proved that Parliament was "not representative of the people of Great Britain." But the opposition to any measure of reform was very powerful, and so the unrepresentative Parliament steadily pursued its career of failing to satisfy the needs of the new society that, largely because of the sweeping changes in industry, was rapidly arising. Pitt's views were large and statesmanlike; and if the surrounding circumstances had been more favorable he would be known to us as a great political and social reformer; but he paused whenever he saw an insurmountable obstacle, and so he disappointed those who expected from him a speedy curtailment of the power of the Crown and an extension of the representative character of Parliament.

The
Ancien
Régime
in France

Pitt's support of fundamental political reform gradually subsided in face of the powerful opposition it aroused; and it was finally abandoned altogether when he saw how things were going in France. A sweeping political and social revolution was then in progress in that country, and the nobles and upper classes in England, greatly alarmed, set their faces against all proposals to extend the franchise and alter the basis of representation. Political and social progress had been going on in England, with occasional set-backs, for many centuries. The monarchy had been increasingly subject to control. No sharp lines divided class from class. A nobleman's younger sons, unless they were elevated to the peerage, were commoners. Many of them participated actively in the civil and even the mercantile life of the nation. The nobles lived on their country estates, and so were in touch with their tenants. Taxes were the same for all classes. But not so in France. There the monarchy was absolute. The government was highly centralized. Provinces and municipalities had little to say about their own affairs. Society was sharply divided into privileged and unprivileged classes. In the former were the nobles and the superior clergy. Every son of a noble was himself a noble; and, in the great majority of cases, carefully refrained from useful activity. The richer nobles left their estates and hovered continually about the King. They therefore knew little about the lives of their peasants, and, in many in-

stances, cared less. The privileged classes were largely exempt from taxation, and as a consequence the burdens of the poor were greatly increased. Government offices, with certain necessary exceptions, and sinecures were reserved to the nobles. There was no such thing as a national legislature. The States-General, which at first sight might seem to be such a body, had only the right to petition and advise the King. There were *parlements* in several of the provinces, but they were primarily law courts, and they represented vested interests. The Church, or at least the hierarchy, was aristocratic in spirit and very narrow. The *ancien régime*, to sum up, was characterized from the political point of view by arbitrariness, from the social point of view by inequality, and from the religious point of view by intolerance. The extravagance of the court, the incompetence of the government, and the inequitable system of taxation all combined to produce widespread distress.

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General discontent with such a state of affairs was profoundly increased by the infusion of a stream of new thought. Montesquieu (1689-1755) described and extolled modern governments and criticized unfavorably the old. Voltaire (1694-1778) assailed the ecclesiastical narrowness and the intolerant spirit of the age. Diderot (1713-1784) edited an encyclopædia in which were published articles by specialists on a wide range of political, economic, social, and religious topics and thus did much to spread the new ideas. Rousseau (1712-1778) proclaimed the theory of the social contract and the sovereignty of the people; and his *Nouvelle-Héloïse*, not without sentimentalism, revived the self-indulgent and weary society of the time as with fresh breezes of the dawn. Thus did ancient abuses and new ideas flourish simultaneously in France. All these thinkers served to hasten the revolutionary movement. With passionate insistence they demanded freedom of thought and belief. With searching analysis they exposed contemporary conditions, discussed the causes of injustice and suffering, aroused the democratic spirit, and stimulated sympathy. They advocated natural rights as being anterior and paramount to existing political institutions. Their free and generous thought was presented in a wide variety of literary forms, in poems, treatises, novels, and plays. It was discussed in fashionable salons, and in the humble drinking places of the poor.

New
Thought
in France

At last the desperate expedients by which the privileged classes sought to prolong the old order of things were exhausted, and in 1789, for the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years, the States-General met at Versailles. There was no opposition

Revolution
in France

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at first to the monarchy and the Church. It was the desire of the delegates merely to reform these institutions. If the King and the upper classes had been reasonable the Revolution would have been easy and peaceful. But unfortunately Louis XVI, well-meaning but unintellectual and poorly educated, having previously rejected the advice of such far-seeing statesmen as Turgot (1727-1781), permitted himself to be guided by the oligarchy of privilege. So the conflict between the reactionary and the progressive forces became acute. On July 14, 1789, the Bastille, a fortress-prison in Paris that personified all the abuses of the *ancien régime*, surrendered to the mob. The continent was thrilled with joy at the news of this liberation. But the national gathering, though later on it made signal reforms, was slow in preparing a constitution. In the meantime sharp distress, and suspicion of domestic and foreign enemies, maddened the populace. The intrigues of the court, and the advance of Austrian and Prussian armies into France, seemed to demand desperate remedies. Early in 1793 the King was executed, and then a reign of terror began. Into the melting pot of revolution were thrown all the traditions of the past.

English
Approval
of the
French
Revolution

The outbreak of this Revolution of lofty hopes and bitter disillusion was hailed with joy in England. "How much the greatest event it is that has happened in the world," said Fox, when he heard of the fall of the Bastille, "and how much the best!" And who does not know Wordsworth's thrilling lines?

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven!
Europe at that time was thrilled with joy,
France standing on the top of golden hours,
And human nature seeming born again.

It was thought that a constitutional system something like that of England would be established in France, and that the good will between the two countries, begun by a recent commercial treaty, would be increased. Clubs were formed in many of the larger towns to renew the agitation for parliamentary reform, some of them openly expressed their desire for a republic, the doctrines of the revolutionary prophets and leaders were declared to be the true gospel of liberty; and, indeed, it seemed as though even the contagion of violence might spread to England.

Reaction
in
England
Against
the
French
Revolution

But gradually the attacks on privilege and prosperity across the Channel alienated the sympathy of many Englishmen who had endorsed it, and others who had been hostile to it from the beginning were encouraged to make public their opposition. From the first Edmund Burke had feared and hated the great Revolt

What were the political views of this gifted statesman? There had been a revival of the power of the Crown in the British Isles. It had come about, not through an assertion in word and deed of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings, but through a gradual and wide extension of the "influence" of the King, and through the intrigues of the court cabal. Burke was a Whig. He sought to revive the principles of 1688 which had almost been forgotten. He believed that, though the end of government is the welfare of the people, the true means to this end is government by a trustworthy and public-spirited few, by some kind of aristocracy. He supported the oligarchy of the Whigs; but he tried to impress upon it that it had no right to rule except as trustee for the people. He had a deep-seated aversion to absolute idealism, or even to the discussion of fundamental principles of government. In a pamphlet entitled *Reflections on the French Revolution*, issued in 1790, one can find the reasons why this champion of the colonists across the ocean looked with extreme disapproval upon the revolutionists across the Channel. The latter, he said, were concerned with the basic principles of human society, while the former had been concerned only with details of constitutional and economic reform. The discussion of fundamental social principles is likely to invade all countries. It is likely to supplant discussion of the specific problems arising from the locality and natural circumstances of those countries. The fundamental principle of the French revolutionists, he said, was that the majority "of the taxable people in every country is the perpetual, natural, unceasing, indefeasible sovereign; that the majority is perfectly master of the form as well as the administration of the state, and that the magistrates, under whatever names they are called, are only functionaries to obey the orders which that majority may make; that this is the only natural government; that all others are tyranny and usurpation." Such a gospel, he was quick to see, might, if unchecked, invade every civilized country and unsettle its existing government. It would produce revolution; it would make for attempts to effect a complete and radical change all at once; whereas it is better that nations should proceed to reform their institutions and conditions gradually. Thus did his thought keep always "to the slow pace of inevitable change"; and thus did he fail to see that in France a breach of historical continuity had become a dire necessity. As the excesses of the movement increased, the great majority of his countrymen, conscious of the past and careful of the future, flocked to the side of Burke. Only in the larger towns, especially in the new factory towns of the north, whose rapid strides we

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XXWar
Between
England
and
France

are soon to study, was there a lingering approval of the Revolution. Such places are always the nurseries of radical thought.

The invasion of France in 1792 by Austrian and Prussian armies was answered by a passionate outburst of defiance. Disloyalty to the Revolution at home was ruthlessly suppressed, before the end of the year the invading forces were repulsed, and then the ragged armies of emancipation began to overrun the neighboring lands. It was the great landowners and the prosperous mercantile class who were represented in Parliament, and it was these classes that had most to fear from the spread of revolutionary principles. Pitt had by this time become alarmed. He had ceased altogether to support the cause of parliamentary reform. It was, he declared, not a time for changes that might expose the nation to danger. Even peaceful discussion of such reform was suppressed, leaders of the political clubs that favored radical change were imprisoned, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and a law was passed declaring any statement against the royal authority to be treason. In 1793, when France had beheaded her King and when her armies had invaded the Austrian Netherlands, the Prime Minister ordered the French Ambassador to leave England. France then declared war against England, and the struggle was not suspended until, in 1802, peace was signed at Amiens.

Injustice,
Discontent,
and
Rebellion in
Ireland

In the meantime all had not been going well in Ireland. Despite the facts that an independent Parliament had been established in the island, and that industry had been improved by the removal of some of the restrictions, political and economic wrongs, deep-seated and demoralizing, still existed over there. Only a comparatively small number of the Protestants were permitted to vote, and that right was still denied altogether to the Catholics, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population. Though Irish manufacturers and agriculturalists were now free to import and export with the rest of the world, no change had as yet taken place in the commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The upper classes were none too prosperous; and the peasantry, largely as the result of long-continued oppression, were still miserably poor. The Lord-Lieutenant was still able to exert great power, actually to control the Parliament, by judicious distributions of pensions and offices; and the occupant of the position at this time used all the influence he could command to oppose any change. The unenfranchised majority were exposed to the insults and injustice of a minority grown thoughtless and insolent in a long period of ascendancy. Protestant "Peep o' Day Boys" and Catholic "Defenders" were con-

stantly at war with each other. Little wonder, then that revolutionary principles made rapid progress among the people. These ideas infected Protestants as well as Catholics. A remarkable essay by Wolfe Tone (1763-1798), a Protestant lawyer, served to widen the growing breach between those who aimed at Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform without disloyalty to the connection with England and those who believed that a complete redress of grievances could be obtained only with the establishment, by armed rebellion if necessary, of a separate Irish Republic. The plan of separation was soon adopted by an organization known as the United Irishmen. Alarmed at the increasing disturbance, the Irish Parliament, in 1793, conferred the suffrage upon the Catholics in Ireland; but the act did not make them eligible to sit in the Irish Parliament or to occupy any important state office. This failed, of course, to satisfy the radicals, and so the seditious agitation continued. In opposition to the United Irishmen, whose members included both Protestants and Catholics, clubs of extreme Protestants, known as Orangemen, were formed. They were opposed not only to separation, but also to any further removal of the disabilities to which the Catholics were subjected. Between these two extreme groups was the Catholic party, representing the great majority of Irishmen. Had the English government steadily pursued a policy of reform it seems likely that serious trouble would have been avoided, but Pitt hesitated and then drew back. That was not all. The feeling grew that the government was lending its support to the Orangemen. Large numbers of the Catholics, therefore, gave their support to the United Irishmen. Sectarian hatred tended rapidly to eliminate the middle party and to array all Irishmen in one or other of the two extreme camps. But the loyal behavior of all classes of the people when, in 1796, the French attempted to invade the island showed that the mass of the population was not yet ready to support separation. Religious animosity, the tithe, agrarian and industrial grievances, and the continual dominance of an alien race, all combined to increase the discontent of the peasants. So, in 1797, led by free-thinkers of the towns, they broke out in rebellion. In the north-eastern counties, where the rising was instigated chiefly by Protestant leaders, the revolt was quickly crushed with ruthless severity. The atrocities resorted to in suppressing the insurrection in the midland and southern counties were even more terrible. In most of the districts the severities had their intended effect, but in others they stimulated retaliation in kind. In the autumn of the following year the rebellion had everywhere been stamped out.

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XXAbolition
of the
Irish
Parliament

In many districts the land lay desolate, houses were burned to the ground, thousands of peasants were homeless and starving, and the old racial and religious hatreds had been increased a thousand-fold in Ireland. What should be done? How should that island be governed? Pitt decided that Ireland should be controlled by a single Parliament sitting at Westminster; and then, as soon as possible, emancipation from their disabilities should be granted the Catholics. The feeling in the island against the project, especially among the Protestants, who realized they would be deprived of their ascendancy, was overwhelming. But the passage of the measure in the Parliament at Dublin was secured by paying large sums to the patrons of the numerous rotten boroughs, and by a lavish distribution of titles, pensions, and bribes to all other members of the Parliament who could be induced to sell their votes. It seemed well to men who had the welfare of the island at heart that an end should be made of the political ascendancy of a narrow-minded minority, that the enactment of measures conducive to domestic peace and prosperity should be made possible, and that at the same time the security of the Empire should be further insured, and they felt justified in using the only means available for their purpose. The bill was passed in both Parliaments in 1800, and in the same year received the royal assent. By the terms of the act Ireland was represented in the House of Lords by thirty-two members, and by one hundred members in the Commons, absolute free trade between the two countries was established, and the Irish State Church was joined to that of England; but the separate law courts were continued, and a distinct executive government was retained. The first session of the united Parliament met in the following year. For the two nations the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was adopted. Pitt now proceeded to carry out his intention of abolishing the tithe in Ireland and emancipating the Catholics from their remaining political disabilities. But in this he was opposed by members of the Cabinet and by the obstinate refusal of the King. On March 14, 1801, he therefore surrendered his position. This opposition was the most fatal fact of the King's personal government. It left a heritage of woe. It was an unfailing fountain of bitter memories.

During all these agitated years English thought and literary activity naturally experienced deep-seated change. John Locke, it will be remembered, attempted to account for the origin of human knowledge. The mind, he said, is at first empty. It has to begin with, only a capacity to receive impressions and a power to

reflect upon those impressions when they have been received. All our knowledge is obtained through our senses and our reflection upon our sensations. Berkeley discovered the weak points of this system. We are conscious, it is true, but of what? Only of our sensations, not of an outside world. These sensations are within our mind. They are nothing more than states of the mind. An external material cause of them is a pure fiction. Matter, therefore, disappears from the scene. All that is left is spirit. Nothing can be active except spirit. Our sensations, therefore, are produced by a spirit acting universally. They are produced by God. The argument was now continued by a logician far more acute than either of these two thinkers. Yes, it is true we are conscious only of sensations, that we know nothing of matter, said David Hume (1711-1776), in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and it is also true, he added, that the only mind of which we know is the mere succession of those sensations. A mind apart from these sensations, a perceiving entity that exists before these sensations come and after they cease to come, is a figment of the imagination. The only reality, or at least the only certainty, is a mere panorama of sensations. Thus had the dialectic faculty, working on the principles of the sensation-philosophy, stripped man of his personal identity, and left him a mere "succession of perceptions" environed in the deepest darkness. Thereafter it was necessary to abandon the pursuit of knowledge or to seek for it along some other road. But Hume was careful, as was also Berkeley, to distinguish clearly between this philosophical doubt and the instinctive trust of the common man in common things. Only in philosophy did he venture to assert the doctrine that the existence of mind is as improbable as that of matter.

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The
Thought
of David
Hume

With the name of Adam Smith (1723-1790) liberal views of commercial intercourse are associated. Commerce had become far larger in bulk than ever before, and more extensive in its operations. Thinkers were paying attention to the principles and results of the Mercantile System. They were giving voice to their disapprobation of them. The doctrine of Free Trade was in the air. Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), an instructor in the University of Glasgow under whom Smith studied, taught that the will of heaven is not known from signs and wonders, but rather from "a broad consideration of the greater good of mankind, the greatest happiness of the greatest number." The "greatest happiness of the greatest number" cannot be secured, he said, without industrial liberty. The phrase stuck in the mind of the young student. After many years of inquiry into the details of the occupations of men, and meditation upon the principles of busi-

The
Thought
of Adam
Smith

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Begin-
ning of
Modern
Methods
in the
Writing
of History

ness activity, he gave *The Wealth of Nations* to the world. He tried to show that in every case of voluntary exchange of goods each party gains something that is of greater value-in-use to him than that with which he parts, and that consequently in every exchange, either between individuals or between nations, both parties are gainers. Free trade benefits all the interested parties. In the light of this fundamental principle he examined the various restrictions and regulations of trade then in existence. He proved them to be detrimental. But the question as to whether they should be removed, as to whether, for example the Navigation Acts should be abolished, he declared could not be answered until their value as political defensive measures could be accurately ascertained. Some of the conclusions of this book have been modified, but its main principles are finding an ever-increasing acceptance among scholars and statesman. Its method is not scientific, but it is one of the great books of the world. Its teaching like so much else that was admirable, received a temporary set-back because of the violence of the Revolution across the Channel, and not until those fears passed away was its practical effect again felt in English thought and life.

To the greater number of those who have read him at all, Hume is better known as a historian than a philosopher. We saw something of the medieval monastic chronicles, and we noted the work of a few individual historians, such as the Venerable Bede, that rose above the monotonous records of the trivial and the miraculous. And we caught a glimpse of the chronicles of the later medieval centuries, whose chief title to fame is their literary quality rather than their historical trustworthiness. Down to the end of the medieval period historical writers had little or no idea of the necessity of consulting original and authentic sources of information. The discovery and critical examination of classical texts at the dawn of the modern age gave a notable impetus to the development of historical method. But still it was with the esthetic qualities of these literary remains of the past that, with a few exceptions, the scholars of the Renaissance were concerned. It was the Reformation, with its bitter controversies, that, in compelling the literary protagonists of the different churches to subject the ancient documents involved in their disputes to the most searching examination possible, paved the way for modern methods of study. It is here one finds the beginning of modern historical research. Yet it was long before those methods were transferred to the field of secular history. A few such works as Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion* rise above the level of partisan narratives, but even they

fail to reach the plane of impartial and complete history. The Benedictine monks of the famous Congregation of St. Maur, in France, were perhaps the first great group of historical investigators, the best equipped, the most tireless. At Paris especially, within the grey walls of the Abbey of St. Germain, young monks were trained in the methods of systematic research for documents, in their critical examination, in the writing of trustworthy narratives, and in the study of various arts and sciences that are auxiliary to history. There, too, they built up their principal library and housed the results of their research. Their work, enormous in quantity, is still proverbial for its critical tact and its thoroughness, and it will continue so. The admirable method of these careful and industrious monks did not affect, for some time to come, the work of the popular historians. Even in France it was largely ignored.

Little wonder, then, that Hume's *History of England*, the first volume of which appeared in 1753, discloses the fact that the author never troubled himself to acquire more than a superficial acquaintance with the original sources of information. The work is, moreover, a party pamphlet on an extended scale, one in which Tory notions are deliberately exploited. Yet it is by no means without merit. It is the first attempt to include in a historical narrative a wide range of facts, to deal with the literary and social aspects of national life as well as with its military and political affairs. And two qualifications the author possessed render his book still very readable,—an easy, lucid, pleasant style, and a keen insight into the motives of human action. When, in 1759, William Robertson (1721-1793) published his *History of Scotland* a distinct advance in the art of writing history was made. The style is so attractive that the first edition was exhausted in less than a month, and its judicial temper annoyed the partisans of every ecclesiastical group. Ten years later his *History of Charles V* appeared and won for him a continental reputation. Here for the first time in the nation's literature was displayed a wide and synthetic conception of history. The preface to the main narrative attempts to give a critical estimate of the medieval centuries, to provide, with sweeping generalizations, a background for the story of the great Emperor. It is one of the first revelations of the importance in history of large ideas based upon a comprehensive mass of details. Robertson was well acquainted with original documents, especially with those relating to the origin of feudalism; what he accomplished with the materials at his disposal is remarkable; yet his work has been outgrown because he did not have access to the great mass of material since

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Work of
Edward
Gibbon

discovered and published. His style is singularly clear and winning, and his work may still be read with pleasure and profit.

Notable as is the work of these two historians, it was soon surpassed by that of another. In 1776 the first volume of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared. Its success was instant. In a few days the entire impression was exhausted. In 1788 the last of the six volumes was published. This famous work was the first satisfactory history on a grand scale. It is a supremely harmonious story of mankind during a period of thirteen centuries. It reveals an astonishing range of learning and a remarkable accuracy of detail. Gibbon was never content with second-hand accounts whenever primary sources were accessible to him. "I have always endeavored to draw from the fountain-head," he says; "my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence on whose faith a passage or a fact was reduced to depend." The stately style is somewhat too elaborate, its majesty too unbending; but it gives a splendid color to the vast story. Gibbon's humor, his brilliant irony, his suggestive cynicism, his pungent epigrams, as well as his great scope, his great learning, and his universal grasp, render his work a masterpiece of scientific writing and a fine work of art. The most famous chapters are the fifteenth and sixteenth, in which are traced the early progress of Christianity and the attitude of the Roman government towards it. The chief conclusions of these chapters have been bitterly disputed, and it is true that their slighting tone is mistaken; but in every substantial respect the principal contentions remain supported by subsequent research. Gibbon did not always penetrate to the truth behind the record of events. He was interested in history as a spacious panorama and kept close to the obvious surface of events. He was at times lacking in sympathy with motives and with movements. But no other historian has surmounted such difficulties as those he encountered, gathered such wide and minute information, and in by far the greater part of his work kept himself "as free from bias and unfairness as human frailty can well allow."

Samuel
Johnson
and His
Biog-
rapher

The period with which we are now dealing was one of transition. The Age of Reason was giving place to a revival of feeling. No single writer, as yet, belonged entirely to the new school. One who belonged completely to the vanishing past was Samuel Johnson (1704-1784), who lived for a long time as a hack-writer in the metropolis, and there gathered about him in

the days of his literary fame a remarkable group of celebrities. The great dictator is better known to us as a man and a talker than as a writer, though both his prose and poetry have merit. This is due to James Boswell (1740-1795), whose *Life of Johnson* is without a rival in all literature. It is a full-length portrait done with great dramatic and descriptive power, touched frequently with fantastic absurdity, heightened no doubt with an infusion of fiction, but on the whole unusually accurate.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) must also be noticed as an essayist of the time. His political pamphlets and speeches on the American Revolution are marked by a wise expediency, while those on the French Revolution are filled with distrust of the contemporary doctrines of freedom and equality. All his life long he was a passionate defender of the established order of things. Temperamentally he was a lover of ancient ways, of settled conditions of justice, peace, and security. And this fundamental conservatism, this point of view or mode of looking at life, he expressed in resplendent rhetoric that sometimes soared into the purest eloquence.

While Burke looked backward with regret to an imaginary age of chivalry, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) peered eagerly into the future to discover an age of freedom. He emigrated to America in 1774, and his *Common Sense* advocated with cogent reasoning and vigorous style the independence of the colonies. His most famous work, *The Rights of Man*, written with great force and dignity, was an answer to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. It was widely circulated and discussed. His last important book, *The Age of Reason*, was intended to expose the inaccuracies and remove the superstitions of revealed religion. Paine was a Deist. The motive of all his books was the same,—the liberation of his fellow-men from the rule of unreason, from hereditary aristocracy supported by a sycophantic priesthood. He was not a great political or religious thinker. He merely popularized, with rare power of explanation, the ideas of other men. He was the great popular champion of thoroughgoing democracy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a tireless worker for the betterment of the world, and his eager passion for truth and for its triumph informs all he wrote. As far as he was active in the political affairs of his native land he was associated with the Radicals.

The conditions of the stage underwent gradual improvement; more and more the indecencies of the Restoration period were purged away; and so the goodwill of the people towards public performances and plays steadily increased. The drama, there-

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Essays of
Edmund
Burke

Thomas
Paine:
Advocate
of
Freedom
and
Democ-
racy

Improved
Conditions
for the
Drama

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fore, witnessed a revival. A new species arose, the native farce, which ever since has retained a vigorous vitality. The difference between comedy and farce is that while the former must be faithful to nature the latter may use any means to produce hilarity. The first play by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), *The Good-Natured Man*, is an admirable character-comedy, and his imperishable farce *She Stoops to Conquer* is a masterpiece of mirth. Close upon the heels of this last play came a sparkling comedy, *The Rivals*, by another Irish writer. Son of an actor, reared in the atmosphere of the theater, it was but natural that Richard Sheridan (1751-1816) should try his hand at writing for the stage. His *School for Scandal* has not the unity of plot of its predecessor, but it is even more brilliant in dialogue. The last of his plays that live is *The Critic*, a farce in which the amusing peculiarities of people connected with the theater, authors, actors, and audience are revealed in a gay and airy manner. Sheridan had no deep insight into the human heart, but he had unflinching wit, and he was a master of effect.

"The
Vicar
of Wake-
field"

Thus far in the novel we have no fireside sketch, no story of domestic life. That was reserved for Goldsmith to accomplish. His charming idyll *The Vicar of Wakefield* is a loosely constructed story, but its tenderness, the limpid clearness of its style lowered to the colloquial key, its practical wisdom, and its cheerful contentment with the ups and downs of life, give it an unfading charm.

Influx
of a
Spurious
Medieval-
ism into
the Novel

Henceforth the current of contemporary life was destined to flow unceasingly in the novel; but the great river was to receive the waters of still another tributary stream. The revival of medievalism, of which a witness is the renewed interest in the ballads and epics of the bygone time, now made its appearance in prose. In 1764 Horace Walpole (1717-1797) published *The Castle of Otranto*, an attempt, only half-serious, to reproduce the conditions of medieval life, and at the same time realistically to sketch the various characters of the story. In thus attempting to be both medieval and modern, this astonishing literary production succeeds in being neither. Yet the story set the fashion for mystery and terror in fiction, and pointed the way to the chivalrous past that was to be traveled by Sir Walter Scott. A more gifted writer was Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), whose great resource and generous imagination were first adequately shown in *The Romance of the Forest*, which arouses curiosity and instills terror, and at the same time has the saving grace of humor. Her story of *The Italian* is easily the best romantic novel before Scott.

Sentimental domestic stories were continued in *The Man of Feeling* by Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831), one of the volumes in the illicit library of Lydia Languish. Then came the sprightly *Evelina* of Frances Burney (1752-1840), who from her fifteenth year had lived in the midst of a brilliant social circle. It is the first novel of the tea-table; and it stirred the society of the day to delight and admiration. Burke sat up all night to read it. It led the way to the novels of Jane Austen.

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Novels of
Domestic
Life

Another tributary to the widening stream of fiction is seen in *Caleb Williams* in which William Godwin (1756-1826) gave expression to the fundamental principles of the French Revolution. In his pamphlet on *Political Justice* he had already given cohesion and expression to the floating revolutionary ideas of the time, and in his novel the interest of the story carried those teachings still further afield. Among the many young men influenced by this radical thinker was Percy Bysshe Shelley. In the years to come the novel was to concern itself deeply and sincerely with questions of democracy and social amelioration, and to make itself felt as a factor in the progress of the people.

Social
Reform
Advo-
cated in
the Novel

In poetry, too, one finds an expression of the spirit of the age. Goldsmith's meager verse had something of the air of the cool and calculating past, but it is made warm by an infusion of the new humanity. In *The Deserted Village* the poet looks back to the scene of his youth in Ireland, full of pity for the sorrows of that unhappy land. It is true that "sweet Auburn," as he has pictured it, is an English village; but the evils of landlordism are undoubtedly Irish. The tender charm of language and sentiment of this picture of the pensive plain is very beautiful. Its poignancy lies in the delicate feeling that differentiates it from the sentimental literature of the time. Together with *The Traveller* it betrays the spiritual sensitiveness of its author, his gentle dreams of the world as it might be, his secret responses to the growing spirit of humanitarianism.

Expres-
sion
of the
Growing
Spirit of
Humanit-
arianism
in Poetry

In the poems of William Cowper (1731-1800) the changing spirit of the time became still more manifest. The life of this shy poet in the little midland village of Olney may be found detailed in his admirable *Letters*. His first volume of *Poems* is in form a continuation of the artificial school that valued correct taste and good judgment more than depth of feeling and sincerity of purpose; but in substance it is largely a religious version of the revolutionary denunciation of luxury and the growing sensitiveness to the sorrows of the laboring poor. His most important poem is *The Task*. It has much to say about political conditions, moral standards, and religious beliefs; but

William
Cowper

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these things are mingled with realistic and charming pictures of rural scenery, in curious harmony with their polemical surroundings. The Evangelical Movement was now in full swing. Cowper at once became its poet, and his popularity increased with its rising tide. Religion is the mainspring of his poetry, a narrow religion, it is true, having for its fundamental doctrine the depravity of man, but one to which he subscribed with all the sincerity of his soul. His meditations are now outworn, but the delicate sketches of woods and fields and slowly winding river, landscapes like those of Gainsborough, will be long in losing their idyllic charm.

William
Blake

There was another way in which the reaction against the cold conventionalities of the Age of Reason was expressed. In the poems and pictures of William Blake (1757-1827) are to be found a mystical conception of the universe that defied all the accepted formulæ of the time. In them the reasoned morality, the distrust of enthusiasm, the neglect of imagination are all brushed aside, and in their place we have an invasion of the rooms and streets, and woods and fields, of our common everyday world by a host of celestial visitants. "Heaven opens here on all sides her golden gates," he wrote to a friend when he first went to live in the country; "her windows are not obstructed by vapors; voices of celestial inhabitants are more distinctly heard and their forms more distinctly seen; and my cottage is also a shadow of their houses." And yet, after all, it was in the seething life of a great city that he found the deepest solitude. "But, alas! now I may say to you," he wrote to the same friend later on, "that I can carry on my visionary studies unannoyed only in London, and that I may converse with my friends in eternity, see visions, dream dreams, and prophesy and speak parables, unobserved and at liberty from the doubts of other mortals." At its best his verse has a frail loveliness, a dewy freshness, and an ærial spirituality not to be discovered in the work of any other poet.

Revival
of the
Scottish
Dialect
in Literature

When the court was removed from Edinburgh to London and the English version of the *Bible* began to be read in even the remotest kirk the final blows were given to prose and poetry in the dialect of Scotland. The great Scottish writers, such as Smollett, Hume, Adam Smith, and Robertson, all wrote excellent English. But it was from songs in the vernacular that Robert Burns (1759-1796) received inspiration for most of his lyrics. He wrote best when he strove to surpass some poem written by one of his predecessors, or some lyrical snatch from the rich storehouse of his country's folksong. Those borrowings were

passed through the mint of his mind, and were filled with his own impassioned lyrical impulse. It is the form he gave them that will remain. By no means all his poetry is written in dialect. Aside from his humorous and satirical poems, about half his verses are written entirely in literary English; and in many of the dialect poems the larger part is in English. Everything he wrote shows plainly that he was a poet of the common people. His sympathy with their suffering is wide and deep. He uttered their cry against oppression, informed them of their rights, and stirred them to a sense of their own worth. For his subject-matter, despite the fact that it was most frequently a song that set him singing, he went straight to the woods and fields about him, and to the men with whom he lived. His realism is at once authentic and passionate. The atmosphere of the drawing-room, so prevalent in the literature of the eighteenth century, is left behind and we have in its stead the freshness of the upland breeze and the warmth of the ingle-nook in cottage and tavern. He was always concerned with the welfare of the common people. He pleaded for generosity, and practised it. He sang of independence, self-reliance, and indifference to place and power. He strove to comfort the poor and lowly, to give them courage, to inspire them with ambition, and to hasten the day of a greater degree of social justice. In all these things he was a harbinger of a new era in the national life.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Prime Minister</i>
1763-1765.....	Tory.....	George Grenville.
1765-1766.....	Whig.....	Marquis of Rockingham (1).
1766-1770.....	Whig-Tory.....	Duke of Grafton.
1770-1782.....	King's Friends.....	Lord North.
1782.....	Whig.....	Marquis of Rockingham (2).
1782-1783.....	King's Friends.....	Earl of Shelburne.
1783.....	Whig-Tory.....	Duke of Portland.
1783-1801.....	Whig-Tory.....	William Pitt (1).

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

Among the general histories see: William Hunt's *Political History of England*, which throws new light upon some of the diplomatic negotiations of the period and has a positive opinion regarding the character of the American Revolution. A. W. Benn, *Modern England*.

For original source material see: Edmund Burke, *Speeches and Letters*. Daniel Defoe, *Tour through the Island of Great Britain*. Frances Burney (Madame d'Arblay), *Diary and Letters*. The four volumes of Horace Walpole's *Letters*, edited by Mrs. Paget Toynbee, are a graphic and vari-

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ous picture of life at that time in England. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, four volumes.

Special political topics are dealt with in: P. A. Brown's *French Revolution in English History*, which contains much new information enabling the reader to judge between the working-class agitators for reform and Pitt. The several volumes of *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy* deal with the period from 1783 to 1919. H. E. Egerton's *Causes and Character of the American Revolution* is a recent and well considered work. C. B. R. Kent, *English Radicals*. W. T. Laprade, *England and the French Revolution*. T. E. May, *Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III*. George L. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, *The Old Colonial System*, and *British Colonial Policy*. C. H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence*.

Social matters are treated in: E. S. Roscoe, *The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century*; and W. C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*.

Interesting and helpful biographies are: H. W. Bleackley, *Life of John Wilkes*. G. B. Malleson, *Life of Warren Hastings*. John Morley, *Burke, a Historical Study*, and also his *Edmund Burke*. George Otto Trevelyan's *Early Life of Charles James Fox* is a full and satisfactory biography; it leads up to the author's *American Revolution* and his *George III and Charles James Fox*, which may be compared with the treatment of the same subject by Hunt. Beckles Willson's *George III as Man and Monarch* presents the other side of the shield, but it is too eulogistic of the King and distinctly unfair to the elder Pitt.

Oliver Elton's *Survey of English Literature* is written with fullness of knowledge, filled with fine observation, and is informed with sound sense.

H. J. Laski's *Political Thought from Locke to Bentham* will be found very helpful in tracing the changing political thought of this period of transition.

Religious topics may be studied in J. Stroughton's *Religion in England*.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION

(1700-1800)

IN the midst of the stirring of new thought and the resurgence of emotion, two vast changes took place,—the Agrarian Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. Together they constitute one of the great periods of dissolution and reconstruction that mark the progress of civilization. There were leaders in this great change, just as there were leaders in the numerous wars of the same epoch; but it was upon the common soldiers of the mighty movement, the humble toilers in the fields and the obscure workers in the factories that the brunt of the battle fell.

The agrarian change began somewhat earlier, and was more quickly consummated, than the industrial change. If we were to look at a map of the roads in England about the middle of the eighteenth century we should see them crossing each other, like the filaments of a spider's web, in all directions. They connected not only the large towns, but also all the rural districts of any importance. They covered with a close network the entire country. But unfortunately most of them were hardly passable. They were neither well made nor well kept. The best of them were the old Roman roads that still retained something of their ancient paving. Many of them were causeways so narrow that even two pack-horses could scarcely pass each other on them. So bad were most of these roads that at times a carriage could go no more than a mile an hour. Little wonder that merchants generally preferred pack-horses as a means of conveyance. In the matter of highways England was far behind France. No doubt her insular position and her indented coasts had something to do with this. Deep estuaries penetrated far inland, and sheltered roadsteads formed safe harbors. It was easy, for instance, to send coal from Newcastle by sea to London. The difficulty of internal communication explains why the inland counties long remained isolated and stagnant, unprogressive in thought, opposed to all reform.

Some progress, however, had already been made. In 1663 the first turnpike act permitted tolls for the upkeep of the high-

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Importance of the Agricultural and the Industrial Revolutions

Difficulty of Internal Communication in England

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way to be collected on the road from London to York. Previously the parishes and chartered towns had been entrusted with the repair of the main roads in their respective districts, and they had failed to accomplish the task successfully. The new plan was not without its defects. The heavy interest on the money borrowed by the turnpike trustees, the excessive cost of management, and the profits exacted by those who sub-let the tolls left only small sums to be expended for improvement of the roads. Then, too, the burden was unequally distributed. In one district it might happen that five tolls had to be paid in a dozen miles, while in another thirty miles might be traveled without a single payment. Yet the turnpikes were a partial solution of the problem. They improved transportation from one end of the country to the other. "The turnpike roads have brought the manners of the capital to this extremity of the kingdom," said a parliamentary report in 1794, dealing with the county of Westmoreland; "the simplicity of ancient times is gone." The new tolls, however, were very unpopular, and gates and toll-houses were often destroyed by mobs. After the defeat of the Young Pretender, who, it will be remembered, had advanced from the Highlands of the far north into the very heart of England, the repairing of roads was systematically undertaken throughout the entire country so as to make them "suitable for the passage of troops, horses and vehicles at every season of the year." The long period of negligence was at last succeeded by one of feverish activity. In less than twenty years after the northern invasion the turnpike system penetrated into every part of the kingdom. But even the turnpike roads were far from being satisfactory. They were not well constructed to begin with.

Builders
of Roads
and
Bridges

At this time there appeared the first generation of those organizers of work, unconscious engineers, in whom the practical ability of the English people is so strikingly displayed. Among these interesting men the most remarkable is John Metcalf (1717-1810), commonly known as Jack of Knaresborough. He had lost his sight when only six years old, but this did not seem to interfere with his activity. As driver of a stage-coach he became familiar with the roads between the Humber and the Mersey, one of the districts where the problems of communication called most pressing for solution, and he knew how their worst features could be remedied. In 1765 he began work as a constructor in repairing roads and building bridges, paying attention to gradient, making his roads as level as possible. So successful was he that he was constantly employed in such work for more than thirty years. But not all the provinces had such a man as Metcalf; and

the turnpike roads, because of the ignorance and incompetence of many of the men who managed them, were in a deplorable condition. Arthur Young (1741-1820), an important writer on agriculture, and a very intelligent social and political observer, never ceased to inveigh against the incredibly bad state in which many of the roads were left despite the gates and the tolls. "I know not in the whole range of language terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road," he said of the highway from Wigan to Liverpool. "Let me most seriously caution all travelers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one they break their necks or limbs, by overthrowings or breakings down." Metcalf, though he made level roads, did not give them a good surface. Not until the end of the century, when Thomas Telford (1757-1834) began his work as a road and canal builder, and John McAdam (1756-1836) carried out his well considered ideas, did England begin to have a satisfactory system of highways. They were the first engineers definitely trained to solve the problem of road construction. Both of them insisted upon thorough drainage, and on the use of carefully prepared materials; and both adopted a uniform cross-section of moderate curvature. The name of the latter was given to the system of road-making known as macadamizing. His general conclusion, after a long series of experiments, was that roads should be made of broken stone. In 1815 he was able to put his theories into practice. And in 1823, after a parliamentary inquiry into the whole question of road-making, his views were adopted by the governmental authorities. But we are running too far ahead. We must retrace our steps. The improvement of the roads in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, insufficient and incomplete as it was, produced notable results. The northern counties especially profited by it. Before the middle of the century it took the coach one week to go from London to York, while at the end of the century it could go from London to Glasgow in sixty-three hours. But there was still much to be done. The rates of postage were far too high, and the cost of transporting merchandise to inland towns was almost prohibitive.

Naturally the great expense of transportation by road led to improvement of rivers and construction of canals. Canals need little repair; working expenses are slight; the resistance of the water, even for great loads, is low; and, unlike railways, they do not require an expensive plant or power. Both Great Britain and Ireland invite the establishment of navigable waterways. East and west in the larger island gulfs and estuaries penetrate

Building
New
Canals
and
Improving
Old Ones

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so far inland as almost to meet in the center. In the widest part of the island the land is so level as to make the transition between the two slopes almost imperceptible. The rivers are peaceful, and lend themselves easily to navigation. Yet the same cause that had retarded the construction of roads, the numerous rivers and indentations of the coast, and the short distance of inland towns from navigable streams, militated against the creation of artificial waterways. In the middle of the century England had not a single canal. The first work of improvement was obviously to deepen and straighten the rivers, and a good deal of such work was done. But rivers do not flow everywhere, and many of them are irremediably unsatisfactory as carriers of freight. The greatest of the immediate causes of improving and constructing inland waterways was the increasing use of coal. To this cause was due the construction in 1755 of the first canal, properly so called, in England, which connected the coal fields of St. Helens with Liverpool. The high cost of transporting coal rendered almost impossible the exploitation of the Duke of Bridgewater's mines at Worsley. The one solution of the problem then was the building of a canal from the mines to Manchester. But the difficulties to be overcome were very great. The canal would have to pass through a hill and over a river. Fortunately in James Brindley (1716-1772), a wheelwright known for his ingenuity and skill in repairing many kinds of machinery, Bridgewater found a man whose practical ability, developed not by study but by experience and necessity, was equal to the occasion. When the canal was completed contemporaries regarded it as the eighth wonder of the world. The immediate consequences of this enterprise, as well as its successful completion, made a vivid impression upon the imagination. The price of coal at Manchester fell by one-half. It was a decisive argument in favor of similar undertakings. A canal from Manchester to the Mersey reduced by one-half the cost of transporting merchandise from Liverpool to the inland town. Still more important was the canal from the Trent to the Mersey. From this main line, which cuts the island in two, branches were soon to be made in all directions. One went to the Severn, and thus connected the port of Bristol with Liverpool and Hull; and another went by way of Coventry and Oxford on down the Thames to London. In Lancashire a veritable network of waterways was constructed; and that county was united with Yorkshire by three arteries that crossed the Pennine Range. Around Birmingham a complex system extended its ramifications in all directions. In the south of Wales canals ran from Swansea and Cardiff to

the coal mines of the interior and thus gave access to deposits as yet altogether unexploited. And in Scotland a canal was built from the Forth to the Clyde. Thus in about thirty years the whole surface of Great Britain was furrowed with navigable waterways that powerfully influenced the Industrial Revolution that was already transforming the life of the nation. All of this was due to private initiative and enterprise. Governmental activity was limited to making inquiries and giving permission. The men who interested themselves in these undertakings were principally nobles, who were large landowners and who sought to increase the revenue of their mines and quarries and forests, and members of the rising class of the captains of industry. At the end of the century we find the most diverse products from all parts of the country, and indeed from all parts of the world, being taken on the canals to inland towns; and we also find those towns sending their manufactures directly to domestic and foreign ports. It is the network of railways that for the last three-quarters of a century has marked out the great currents of commercial life; but if it be compared with the network of canals we shall see that the latter, insufficient as it has become, already indicated the lines of the former. Often the railway runs by the side of the canal. And if we think of the influence exercised in our days by the railways on the development of industry, we shall understand the immense part played by the canals in the life of the inland people after centuries of economic isolation. Having thus made a brief study of the means of communication we must now turn our attention to the condition of the dwellers on the soil and note the changes that came upon them.

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Dis-
appearance
of the
Yeoman

If one could have traveled with Daniel Defoe up and down the island in the first quarter of the eighteenth century one would have met everywhere, though for some time they had been disappearing, a numerous class of small landholders, the yeomanry, once a mainstay of their country. The yeoman was essentially a peasant proprietor, a freeholder, who tilled the land on which he lived. The distinguishing characteristic of the yeoman's position was its independence. To that, above all other things, he owed his sturdy qualities and the part he had played in the history of his country. After the middle of the eighteenth century his disappearance began with rapid strides. "I sincerely regret the loss of this class of men who are called yeomen," said Arthur Young in 1773; "it is to them in truth that the nation owes the maintenance of its liberties. And now their property is in the hands of the great monopolists." The disappearance of the yeomanry was due to enclosures, and the process of enclosure

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went on most extensively after the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In the twelve years of the reign of Anne only three acts providing for enclosures were passed by Parliament. Then the number increased, slowly at first, until in the last decade of the century more than five hundred, and in the first decade of the new century more than nine hundred, such acts were passed. In the entire eighteenth century about three million acres were enclosed by parliamentary permission; and other enclosures made by private agreement.

**Arable
Land**

What were these enclosures, and how did they cause the disappearance of the yeomen? To answer these questions one must recall the medieval manorial system of holding and cultivating land which the enclosure displaced, understanding that in some details it had been modified in the course of the intervening centuries. The outline and form of the medieval manor visibly remained. The land of each holder, whether freeholder or copyholder, was broken up into long and narrow strips, each about an acre in area, scattered promiscuously among the similar strips of the other landholders of the neighborhood, and in most cases cultivated under the three-field system. This involved grave agricultural disadvantages. No farmer whose land is thus intermingled with that of his neighbors can be independent in the matters of plowing, sowing, and reaping. The only possible method of farming under the open field system was farming in common. The system of cultivation was determined by the jury of the manor court, which generally regarded with suspicion every new proposal. This discouraged initiative and improvement, and in more than one way it was wasteful.

**Meadow
Land and
Waste
Land**

Then, too, on every manor there were other than arable lands. There were common meadows where the cows were kept in charge of a communal cowherd. There was also waste land that remained uncultivated. These waste lands were heaths, on which the heather and the broom luxuriated, or marshes filled with reeds, or peat bogs, or scraggly woods. On them the farmers were permitted to turn sheep and cattle in accordance with the amount of arable land they held. Such constituted the greater number of commons. In recent times many of the waste lands, which for so long were disdained, have been cleared and successfully cultivated. But the intensive culture necessary for this was at that time unknown. Notwithstanding the small value set on the waste lands, and the wild state in which traditional negligence often left them, the privilege of using them was not without advantage to the holders. They could, as we have seen, send their cattle on them; if trees grew there they could cut wood to

repair their cottages; if there was a pond or a river they could fish in it; and if there was a bog they could supply themselves with peat. The waste belonged in principle to the lord of the manor. It was, indeed, sometimes called the lord's waste, but as a matter of fact the lord had only the right to use it as one of the landholders of the township.

Despite appearances the waste land was not free soil open to the use of any dweller on the manor. Only by virtue of a title to arable land, and in proportion to the extent of that land, was a man permitted to have access to it. The more parcels of arable land a man held in the open field, the more oxen and sheep could he send to the waste and to the green commons. Yet in certain districts, over and above the rights in the common lands that each man enjoyed in proportion to the area or the value of his arable land, every family that occupied a cottage had the right to pasture two or three animals on them. This was a privilege very valuable to a poor family that owned only a cow, a few chickens, and a pig killed at the approach of winter. Where this was not a legally established right, custom, which is often more humane than law, took its place. Thus nearly every peasant in England was permitted to profit by the common land. The women went there to pick up dead wood for fuel. And even huts and other shelters were built on it. Without any legal right, by a sort of tacit permission, these humble dwelling places of the squatters, constructed of light materials taken from the waste land itself, had multiplied. The squatters were fairly numerous, and what they took from the waste helped to alleviate their hard and precarious lives as workers in the neighboring fields. They had no legal title to the enjoyment of the waste lands, they were intruders, yet it was they who were most deeply interested in their preservation. They clung with desperate tenacity to their pitiful little holdings and squalid shanties. They knew only too well that if the waste lands should be done away with their very existence would be imperiled. Much of this vanished life in the villages can be seen in the novels of Richardson and Fielding.

We are now in a position to explain the enclosures that in the course of a hundred years were to change the face of the countryside. Enclosure was the process of turning the open arable lands and the common or waste lands into enclosed estates. It was the process of replacing the scattered parcels of arable land and the divided stretches of waste land with compact farms entirely independent of each other and surrounded each with a fence or hedge as the guarantee and sign of its autonomy.

We have seen something of enclosures in the sixteenth cen-

The
Right
to Use
Waste
Land

Definition
of
Enclosure

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ment of
Agricul-
ture

ture. In the following century the movement greatly subsided. Why, after so long an interval, did they now begin again? It was because the open field system stood in the way of agricultural progress. The Civil War and the subsequent political disturbances had interrupted the slow improvement in tilling the soil and breeding live-stock, and so the end of the seventeenth century found agriculture in a state of stagnation. Large tracts of marsh and moor were everywhere to be seen, and the land under cultivation yielded only a small part of what it might have been made to produce. But with the opening of the new century signs of progress began to appear. Here and there in a few places turnips were grown in the fallow lands and fed to sheep and cattle kept in the fields. Clover was also occasionally grown in the fallow fields for the same purpose. The introduction of roots and grasses made it unnecessary to grow two grain crops in succession on the same land, revealed the unwisdom of letting a part of the land lie in idle fallow, and enabled the farmer to carry more stock and to feed it better during the winter months. The first considerable improvement in agriculture was due to Jethro Tull (1674-1741), a gentleman farmer of Berkshire, who, with a machine drill he had invented for the purpose, began experiments in a new system of sowing seed in drills or rows sufficiently wide apart to permit tillage by plow and hoe during almost the entire period of growth. Later on he traveled in France and Italy and made careful observations of agricultural methods in those countries. He laid stress upon the proper use of manure and the importance of pulverizing the soil. In 1731 an account of his experiments and theories was given to the world in his *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*, and two years later a second printing with additions appeared. He recommended deep plowing and harrowing, and continuous rotation of crops. Thus the land could be made to produce a continuous succession of crops without exhausting it, and the waste of fallow land could be reduced or even done away with entirely. He explained the importance of fodder in winter, and the advantage to be derived from succulent roots, such as beets and turnips. He tried to substitute methods derived from observation and experimentation for customs whose only recommendation was tradition. If, strictly speaking, he does not represent scientific procedure, it is at least certain that he is an admirable exemplar of that enlightened empiricism which often leads to valuable discoveries.

These suggestions came in the nick of time. The great landholders were eagerly desirous of enriching themselves. For some time they had noted with jealousy the increasing wealth

of the financial and commercial class. If the immense estates of the aristocracy, now badly administered, badly cultivated, a prey to routine and neglect, were properly farmed would they not become a source of wealth? The answer seemed unmistakable. Many of the nobles, therefore, unattracted by the dull court of the foreign dynasty then on the throne, and themselves suspected of attachment to the forlorn family living in exile, became agriculturists. Among these titled farmers the most notable was Sir Charles Townshend (1674-1738), who in 1730, as the consequence of a famous quarrel with Walpole, retired from the Cabinet and devoted himself to agriculture. His estate at Raynham, in Norfolk, was in a desolate condition. Great stretches of sand alternated with marshes, and the very grass was poor and thin. Townsend improved it according to the methods he had observed in the Netherlands. He drained the marshes, and with the sandy soil he mixed marl and manure. Marl is a name loosely used for many varieties of rotted rock that range all the way from clay to limestone. Mixed with certain soils it is a valuable fertilizing agency. Then he raised crops in regular rotation, one kind after another, grains and roots and improved kinds of grasses, without letting the land lie idle and without lessening its fertility. He was the first to raise turnips on a large scale in the island, drilling them according to Tull's precepts, and hoeing them with horses, instead of sowing them broadcast. When the swede-turnip was introduced a further improvement was made. It is a root of yellow flesh, firmer and more nutritious than the white flesh variety, and one that keeps much better during the winter. Townshend also bred sheep, the proximity of Norwich, the great market for wool, promising a sure and immediate remuneration. In a few years the poor and despised district became one of the most flourishing in the kingdom. The example was followed by neighboring landholders, and in the thirty years immediately succeeding the beginning of the experiment the price of land all over the country increased ten-fold. Soon it became a general fashion. Every gentleman boasted that he himself superintended the improvement of his land. Hunting was the only thing in the country in which the previous generation had been interested. All the talk in those days had been of horses and dogs. But now one conversed of drainage and manure, of rotation of crops, of clover, lucern, and turnips. The cavalier had given place to the gentleman farmer. And soon there appeared the class of the great farmers, men who looked upon agriculture as an investment, who brought to it the same spirit of initiative and the same close attention to

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ment in
Breeding
Live-Stock

details as did the merchant and the manufacturer to commercial and industrial affairs.

The introduction of field cultivation of root crops, clover, and artificial grasses had solved the problem of supporting livestock throughout the winter and spring. Farmers were now able to carry more numerous herds than before, and they were encouraged to turn their attention to the improvement of their stock. The leader in the betterment of breeding and rearing sheep and cattle was Robert Bakewell (1725-1795), an enterprising farmer at Dishley, in Leicestershire. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century sheep were valued for their manure, their skins, and, above all else, their wool. As food they had been comparatively neglected. There were short-wool and long-wool sheep. The former were by far the more numerous, and were to be found all over the island. They were small and hardy, accustomed for centuries to travel long distances, to find their food on scanty pasturage, and to exist on a minimum allowance of hay throughout the winter. The many local varieties of short-wools differed greatly from each other. The long-wools, on the contrary, were more uniform in type. All of them were large, with long wool that was straight and strong. The time was approaching when mutton was to be more necessary than wool, and beef more in demand than draught animals. The Industrial Revolution, with its teeming factory towns, was at hand. Bakewell saw the impending change and set about to prepare for it. By visiting a large number of farms all over the country he acquired a wide theoretical knowledge of agriculture and stock-breeding, and this knowledge he proceeded to put into practical use. It was his effort to breed animals that weigh heaviest in the most desirable parts for eating, and that would quickly repay the cost of the food they consumed. He concentrated his attention upon the best joints of meat and disregarded the unessential things that hitherto had been the concern of stockmen. In order to obtain his purpose he adopted a new principle in breeding. Up to this time crossing was understood to mean the mixture of two different breeds. One of the two breeds was inferior to the other in the quality for which he was seeking, and this defect would be perpetuated, or at least merely mitigated, by the union. Bakewell selected the breed that approached most nearly to his ideal and then bred two of the finest specimens of the breed that he could find. He bred in and in, using not merely animals of the same breed, but of the same family. Thus, having always selected the animals he used for the possession of the points he wished to increase, he was able to approximate nearer and nearer to his ideal. Grad-

ually he produced a new type of sheep, one that was compact in form, small of bone, that had a marked propensity to fatten, and that matured early. While other breeds required three or four years to prepare them for the market the New Leicesters were ready in two. Their superiority on enclosed lands in the midland districts was undisputed. The same methods were used to produce a hardier and more active type of sheep, with heavier fleeces, suitable for grazing of hills and in the mountains. In cattle breeding, owing to the defective character of the material he had to deal with, Bakewell was less successful. He continued the improvement, begun by several predecessors, of the long-horn cattle that were the favorite type in the midland counties. He succeeded in increasing their fattening propensity, but as milkers they deteriorated, and in a district that depended largely upon its dairy produce this was a fatal defect. The long-horns were soon surpassed, both as milkers and meat-producers, by the short-horns developed in the county of Durham. The success of these experiments, and the rapidly increasing demand for meat, produced numerous imitators. Breeders everywhere followed the example of Bakewell. An idea of the results attained may be gathered from the difference in average weights in a period of eighty-five years in the Smithfield market. This

	1710	1795
Beeves	370	800
Calves	50	148
Sheep	28	80
Lambs	18	50

enormous addition to the meat supply of the country was due not only to the use of new crops, better methods of cultivation, and better methods of breeding, but also to the enclosure of open fields and commons, which permitted the planting of the new crops and the use of the new methods.

Some mechanical improvements should be noticed. Lighter and more effective plows were invented. The old cumbersome plow had required six, eight, or even twelve oxen with three men in attendance; and, on an average, little more than an acre a day had been turned over. It was now possible for two horses and a man to do the same work in the same time. The flail continued to be the chief means of threshing grain beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. The first really successful threshing machine was invented about 1786 by Andrew Meikle (1719-1811), a Scottish millwright. Some fifteen years later a machine was devised that threshed, cleaned, and delivered the grain at a single

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operation. Most of these machines were not portable. They were built at places where water-power could be employed, and so, of course, the unthreshed grain had to be taken to them. A few portable machines, operated by horse-power, were used; but, because of the strenuous work required of the horses, they were not very satisfactory. When steam was developed as a motive power the successful portable threshing machine became a possibility. Many patents were taken out in the last quarter of the century for drills, horse-rakes, turnip-slicers, and reaping, mowing, and winnowing machines. It was the first generation of the new age of labor-saving devices.

Spreading
the
News

Progress in the theory and practice of agriculture was confined for a long time to certain localities, particularly to some of the midland and eastern counties. The country as a whole had made little if any general advance on the agriculture of the thirteenth century. The backward state of things was due very largely to the open field system of farming and to the prevalence of waste lands. There were other hindrances, such as the risk of loss of the money expended in improvements by those whose tenure of land was at the pleasure of the owner, the poverty of some farmers, the ignorance of others, the lack of markets, the difficulties of transportation, and the stubborn attachment of men to traditional practices, but the method of farming in common and the existence of numerous tracts of uncultivated land were the greatest obstacles to general agricultural progress. The task of persuading the general public to undertake agricultural reform was attempted by a number of men, the most important of whom was Arthur Young (1741-1820), a wide observer of economic and social conditions. He was not a mere theorist. "I have been a farmer these many years," he tells us, "and that not in a single field or two, but upon a tract of three hundred acres most of the time." In 1767 he began the tours in England, Wales, and Ireland in the course of which he made notes and sketches of farming methods and conditions, and of rural life in general, that were afterwards published in book form and translated into several continental languages. Whenever he came upon lack of initiative and blind adherence to custom he was swift to condemn it. "It is very melancholy to ride through such vastly extensive tracts of uncultivated good land as are found in every part of this country," he said, in speaking of Northumberland; "and it is equally unfortunate that so many men of substance in the farming way should tread perpetually in the beaten route, and hire land in so many parts of England at an enormous rent, while such quantities are to be had for almost

nothing." He was equally swift to praise whenever he came upon improved methods or upon intelligent experimentation. Agricultural machinery made a special appeal to him, and his progressive spirit may be glimpsed in his assertion that in mechanics there are no impossibilities. The results of his own experiments he gave to the world in 1770 in *A Course of Experimental Agriculture*. In 1784 he began the publication of the *Annals of Agriculture* which was continued for a quarter of a century. He helped to persuade Pitt to establish a Board of Agriculture for the purpose of encouraging and organizing agricultural progress. For thirty years as the secretary of this institution he gave valuable assistance in collecting and preparing agricultural surveys of the different counties. Among the other publications of the Board we should not fail to note the remarkable *General Report on Enclosures*, published in 1808. It deals in a broad and comprehensive manner with a grave problem that had long been undergoing solution. Young was a vigorous champion of enclosure. The "open-field farmers must die out," he said, "before any complete change takes place."

The most famous exponent of the new system of farming was Sir Thomas Coke (1752-1842), of Norfolk, who when he came into his estates found the entire district unenclosed and the cultivation in the most backward condition, and who left it the most flourishing agricultural section in the island. He marled and clayed the light and drifting sand, purchased large quantities of manure, drilled his wheat and turnips, grew sainfoin and clover, and greatly increased his live-stock. He insisted upon the insertion in all the leases on his estate of agreements as to the method of cultivation, and he helped his tenants to take advantage of every new invention and discovery that had successfully met the test of experience. "Every one of his tenants," said a writer later on, "made use of expressions towards him which affectionate children use towards their parents." His farm buildings and dwellings were models of their kind. But his activities were not confined to his own estate. At his annual sheep-shearings, farmers from a distance gathered to see for themselves the results of the new methods and to hear discussions intended to break down undesirable traditions and uproot old prejudices. Gradually attendance at these meetings increased, and men came to them not only from distant counties but even from several countries on the continent.

Work of
Sir
Thomas
Coke

The revival of enclosure in the eighteenth century was due to several reasons. The Industrial Revolution, with its formation of manufacturing centers, its increase of urban population,

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Open
Field
System
Disap-
peared

had multiplied the demand for grain and meat. The time had gone by forever when the harvest of a field went no farther than the neighboring village or market town. This, however, was not one of the early causes of the great change in agriculture. Enclosures were renewed long before the factory system appeared. The inherent unfitness of the old methods of farming to produce the results that men now knew could be obtained was the chief cause that led to their gradual abandonment. We have already noted some of the disadvantages of the open field system of cultivating the arable lands and of the system of common waste lands and common meadows. There were others. New crops could not be planted without general consent. The cultivated fields were often foul with weeds. If one farmer were industrious in getting rid of the invading docks and thistles, the negligence of his neighbors rendered his efforts almost nugatory. The triennial fallows, despite the fact that sheep were often folded on them, left their heritage of sorrel and dandelions and many another pest. The common waste lands were largely left to themselves. Heather and gorse, thistles and reeds, and thorns and thickets abounded everywhere. When Jeanie Deans walked from Edinburgh to London she passed through forests of broom in the northern counties thick and tall enough to hide an army; and no section of the country was without its wide fens, or its black regions of ling, or its sandy wastes covered with furze. The promiscuity of the flocks on the waste lands and common meadows gave rise to epidemics. The scab was rarely absent from the common fold, or the rot from the ill-drained fields and pastures. And what was the use for a single farmer to buy improved stock when the intermingling of the herds made the deterioration of its offspring unavoidable? Then, too, the precarious boundaries of the open fields were constant temptations to the needy and dishonest. Men stole part of their neighbors' crops. "How many brawling contentions," said a contemporary, "are brought before the judges every assizes by the inhabitants of the common fields." The open field system made possible only the minimum of improvement. Its inherent defects could not be cured. That is why it had to disappear.

Procedure
and
Character
of
Enclos-
ures
in the
Eight-
eenth
Century

The early enclosures never had any legal sanction. They were merely private acts of individuals, vainly resisted by national legislation for a hundred and fifty years. Later ones, on the contrary, were carried out according to a regular procedure, which had its origin, in theory at least, in the consent of the interested parties. Here and there, especially in the latter part of the eighteenth century, enclosure was effected by private agreement,

without the expensive intervention of Parliament; but the great majority of enclosures were accomplished only with the aid of the law, and so it is to them that we shall devote our attention.

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The first act of an enclosure drama took place in the parish. Where all the landholders in a parish were in favor of enclosure it was necessary for them only to sign an agreement to that effect and to have the document registered in the Court of Chancery; but where the agreement was not unanimous it was necessary to ask the intervention of the governmental authorities. Each separate act of Parliament providing for enclosure grew out of the fact that there was not unanimity of opinion on the part of the persons concerned. The great landholders were the first to exploit their estates according to the prescriptions of the new agriculture. It was they who were most impatient of the disadvantages of the open field system. It was almost always they who took the initiative in petitioning Parliament for an enclosure act relating to their particular parish. They began ordinarily by conferring in secret among themselves, arranging the points in which their own interests conflicted, selecting the surveyor, and choosing an attorney to whom they confided the conduct of the legal matters involved in the operation. "The proprietors of large estates," said Arthur Young, "generally agree upon the measure, adjust the principal points among themselves, and fix upon their attorney before they appoint any general meeting of the proprietors." After such a preliminary meeting, all the holders in the district were summoned to a general meeting. At this meeting it was not a majority of the landholders that decided the question. Votes counted according to the area possessed. In order to make the petition valid, the number of votes mattered but little; but they had to represent four-fifths of the lands to be enclosed. Those who held the other fifth were often very numerous. Sometimes they were even in a majority. Petitions can be quoted signed by only two or three names, nay, even by only one. In cases where the consent of a few small holders was necessary, resort was sometimes had to intimidation. Usually, however, the peasants were too much afraid to resist. What they feared above all things else was to come into collision with their superiors. Sometimes the majority of the members of a parish knew nothing about the scheme until the news was made public that permission to bring in an enclosure bill for the district had been granted by Parliament. All the necessary signatures had been obtained in secret. In order to prevent repetitions of so flagrant an abuse, Parliament, in 1774, required that notice of intention to petition

First
Step in
Enclosing

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Second
Step in
Enclosing

for enclosure should be affixed on the door of the parish church for three Sundays.

When the petition was signed, the second act of the drama began and the scene was shifted. A series of costly formalities began in Parliament. Large fees had to be paid to parliamentary officials. The lawyers had to be paid. Witnesses had to go to London; and they had to be maintained there, often through protracted delays, or else they had to go home and return again and again. Then the commissioners and their clerk, and the surveyor and his assistants, had to be paid and provision made for many other expenditures. Parliament at this time represented the large landholders, not the mass of the people; it was largely made up of men of that class; it often included friends of the petitioners, sometimes, indeed, their relatives. If an inquiry was demanded by persons opposed to the petition it almost always ended in conclusions favorable to the petitioners. Counter-petitions were effective only when they came from the possessing and governing class. Little trouble was ever taken to obtain the opinion of small claimants. The small farmers were seldom able to engage lawyers, pay the expenses of witnesses, and urge their claims in person. The text of the enclosure act was usually long and complicated, and yet it determined only the general conditions of the operation.

Third
Step in
Enclosing

The scene of the last act of the drama of enclosure was again the parish. The details were settled on the spot and in the presence of the interested parties. It was a difficult and delicate task. All the parcels of land belonging to each owner had to be measured; their annual revenue had to be estimated; and the value of the rights each landholder enjoyed in the common land had to be determined. Then all the land in the parish had to be divided anew into compact and contiguous parts according to the rights of the various individuals whose scattered parcels these new divisions were to replace. Sometimes the poor did not know what their claims were; and often they did not know how to present them. In some cases indemnities had to be paid, and in all cases the making of the enclosures that were to separate the different properties had to be supervised. New roads had to be made, and sometimes it was necessary to make provision for drainage and irrigation. In a word the arrangement of all the land in the parish had to be revolutionized. The soil had to be divided among the holders in an entirely new manner, with due respect to the former rights of each. This difficult operation was entrusted to commissioners, whose number, three, five, or seven, varied from place to place, and who were given unlimited power.

"Thus is the property of proprietors," said Arthur Young, "and especially of the poor ones, entirely at their mercy; every passion of resentment and prejudice may be gratified without control, for they are vested with a despotic power known in no other branch of business in this free country." In theory the commissioners were appointed by Parliament; their names appeared in the act; but in reality they were appointed by the promoters before the petition was submitted for local signatures. So frequently were the opportunities of the position abused that vigorous and insistent demands were made for the election of the commissioners by an assembly of all the landholders and for their responsibility to the courts. But it was only in 1801, when the first general enclosure act was passed, that an attempt was made to prevent the most glaring injustices. Thenceforth no landholder in the parish concerned could be a commissioner, nor could any one who had been in his employ in the last three years; all objections were to be entered by the commissioners in their reports; and every person who deemed himself injured had the right to appeal to the courts.

The small farmer stood by, a helpless spectator of this change in which the preservation of his property and even the very conditions of his existence were at stake. He could not prevent the commissioners from reserving the best lands for those richer than himself. He was compelled to accept the land assigned to him even though he did not consider it equivalent to what he possessed before. Part of the common land had been given to him, it is true, but it was measured out to him in proportion to the number of animals he had sent to pasture on it. Once more, therefore, he who had most received most. "By nineteen out of twenty enclosure bills the poor are injured," said Arthur Young, "and some are grossly injured." Each small farmer and cottager had to pay his share of the general expenses of the enclosure, which were often large, and when he came into possession of his new property he had to surround it with hedges that cost labor and money. Little wonder that many of them were left impoverished. Some of them went to the new industrial towns, others became day laborers, while still others emigrated to America. As to the squatters who had lived on the common land by sufferance, all they had deemed themselves to possess was taken away at a single stroke. In certain villages they could no longer get milk for their children. The evidence of their sharp distress is abundant. What right, however, had they to complain? Did not the land belong to others? No doubt that was technically true; but surely something might have been said for a state of affairs consecrated by the usage of so long a time. Something

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Usual
Effect
of En-
closure
Upon the
Small
Farmer

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of the
Great
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holders
for Still
More
Land

was said for the benefit of these lowly poor. An act of 1757 directed the commissioners of enclosures to pay certain indemnities to the administrators in order to relieve those who suffered from the abolition of the open wastes, and woods, and pastures.

When the enclosure was accomplished the great landholders were not always content. They sought to buy their neighbors' lands and thus enlarge their estates. Some wished to increase the extent of their arable land or their pasture, while others desired to enlarge their parks and hunting grounds. And side by side with those who were already great landholders were the merchants, financiers, and, later on, the manufacturers who aspired to become such. Many of the yeomen, honest, but devoted to routine, were bewildered by the changes going on about them and feared the formidable competition of the new agricultural methods. So they sold their lands and went to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Enlargement of farms went hand in hand with enclosures; and the former, though it made a much slighter impression upon contemporary thought, was by far the more important of the two. It was the final goal towards which the efforts of the great landholders were directed. In the last half of the eighteenth century some fifty thousand farms disappeared. Many parishes became depopulated. One may hear the echo of innumerable complaints in *The Deserted Village*, for the details of the poem are too precise to permit us to regard it only as a product of the imagination. The area devoted to grain decreased, while that given over to pasture was augmented. "The advantage of enclosure is much greater for a meadow than for arable land," Adam Smith declared; "it saves the trouble of watching the cattle, which moreover are much better fed when not liable to be harassed by the shepherd and his dog." The exportation of grain fell off, while the importation of it grew even larger; and because of this a profound change eventually came in the economic life of the nation.

Condition
of the
Farmers
Who Re-
mained
on the
Land

The farmer who continued on his land after enclosure usually fared well. "Industrious, active, enlightened, free from all foolish and expensive show," said Arthur Young, in 1799, of yeomen of Lincolnshire, after the change had been effected, "they live comfortably and hospitably, as good farmers ought to live; and in my opinion are remarkably void of those rooted prejudices which sometimes are reasonably objected to in this race of men. I met with many of them who had mounted their nags and quitted their homes purposely to examine other parts of the kingdom; had done it with enlarged views, and to the benefit of their own

cultivation." It was, then, well with those who were able to remain on their farms.

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But what befell the small freeholders and the copyholders, and those who had leased land under the old system, who became discouraged or found it impossible to continue as independent farmers? Some of them became hired wage-earners and remained in the parishes where they were born. Others emigrated from the country to the towns, particularly, in the second half of the eighteenth century, to the seats of the new industries. The necessity of seeking work elsewhere, when fewer hands were required in the country, was still more imperative with the laborers who had been evicted from their huts on the commons. In some places they proceeded to tramp the highways, asking for work from farm to farm. They, too, eventually drifted to the factory towns. The peasants are "driven in crowds by want and lack of work towards the manufacturing towns," says a petition from Northamptonshire, in 1797, to the House of Commons, "where the nature of their new occupations at the loom or the forge will soon have the effect of destroying their vigor and that of their children." Not all the cottagers were worthy people. Some of them were thieves and poachers. One parliamentary report speaks of "that nest and conservatory of sloth, idleness, and misery, which is uniformly to be witnessed in the vicinity of commons, waste lands, and forests throughout the kingdom." All such reports, however, were written by men belonging to the upper strata of rural society who were ardently devoted to the policy of enclosures. The injury inflicted upon the commoners by the loss of pasture, whether legally exercised or not, was indisputably great; and their pitiful sufferings were admitted even by such uncompromising advocates of enclosures as Arthur Young. The poor were needlessly sacrificed in the process of enclosure.

Condition
of the
Men Who
Left the
Land

The enclosures and the enlargement of farms, then, changed a peasant with rights and a status, with a share in the fortunes and government of his village, into a laborer with no such rights and privileges to defend; and since then his history has for the most part been that of a crushed and beaten class. They also had the ultimate consequence of placing a large amount of unemployed labor at the disposal of the new industries and rendered possible the development of the factory system. To this new industrial country that was arising in the very heart of the old agricultural land some of the yeomen went with a little capital, while most of the cottagers and squatters landed there with nothing more than the rags in which they were clothed. Silently and grad-

An
Army of
Workers
Provided
for the
Factories

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ually was gathered the host of workers, the anonymous people of the factories, the army of the great Industrial Revolution.

Finally, in another way, the sweeping change in the methods and conditions of agriculture affected the changes in industry. Before the invention of spinning and weaving machinery, that work was done in the farmhouses of the yeomen and cottagers and in the huts of the squatters. The peasants who held little parcels of ground, and the landless folk who lived on the waste, spent part of their time in spinning and weaving. When they were dispossessed of their land and dwellings they could no longer do this. So the enclosures and enlargements served to lessen domestic industry even before the competition of machinery killed it. The enclosure movement and the coming of the factory system were, therefore, connected in more ways than one. They went on together side by side, each contributing in some degree to the other, though each was essentially an independent movement. Both were caused by the commercial spirit, the invasion by capital of the fields of agriculture and industry, the desire to diminish expenses and increase profits.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(1725-1800)

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The
Woolen
Industry

THE contrast between the great modern industrial towns humming with factories and black with smoke and the peaceful villages in which the craftsmen and merchants of former times lived their leisurely lives is nowhere else more striking than in England. The two types continue to exist there. They may be seen with one's own eyes to-day. The life in these villages has changed. Only in a few remote districts, and in one or two backward trades, do the conditions of the old-time industry survive. It is necessary for us, however, to know something of these conditions. The woolen industry was the most complete and characteristic of all the industries of that bygone age, and so to it we shall confine our attention. It was to be found in almost every part of the island, in the immediate neighborhood of the metropolis and in the most distant county of the northern Highlands. It was the principal means of livelihood for entire populations, and it exercised a kind of predominance over all the other industries. It dominated the industrial life of the kingdom. The woolsack placed before the throne in the Upper Chamber of Parliament, and serving as a seat to the Lord Chancellor, was by no means an empty symbol. A description of this paramount industry will enable us to understand the principal features of the old economic order destined to be destroyed by the Industrial Revolution.

How the
Wool was
Manufactured

This leading industry, then, was carried on, to a greater or less extent, in every farmhouse. In the chief room, which sometimes was the only one, and which always served as the kitchen, eating room, and work room, was the loom of the weaver. The loom, which may still be seen in lonely upland valleys, had changed very little since the days of antiquity. The two sets of threads that formed the warp of the fabric rose and fell alternately, each moved by a separate pedal; while each time, in order to make the woof, the weaver passed the shuttle containing a third

thread between the two threads of the warp from one hand to the other. How was this thread, or yarn, prepared? The wool was carded or combed with two combs, one of which was stationary and fixed to a wooden support. Then it was spun into thread by a wheel, moved either by the hand or foot, though sometimes the distaff and spindle, which are as old as the art of weaving, were still used. These implements cost but little, and therefore they were within reach of the poorest cottager. And the operations that it was not possible for him to carry on without special apparatus too costly for him to buy, such as fulling and teasing the cloth, were done at mills in the neighborhood run by water power. These places were called public mills, because each weaver in turn, by paying rent, could make use of them. If the family was large the operations were divided among the different members. The boys carded or combed the wool, the wife and daughters spun the yarn, and the husband plied the loom. Not always, however, were the conditions so simple. A single loom, it was estimated, could give employment to five or six spinners. So the weaver who did not include that number of spinners in his own household had to seek for yarn elsewhere. There were some houses in which spinning was the only occupation. It was thus that a first specialization in industry was brought about. Then, too, there were houses in which were several looms, and where the owner, without ceasing himself to be a worker, employed several assistants. Thus the weaver in his cottage carried on the entire process of making woolen cloth. He was not dependent upon a capitalist. He sold in the market-place of the next town the cloth he had woven. This class of small industrial workers formed a very large part of the population. The man who possessed four or five looms was an exception. There was little difference between them, and between them and their workmen. There was an equality between employer and employee that has long since vanished and become forgotten. Capital and labor were combined. They were almost indistinguishable. And the weaver, as we have seen, was a landholder. Sometimes his cottage stood on a few acres of ground, but more often it was to be found in a closely built village. Each weaver needed at least one horse in order to fetch the raw wool, to buy his extra yarn, to take his cloth to the fulling mill, to carry the finished product to the market, and to bring home provisions for the family. Each family also had a cow or two, sometimes more, that were pastured in the surrounding fields and along the edges of the lanes, and a little flock of fowls. It was in winter, when no work could be done in the fields, that the hum of the wheel and

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and
Defects
of the
Domestic
System
of Manu-
facture

the click of the loom were heard in every cottage in the land; but at seed time and harvest the wheels were silent and the looms stood still.

To this condition of affairs has been given the name of the domestic system of industry. It was a medieval condition that remained almost intact at the opening of the nineteenth century. Its praises have often been sung. Men then lived in the pure air of the countryside, we are told, they were all equal, their pleasures were simple and wholesome, and, above all else, they were independent. Not all the alleged advantages, however, will bear investigation. In those dark and damp cottages men worked long hours by the feeble light of the candle, their wages and earnings were pitifully small, only too often they sought relief from their long and monotonous labor in heavy drinking in the village tavern, their independence was but a myth for they were chained to the wheel of labor, and all the conditions of their lives made for stagnation of thought. Workmen had their grievances and made their complaints long before the new order of things was established. Such a system could not last. Commerce was no longer medieval in its conditions; it had become world wide, and it was making greater demands upon production. England, more than half a century before she became the classic land of industry, the land *par excellence* of mines, forges, and spinning wheels, was already a great commercial country, or, as a celebrated phrase has it, a nation of shopkeepers. A new method of industry, one capable of meeting the expanding needs of the time, was imperatively necessary. That need was met by the factory system.

Steps
between
the
Domestic
and the
Factory
System
of
Industry

There were several intervening steps between the domestic and the factory system of industry. One of the first of them was the severing of the connection between weaving and farming, and the concentration of the weavers in villages and towns. Finer and more complicated fabrics came into vogue, and the weaver soon learned that the rough work of farming unfitted his hands for the delicate task of weaving them. Then, too, in order to attain the perfection now demanded, the weaver found it necessary to limit his activity to one line of work. Gradually it became the custom for merchants, who supplied the yarn, to engage weavers to make cloth for them by the piece; and as time went on these merchants, or fustian masters, as they were called, gathered spinners and weavers about them in the towns. Small hand-loom factories, owned by fustian masters and operated by their employees, multiplied in the towns. The centralization of management was under way. Yet from none of these arrangements

could the impending revolution be foreseen. The great change was due to an entirely different cause.

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A potent cause of the Industrial Revolution that became plainly perceptible after 1750, and is still going on, was improvement in machinery. This improvement is to be noticed first in the field of the textile industries. It begins as far back as 1589 when William Lee invented the stocking-frame for knitting stockings. The new machines did not displace the domestic system of industry. They did not inaugurate the factory system. Like the weaving looms they were used at home. But they were costly instruments, and so capitalists rented them to workmen. Thus there was a premonition of the impending change. No longer did every workman own a machine with which he worked. The next improvement was made in spinning silk thread. John Lombe made a journey to Leghorn in 1716 where stealthily he sketched designs of the spinning machines used there. When he returned a long building, five or six stories high, was built on an island in the Derwent, and in it a number of the large and complicated machines, run by a water-wheel, were installed. It was the first factory, with its automatic apparatus, its continuous production, and the narrowly specialized functions of its three thousand employees, that ever existed in England.

Fore-
shadow-
ings
of the
Industrial
Revolu-
tion

The Industrial Revolution, however, was thus far only fore-shadowed. It was with the development of the manufacture of cotton that the mighty change began. All through the Middle Ages wool was the chief textile fabric in western Europe. Cotton stuffs, made in the Far East, were used; but they were too costly, and too unsuited to meet the needs of western men at that time, to replace wool. Almost all the cotton fabrics, with flowers painted or printed on them, used in the larger towns in the seventeenth century, came from the East, especially from India. They became the fashion, and so the use of wool fell off. The most favorable field at home for the cotton industry was in Lancashire. At Liverpool raw material can be unloaded from Asia and America; and the special climatic conditions that permit the spinning of fine cotton thread, sufficient humidity in the atmosphere and no excessive variations of temperature, are to be found there. In later years these advantages were supplemented by the presence of enormous quantities of coal. Old regulations had retarded progress in spinning and weaving wool, if indeed they had not reduced them to a state of stagnation; but the manufacture of cotton in England was a new industry. It was hindered by no such galling restrictions as those which hampered the older industries. The only control it knew was individual interest and

Introduc-
tion of
the
Cotton
Industry

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competition. It had all the advantages of freedom. It was open to initiative and invention of every kind. Hence the rapidity with which it could adopt the use of machinery; hence, also, the boldness of its enterprises and the variety of its products. There was another reason. The supply of raw wool cannot be increased as rapidly as that of cotton, and it can therefore never be as cheap. The woollen industry offered no such possibility of wide and rapid development as did the cotton industry. It could furnish no such cheap fabrics to appeal to the poorest customers and flood the most distant markets.

**First
Improvement
in the
Manufac-
ture of
Cotton**

There were difficulties to be overcome in the new industry, improvements in spinning and weaving to be made, before it could be said to be in a satisfactory condition. These practical problems naturally engaged the attention of workers in the craft, and at the hands of these men, not of men with scientific training, they found their solution. The first in order of time of the inventions that were to transform the textile industries, the sliding shuttle, given to the world in 1733, was a simple improvement of the weaving loom. Up to this time the shuttle carrying the thread of the weft had been thrown from one side of the loom to the other, between the separated threads of the warp, by the weaver himself in the manner of his remotest ancestors. In weaving cloth wider than the easy stretch of a man's arm, two or more were required. But now, with a shuttle that could be thrown from side to side by pulling two cords alternately and that could travel ten feet as easily as two, a single man could weave the widest cloth. This new device worked so rapidly that it was called the "flying shuttle." It enabled a weaver to do twice as much as he had been able to do before, and it improved the quality of the cloth.

**Invention
of a
Spinning
Machine**

The use of the flying shuttle met with resistance, and, in 1753, rioters broke into the house of John Kay (1704-1764), the inventor, who narrowly escaped with his life, and sacked it. It was impossible, however, to set the hands of the clock back. The use of the new shuttle gradually spread from place to place and had wide-reaching consequences. It upset, for instance, the equilibrium between weaving and spinning. They no longer went step in step. There had never been too much yarn, and especially in the summer, when the rural folk were working in the fields, there had often been a dearth of it. And now, when the capacity of every loom was suddenly increased two-fold, there was a veritable famine. Weavers were often idle for want of yarn. Such a state of things could not last. The need for accelerating the production of yarn and thread was urgent, and so the prac-

tical workers of the craft set themselves earnestly to meet that need. Obscurity still shrouds the invention of the spinning machine. John Wyatt (1700-1766) had the instinct of invention. The variety of his improvements is only less astonishing than their number. He became associated with Lewis Paul (?-1759) and it seems probable that the development of a practical spinning machine resulted from their collaboration. It was some years, however, before the machine was in working order. Not until 1738 was the patent issued. A workshop was set up at Northampton containing five machines, of fifty spindles each, run by water power. It was the first cotton-spinning mill. But the invention did not spread. All was not yet right. And so the weavers continued to complain of the dearth and scarcity of yarn, and of the time they lost while waiting for thread. In a district like Lancashire, which lived on the textile industry, it was a question ceaselessly debated.

James Hargreaves (?-1778) was one of those numerous men who combined the work of carpentering and weaving, versatile and handy mechanics. Perhaps he first thought of the spinning jenny about 1764, when he saw an ordinary spinning wheel overturned on the ground. The wheel and the spindle continued to revolve, the latter having abandoned its horizontal position for an upright one. The observant mechanic thought that if a number of spindles were placed upright side by side several threads might be spun at the same time. His claim to this invention has been disputed, but thus far it has not been disproved by satisfactory evidence. The spinning jenny came at a time when it was greatly needed. The machine invented by Wyatt and Paul had failed thus far to meet the demand. But the jenny immediately multiplied the productive power of the spinners eightfold, and, owing to its form, it was well adapted to operation by children. In a few years jennies of eighty spindles and more were constructed and put into use.

Invention
of the
Spinning
Jenny

Yet despite its success the jenny was not entirely satisfactory. It could not spin a fine and strong thread; and so its product could be used only as weft, not for the longitudinal threads of the warp. The invention of a machine that overcame this defect, the spinning-frame, is connected with the name of Richard Arkwright (1732-1792), who as a barber and wandering tradesman had learned a good deal about the textile industry and its needs. The first spinning-frame was constructed about 1768 with the aid of a clockmaker. A mill was built at Cromford, on the banks of the Derwent, in which in a few years some three hundred men were employed. The new machine, run by water

Further
Improvements in
Spinning

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power, was called the water-frame. It was able to produce thread so equable and slight and strong as to make possible the weaving of muslins as delicate as those then being imported at great cost from India. The spinning mule, invented by Samuel Crompton (1753-1837), was a happy combination of the principles of the jenny and the water-frame. It could draw out a thread to an astonishing degree of tenuity, and at the same time give it a sufficient power of resistance. Gradually, as it was improved, it became the best spinning machine. With its slender thread muslins of incomparable lightness could be manufactured. Arkwright laid claim to a number of inventions accessory to the water-frame, but none of them seems to have been his own creation. He was not an inventor. At most he only arranged, combined, and utilized the inventions of others. He set up large factories, installed the machinery, recruited the employees and trained them to perform efficiently their new tasks, maintained strict discipline, and constantly displayed an abundant endowment of energy and common sense. In him one sees incarnated the new type of manufacturer; and to him, more than to anyone else, must be ascribed the inauguration of the modern factory system.

Weaving
by
Water-
Power

This accumulation of improvements in the production of yarn and thread upset once more the equilibrium between spinning and weaving. Formerly it was only with great difficulty that the weavers had found enough yarn to feed their looms, and now the opposite was the case. The rapidity of the weaving process had, therefore, to be increased. This was done by Edmund Cartwright (1743-1823), who, about 1787, invented a power loom. It was a rude contrivance at first, and had to receive many improvements and additions before it became an unqualified success. The original idea of an automatic loom was elaborated by numerous artisans, and supplementary ideas made the machine complete. Only gradually did the power-loom make its way. At first it could compete successfully with the hand-loom only in weaving the coarser cloths. In 1839, however, a famous parliamentary report on the conditions of the weavers revealed the terrible sufferings of the workers who were struggling with the hand-loom to meet the crushing competition of the new machine. With the invention of the power-loom nothing essential was lacking in the use of machinery in the textile industry. Subsequent inventions and improvements serve only to indicate the incessant movement characteristic of the factory system.

There was an equally striking and momentous evolution of the iron industry. The transformation of the textile industry

and that of the working of iron had something more in common than the fact that they took place at the same time. They helped mutually to complete each other. At the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century there were only about sixty blast furnaces for the making of iron in England. They were distributed in many parts of the country, particularly where forests and deposits of iron were to be found together. All of them were petty enterprises, living from hand to mouth, and barely able to supply the local needs. The wealth of the island in iron seemed unsuspected. The richest deposits remained unexplored. Large quantities of cast iron and bar iron were imported from the Baltic countries, and lesser amounts from Spain and the colonies in North America. The mine, the blast furnace, and the forge almost always formed parts of one and the same undertaking. All these enterprises, however, were small in size and displayed few signs of progress. The fundamental iron industry in the island was at a standstill. The secondary metal industries, especially the manufacture of cutlery at Sheffield and hardware at Birmingham, were relatively vigorous, but that was due to the importation of iron from Sweden and Russia. Life was ebbing from the metallurgical industry simply because of the want of fuel. The only fuel that could then be used in the reduction of the ore was charcoal. Vast quantities of wood had been used to feed the furnaces, and so, gradually, the forests were disappearing.

Was it not possible, in the reduction of iron ore, to substitute coal for charcoal? Coal was used for domestic purposes, and in quite a number of industries. It could not then be used, however, for smelting iron ore. The sulphurous compounds which it gives off in burning made the cast iron too impure and brittle. So the furnaces continued to burn charcoal, and the forests continued to disappear. Things could not stay thus. The pressing need for a cheaper and more abundant fuel was a powerful stimulus to experimentation. Coke, which is made by heating coal, and which contains only about half as much sulphur as coal, was employed; but though it effected an improvement, it was by no means entirely satisfactory. At last, in 1735, Abraham Darby (1711-1763) conceived the idea of mixing quicklime and other substances with the ore in order to prevent its impairment during the fusion. He also improved the production of coke and increased the power of the bellows for the blast furnace. Thus once more a capital invention had solved an economic problem. The alliance between coal and iron, thenceforth indissoluble, was to be a very powerful factor in the industrial activity of man-

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of Iron
Ore by
CharcoalReduction
of Iron
Ore by
Coal

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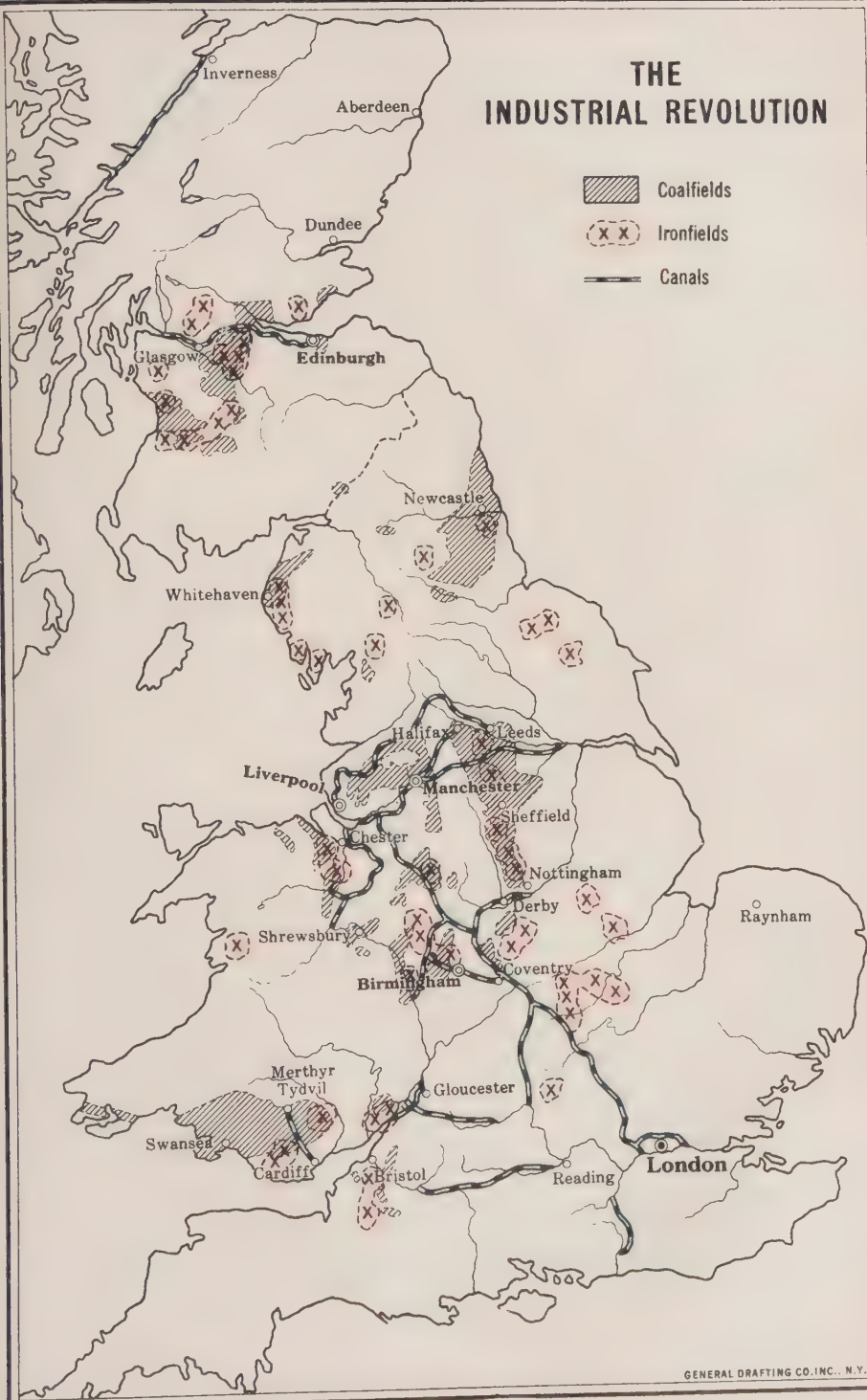
Use of
Coal in
Making
Malleable
Iron

kind. It is at this moment that the real age of iron begins, an age filled with grave evils in its earlier stages, but one that is to witness a vast improvement in the conditions of human society. The commonest metal was now to perform miracles of social service, to provide the most delicate instruments, to bridge the widest rivers, to serve as the framework of the tallest buildings, to cover every continent with a network of roads, and to launch upon the seas ships with the populations of towns. Its usefulness is due in part to its abundance, but still more to its remarkable qualities. It is unexcelled in strength, magnetism, and the property of being made at will extremely hard or extremely pliable. No other metal can boast of one-half its protean qualities.

The next step was to find out how to use coal in refining cast iron, as well as in smelting the ore. It was now possible to produce cast iron in large quantities at a comparatively low cost. But how was cast iron, which is relatively useless, to be converted cheaply into the indispensable malleable iron? The old method of using charcoal in a low furnace permitted the working of only small quantities at a time, and it continued to make large demands upon the fast disappearing forests. If coal could be used in refining the metal, as well as in ridding the ore of its impurities, all would be well. By adopting the tall furnace and employing a more powerful blast than had thus far been used John Roebuck (1718-1794) effected a notable improvement. More important was his employment of a process somewhat resembling puddling as it is practiced to-day. The next advance was made in 1784 by Henry Cort (1740-1800), who took the cast iron in the condition in which it came from the blast furnace and put it into a reverberatory furnace he had devised. There the carbon which it still contained combined with the oxygen and was thus eliminated. It is the carbon that renders cast iron brittle. To assist this combination the molten metal was vigorously shaken by means of a hook or fire-iron. Gradually the pure metal gathered together in a spongy lump. This lump was then picked up, put under the hammer that drove out the dross, and then rolled between cylinders. The use of the rolling mill was perhaps the most original part of Cort's process. It greatly reduced the laborious work of hammering, and assisted the rapid production of large quantities of malleable iron. Such is the process, known as puddling, by which since its discovery innumerable millions of tons of malleable iron have been manufactured. The intervening years have, on the whole, modified the process only very slightly. Henceforth the production of malleable iron could keep pace with that of cast iron.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

-  Coalfields
-  Ironfields
-  Canals



The great part played by steel in modern industry did not begin until about the middle of the nineteenth century; but we must here note the discovery of a process of producing a superior quality of cast steel. Benjamin Huntsman (1704-1776), a maker of clocks and tools, finding that the poor steel then available greatly hampered him in his work, carried out a series of experiments looking to the production of a better quality. After persevering several years he succeeded in making steel much purer and harder than any then in use. His works near Sheffield, though not very large, are the first to which the name of steel manufactory can be given. The improved metal was destined to make famous the cutlery of the district, and to be very useful in many lines of industry.

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Improvement in
Making
Cast Steel

Thus far the transformation of the smelting and refinement of metals was due to chemical discoveries. But machinery also invaded the realm of metallurgy. The power of the bellows was increased so as to permit blast furnaces of large dimensions to be used and to obtain all the advantages that could be derived from the use of coal. Smooth rollers for making sheet iron, and grooved rollers for making rods and bars of iron, saved an enormous amount of labor and produced more even results than the hammers they displaced. A steam hammer was invented that weighed a hundred and twenty pounds, and that could strike a hundred and fifty blows a minute. Boring machines were devised, lathes were improved, and machines for forging nails and turning screws were invented. All these machines accelerated production, saved labor, and insured a greater precision of execution than had previously been possible. They served to construct other machines for all the various industries, and so they had a widespread influence.

Machinery
Used in
Metal-
lurgy

In a few years the inferiority of the island in the production of iron was changed into a superiority recognized from one end of the neighboring continent to the other. The size of the establishments devoted to the working of iron, their varied appearance and their bustling activity, as well as the quality of their output, filled visitors from the mainland with astonishment. "In the midst of these engines of war, these terrible death-dealing instruments, gigantic cranes, capstans of all sorts, levers, pulleys, for the moving of heavy weights, are arranged in places suitable for the purpose," said a French traveler, speaking of the famous Carron works in Scotland, where cannons for the navy were made; "their movements, the shrieking of pulleys, the echoing clang of the hammers, the activity of the arms that give impulse to so many machines, all offer a spectacle as strange as it is

Predom-
inance of
England
in the
Produc-
tion of
Iron and
Steel

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John
Wilkin-
son

interesting." All these great workshops, glowing like volcanoes in the darkness of the night, testified in dramatic manner to the great change that had been made in the working of iron. New and multiple uses of that metal now began to engage the attention of imaginative minds. Iron and steel, with their powers of cohesion and resistance, and with their capacity readily to assume all kinds of forms and to retain them indefinitely, could lend themselves to many needs.

The man who first caught a glimpse of the whole future of the use of iron and steel was John Wilkinson (1728-1808), who has been called "the father of the iron industry." In 1779, owing largely to his initiative and constructive genius, a bridge across the Severn, of cast iron, with a single span of one hundred feet, was completed. Seventeen years later the second iron bridge was built over the Wear. It was two hundred and thirty-six feet long, and more than a hundred feet above the water. Beneath it ships with the tallest masts could sail. In 1787 Wilkinson, to the still greater astonishment of his contemporaries, launched on the Severn a boat made of sheet iron plates bolted together. It was the first of a little fleet of iron barges intended for internal navigation. And to many other uses, such as making pipes for conveying water to towns, this iron-master successfully applied his favorite metal. Some day, he declared, men will live in iron houses, travel on iron roads, and cross the ocean in iron ships. Long ago the prophecy came true.

Begin-
ning
of the
Scientific
Period
of the
Industrial
Revolu-
tion

Research work was being carried on in chemistry. There was much to be done in that field. Problems connected with combustion had to be solved. This could be done only when the composition of the air, and the parts played by its components in the process of combustion, had been determined. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) succeeded in isolating oxygen; and Henry Cavendish (1731-1810) recognized hydrogen as a separate substance. In the course of his studies Joseph Black (1728-1799) noticed that when ice melts it takes up a quantity of heat without undergoing any change of temperature. Heat thus absorbed in producing a change of state without a change of temperature he called "latent heat." Then, too, he noticed that for every change of state a definite quantity of heat is required. Without that quantity the change cannot take place. Heat must be added to melt a solid, or to vaporize a solid or a liquid. And, conversely, heat must be subtracted in order to reverse the change. The quantity of heat required is always the same for the same change under the same conditions. This is the theory of "specific heat."

Later on he proceeded to measure, though not very accurately, the latent heat of steam.

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Several men in the seventeenth century had tried to use steam as a motive force. Thomas Savery (1650?-1715) devised an engine that by means of steam created a vacuum and so caused water to be sucked up through a pipe. It was used quite widely in pumping mines; but it required a large amount of fuel; and at its best it was nothing more than a vacuum pump. The first engine in which a cylinder and piston were used with practical results was invented by Thomas Newcomen (1663-1729), whose engine was employed for pumping mines for more than half a century. It was a considerable improvement upon its predecessor; but it, too, was costly to operate. The waste of steam, and the consequent large consumption of fuel, caused by the alternate heating and cooling of the cylinder into which the steam was led, attracted the attention of James Watt (1735-1819), an instrument maker to the University of Glasgow. In him was personified the union of science and invention that was to have such potent results. He was an intimate friend of Joseph Black, with whom he often discussed the possibility of improving the steam engine and from whom he learned all that was then known about the theory of heat. He noticed that the alternate heating and cooling of the cylinder in Newcomen's engine made it work very slowly, and required a great amount of steam. Further study of the properties of steam led him to conclude that the temperature of the steam should be as low as possible and that the cylinder should always be as hot as the steam that enters it. These conditions he was able to secure in 1765 by providing a separate condenser. The cylinder, no longer used as a condenser, was kept hot with a clothing of non-conducting material. Such was the invention that, with later improvements, was to place at the service of human society labor equal to that of innumerable millions of men, that was to perform the most delicate and the most ponderous tasks, and that was to do this work for the world more cheaply than the most imaginative of men had deemed possible.

Invention
of the
Steam
Engine

It is one thing to invent a useful machine, and quite another successfully to exploit it. This was especially true of the steam engine at that time. A new industry for its manufacture had to be created with a proper personnel and with adequate appliances. The carpenters and clockmakers and wheelwrights that hitherto had been employed as occasion required to construct and repair machines were no longer sufficient to meet the needs of industry. It was necessary now to form a body of specialized workmen, strong and intelligent, with great sureness of eye and hand.

Improvement and
Exploitation
of the
Steam
Engine

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Cylinders of exact geometrical proportions had to be made, close-fitting pistons must slide through them without unnecessary friction, and many other mechanical details had to be carried out with equal precision. Capital, too, as well as skill, was required for conducting the new enterprise. Fortunately Watt fell in with two men who were able to understand his invention, and who, because of their successful exploitation of the new steam engine, deserve to share with him the honor of transferring it from the realm of theory to that of every-day use. The first of these men was John Roebuck (1718-1794), master of the great Carron iron works. He was quick to see the potential capacity of the new invention. He lent money to the inventor and thus enabled him to resume the researches that had been suspended because of the necessity of earning a living, and he was largely instrumental in putting the new engine into use. Roebuck encouraged Watt and pushed him forward until the former became bankrupt. Matthew Boulton (1728-1809), an engineer and manufacturer of Birmingham, then became associated with Watt. They entered into formal partnership, and it was chiefly through the energy and self-sacrifice of Boulton that the steam-engine was finally made a commercial success. Thus far the new engine, much less wasteful in fuel and far swifter in action than those already in use, was suitable only for pumping. Its movement was only in a straight line, like the rod of a pump, and was therefore limited in its application. When, about 1781, it was made to give continuous revolving motion to a shaft, and when a number of secondary improvements, such as making it double-acting, had been effected, its application to all kinds of machinery was possible. The whole field of industry was then thrown open to it. Soon steam engines were turning the machinery in wood-working and iron-working establishments, in flour-mills, spinning-mills, and in weaving-mills. The employment of water-power had confined factories to certain districts, especially to the slopes of the Pennine Range. The use of steam did away with such a narrow restriction. Factories could now be set up wherever it was possible to procure coal at a reasonable cost. Coal abounds in many districts in the island, and the network of canals permits it to be transported at small expense and with comparative ease. Steam did not create the factory system, but it lent it a mighty and docile power, gave it a wider choice of location, and, more than all else, endowed it with its remarkable unity. Thus far the various industries had been largely independent of each other. They had traveled their own separate and specific ways. Now, however, the employment of the same artificial power imposed

the same general laws upon their evolution. It was impossible hereafter for any of the great industries to go its own way entirely oblivious of the condition of its neighbors.

Thus far we have traced the improvements in machinery, the mastery of a new power, and the displacement of the domestic system of manufacture by the factory system. These changes profoundly affected the life of man, first in the British Isles and then throughout the entire civilized world. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century the increase of the population of the islands was very slow, but thenceforward it was accelerated. The rapid increase of the population is, indeed, one of the most important factors of the Industrial Revolution. At the same time the population began to be less evenly distributed than before. Men began to flock to the new industrial centers. The proletariat of the towns gradually came into existence. The use of the steam engine made inevitable the building of factories wherever fuel and raw material could be obtained together, wherever the facilities for buying and selling most closely approximated each other, and these factories required an ever-increasing number of employees. The relatively high wages paid in the factories drew workmen from the nearby counties, from the more distant pastoral sections, and even from Ireland. Life ebbed from the old midland and southern towns, with their castles and cathedrals and colleges, and flowed into the new towns of the north, with their dark alleys, humming workshops, and tall chimneys that filled the air with clouds of smoke. There in those new towns, filled with an overflowing energy, extending their commercial relations first to the neighboring continent and then to every part of the world, growing richer year by year, new classes were being formed and a new life was being developed. Thousands of workmen of all sorts filled the mills and forges with their disciplined movements, and above them, directing all the mechanism of the new system for their own profit, were the capitalists, the founders and the owners of the factories.

Capitalism was not created by the Industrial Revolution. It is, perhaps, as old as commerce, or as the distinction between rich and poor. But the modern industrial régime created a new kind of capitalist. To the existing capitalists, the landholders, the financiers, and the merchants, there were now added the manufacturers. Formerly, it will be remembered, there was little difference between employer and employee; but now between the men who owned the great industrial establishments, mines, forges, and mills, each with its costly machines and numerous workers, and the men whose daily work was confined to a

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Rise
of the
Factory
Towns

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a New
Kind of
Capitalist

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narrow task, the distance had become so great as to be virtually impassable. These new capitalists purchased labor at the lowest price, bought their material as cheaply as possible, took advantage of every technical improvement, and then sought to secure their interests by means of political power. It was, as a rule, sharp-witted business men, and not the inventors, who succeeded in making themselves masters of the great industrial enterprises. Most of them came from the country. Most of the first generation of the masters of industry belonged to the yeomanry, a class half agricultural and half industrial, which up to this time had formed so large a part of the population. We have seen how many of the yeomen disappeared from the districts of their birth, and here we find them helping to furnish both employers and employees of the new society in process of formation.

General
Character
of the
New Capitalists

The new capitalists, the shrewd survivors of this severe industrial competition, were none too scrupulous in their methods. Their shabby treatment of the inventors, many of whom died in poverty, is characteristic of their conduct. It was their power of organization that above all else stood them in stead. They gathered together the necessary capital, built the factories, installed the machinery, recruited and trained the operatives from the heterogeneous crowds of applicants, looked carefully to their supplies of raw material, and kept their eyes upon the fluctuations and extensions of the market. They were in the full sense of the term captains of industry. A few of them, such as Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795), the maker of admirable domestic pottery, who by his skill and taste influenced the entire subsequent course of the ceramic industry, treated their workmen in an enlightened and liberal manner. In them one finds practical genius united with noble intellectual and moral qualities, a fertile energy directed to something more than personal gain. But the greater number of the manufacturers thought only of making their own fortunes, and in this process they did not hesitate to exploit men as well as machines.

Concerted
Action
of the
New Capitalists to
Further
Their
Special
Interests

These new capitalists, the members of this new social class, became united, as time went on, by their common interests. They took concerted action to defend their special interests. They persuaded Pitt to alter his scheme of taxation, and they defeated the proposed commercial reciprocity with Ireland. Above all else they were constantly on the outlook for cheaper raw material and new markets for their export trade. They favored a limitless commercial expansion. So assured were they of the superiority of their output over that of continental competitors that they gradually came to favor the removal of many of the old duties

upon exports and imports in return for similar action by other countries. We are to see by and by how, in this matter, they clashed with the landholders. When dealing with their employees they never failed to present a united front. In 1782 they induced Parliament to enact a law making the wilful destruction of property by strikers a capital offense. They drew up black-books in which were inscribed the names of workmen who agitated an increase of wages and refused to employ any man whose name was to be found between the covers. And this they did at the very time when, at their instance, Parliament enacted a law making the combination of workmen illegal and punishable with fine and imprisonment. They were opposed to every kind of government regulation of their own industrial activity, and in this they were supported by the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, which just at that moment was making its way from the study into the sphere of practical action. Government should keep an iron hand upon the workers, but it should leave the capitalists alone. The laws of competition, of supply and demand, were sufficient to regulate the *entrepreneur*. Soon the manufacturers began to aspire to direct political power. And when they succeeded in becoming members of Parliament they almost invariably hastened to ally themselves with the party of tradition, to resist the rising tide of democracy, and to prevent the passage of laws intended to ameliorate the condition of the laboring class.

Let us now turn our attention to the mass of the manual laborers, not only those inside the factories but those on the outside also, for many of these, too, were from the first powerfully affected by the new system. Mistrust had been aroused among the workers by the appearance of machinery, and here and there these suspicions had deepened into anger and found vent in riots and the destruction of property. Spinning and weaving machines had been shattered by the iconoclasts, buildings that housed them had been burned, and even the homes of inventors broken into and plundered. The great advantage of the machine, its chief reason for being, is that it effects an economy of manual labor; and that economy, so the workman thought, was secured at his expense. The oft reiterated reply that by lowering prices the machine stimulates consumption, and the increased consumption gives work to more employees, is quite true. This reasoning, however, had not then been so thoroughly established by experience; nor, despite its inherent plausibility, could one expect that it would be immediately and completely comprehended by the workers. The first and only thought of the workers was that suddenly they had been confronted with crushing competition,

Resistance of
the
Workers
to In-
novations
and
Improvements

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that large numbers of them were being thrown out of work, and that the wages of the remainder were being lowered. It is not true that every class of society profited at once by the numerous inventions of the period. The new machines, instead of resulting in a general lessening of the weight of human toil, enriched the capitalists, and rendered the task of earning a living still heavier for the worker. And they took from the worker all the inspiration and pleasure of handicraftsmen. Gradually the workers transferred their enmity from the machines to the manufacturers. Then the latter summoned Parliament to their aid. The wilful destruction of any building containing machinery was made felonious and punishable with death. This drastic measure, however, did not succeed in putting an end to the riots. The outbreaks became more frequent and more serious as the use of machinery spread. Thousands of desperate men assailed the factories, destroyed the machinery, and oftentimes set fire to the buildings. It was a time of depression. Machines were not the only cause of unemployment. The contest with the colonies in North America had resulted in commercial stagnation and the long struggle with Napoleon then beginning was soon to aggravate the distress. But it was at first the machines that stood out in the minds of the workmen as the prime and fundamental cause of all their suffering. There were many sanguinary reprisals of these misdirected efforts to alleviate distress; in one day fourteen men were hanged; and the efforts themselves never had any chance of success. It is impossible to turn back the hands of the industrial clock.

Men
in the
Factories

With the grievances against the machines was combined a bitter hatred of the factory. The repulsion inspired by these industrial barracks is easy to understand. To the man accustomed to the go-as-you-please method of work in the homes and the small shops of the vanishing régime, the strict discipline of the factory was intolerable. The arrival of the workers, their meal-hours, and their departure were all regularly announced by the ringing of a bell. Day by day each man worked in the same place, at the same narrow task, at the same rate of speed, and without the many little intermissions to which he had been accustomed. The eye of the foreman was quick to detect the laggard, and discipline was often enforced by brutal methods. Is it any wonder, then that the manufacturers of the first generation of the new régime often found it difficult to secure a sufficient number of satisfactory workmen? That difficulty would have been still more serious if the agrarian changes of the same period had not uprooted large numbers of the agricultural population and sent

them adrift to find work where best they could. It was from this floating population that the ranks of the factory proletariat were largely recruited.

Not only men were put to work in the factories. Women and children, especially the latter, were employed in large numbers. The operation of the machines in the spinning-mills required only slight dexterity and little muscular strength. For certain operations, such as tying broken threads, the short stature of the children and the nimbleness of their fingers made them particularly useful. Then, too, their passive obedience, their trifling wages, and their long contracts of apprenticeship were by no means overlooked by the owners. The factories were filled with little boys and girls condemned to a constant round of narrow routine, hardship and suffering, and denied almost everything that might have alleviated the dull monotony of their lives. Most of these unfortunate children were paupers, sent to the factories by the overseers of the poor in the parishes where their parents lived, or where they had been left as orphans. Enclosures emptied the villages into the workhouses, and the Industrial Revolution emptied the workhouses into the factories. The overseers sometimes actually sold the children to the spinners. Even those who were mentally defective were shipped off to the factories. The parliamentary report of 1816 reveals the fact that one parish stipulated that the purchasers should take one idiot with every nineteen children who were mentally sound. The consent of the children was asked only as a matter of form, and it was often obtained with flagrant misrepresentation. The enforced labor of children was not a new evil. It had been carried on as a matter of course under the old order of things. Now, however, it was to be attended with more grievous wrongs. The parish "apprentices" were at first the only children employed in the factories. The workmen refused to let their own children work under the terrible conditions in the hated mills. It was considered a disgrace for a father to make his own child work as a factory hand. He who did so became the talk of the town. But as the pinch of poverty was more keenly felt, and as the pressure of the overseers became more insistent, they resigned themselves to that which at first had filled them with horror, and saw their own children thread their way through the dark streets on winter mornings to attend the swiftly whirling spindles through the long day of fourteen hours or more. Then, under the spur of need, some of the parents became exacting and harsh masters.

What were the conditions of work in the factories? The parish "apprentices" were absolutely at the mercy of their masters.

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in the
Factories

They were slaves, shut up in isolated buildings, when not at work, far from the eyes of any who might take pity on their sufferings. The length of their day's work was determined only by their utter exhaustion. It lasted from fourteen to sixteen hours. Forty minutes was allowed for the chief or only meal in the course of the working day, and one-half of this period was devoted to cleaning the machines. When the machines were running the employees were not allowed to slacken their attention. Some of the mills ran day and night. In such cases shifts of employees worked in relays. Accidents were frequent, especially at the end of the long day's work when the tired children were almost asleep. The discipline was very brutal. The whip was used from morning to night, heavy blows were struck with fists, and kicks were applied indiscriminately. Then there were refined and ingenious forms of cruelty almost too terrible to relate. In some factories a less ferocious discipline prevailed, but nowhere was the treatment of children humane. Excess of work, lack of sleep, and poor and insufficient food, apart from corporal punishment, were in themselves the cause of broken health and deformed bodies. So poorly were the apprentices fed at Litton Mill that they fought with the pigs for the food thrown into the troughs. The factories were very unsanitary. The ceilings were low, and the narrow windows were almost always shut. A new disease, the factory fever, made its appearance and claimed numerous victims. Then, finally, the promiscuity of workshop and sleeping quarters increased the corruption of morals. Masters and foremen took advantage of young girls in their charge. "The gross indecency that prevails in certain cotton spinning-mills," said a contemporary, "exceeds that of the vilest prostitution." Those who survived grew up untrained beyond the narrow mechanical tasks to which they had been confined for so many cruel years, many of them were deformed in body, all of them had become more susceptible to the contagious diseases to which their manner of life was bound to expose them, many of them were morally depraved, and all of them were intellectually stunted. They were, therefore, condemned to remain manual laborers all the days of their lives, attached to the factory like serfs to the soil. For the adults, also, the hours of labor were too long, the workshops too crowded and unhealthful, the superintendence too tyrannical, and the wages too low.

What were the effects of the Industrial Revolution upon the laboring class as a whole? Something of this may be seen in two effects it had upon the poor law. Each parish, it will be remembered, had to take care of its own poor. Newcomers were

regarded as interlopers. According to the law of 1662, known as the Act of Settlement, wanderers could be sent back to the parish of their legal domicile if they were indigent, or even if they appeared likely to become so. Thus was the entire working class deprived of one of the most essential forms of freedom, the liberty to move about. Did a laborer wish to leave his village, where work was lacking, in order to improve his opportunities? He exposed himself as soon as he arrived in another locality, to the risk of being driven out as "likely to become chargeable." Thus he might be deprived of the only chance he had of earning his living. Because the new parish to which he had gone was afraid of having to assist him, he might be condemned to fall into irremediable indigence. No doubt the law was not always enforced, but it often was, and in some cases with incredible brutality. Men at the point of death, and women at the moment of childbirth, were expelled in order to save expense to the parish. It was, said Arthur Young, "the most false, most mischievous, and most pernicious system ever imagined by barbarism." The necessities of the new industrial régime brought about the reform of this grave evil. The free movement of workers was a vital need to the new industrial state of affairs. In 1795 the right to expel a man in anticipation of his becoming chargeable to the rates was denied to the parishes; and the wanderers, even when they were already "chargeable," were granted the right of delay in cases of sickness and infirmity. Thus the mobility of labor that humanity had failed to secure was brought about by utilitarianism. But it was not only newcomers who were viewed with distrust by the parishes. Efforts were made in many places to get rid of the poor who had long resided there. "There was a regular crusade against the half-vagrant, half-pauper class that subsisted on the commons," says Cunningham; "and the tendency of the authorities was to treat their poverty as a crime." The driving away of paupers, however, failed to eliminate, or even to reduce, the evil. Poverty continued steadily to increase.

The other change in the poor law at this time had less happy results. This was the distribution of money to meet the insufficiency of wages. It was not a new practice. Alms had for centuries been distributed to the poor out of the public funds. In 1723, however, a new course had been adopted. The local authorities were then required to build and maintain workhouses and to refuse assistance to persons who would not enter them. This was the beginning of governmental indoor relief. Despite this law the parishes in certain cases had continued to distribute outdoor relief. They thus avoided taking entire charge of the

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families that, without being altogether destitute, were unable completely to provide for themselves. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a marked relaxation of severity towards the poor. In this we recognize the action of the great current of sentiment that we have seen sweeping through life and literature, not only in the islands but also on the continent. "The sufferings of the poor are not as well known as their misdeeds; that is what lessens our pity for them," said Fielding, the novelist; "to beg or steal they go to the houses of the rich; they remain at home to die of hunger and cold." This new spirit found expression in the law of 1782, which improved the administration of governmental relief and introduced less narrow and more indulgent rules. Children and old or infirm persons were to be placed in the workhouses, while able-bodied paupers were to be given outdoor relief. The act, however, left the parishes free to adopt its provisions or to retain the former system. The great distress in the last two decades of the century necessitated still further changes in the relief of the poor. In 1796 the distribution of relief at home on a sliding scale according to the price of bread was authorized in all the parishes. This caused a great and rapid increase in the amount of money given to the needy. The new law did much to alleviate distress; but it also did much to transform workmen into chronic beggars. Then, too, employers took advantage of it to lower wages as much as possible. It led many people to depend regularly upon public relief. Yet it was this law that enabled the British Isles to pass through the long years of warfare and the great economic changes without an uprising on the part of the people. In reality the law worked at the expense of those whom it was intended to help. The workmen who were relieved by the parishes were content with a lower wage. Their total income was the same. And these cheap workers in the fields and factories offered a hopeless competition to labor that received nothing from the poor rate. To the industrious and self-respecting workman, who asked nothing from public charity, the law, intended to be beneficial in its operations, was nothing less than a pitiless scourge. It was on the rural population that the law had its most disastrous influence. It completed the demoralization begun by enclosures. The agricultural laborer had been detached from the soil. He now became indifferent to his loss of independence. The operatives in the factories received higher wages than the laborers in the fields; but they, too, were sometimes out of employment, and at the best they were never far removed from poverty. So the system of relief exerted its influence over the entire working class.

Everywhere it had the same results. It relieved distress, but it demoralized those who received its aid.

Never before had capital and labor been so widely separated; and never before had it been so well nigh impossible for the workmen to rise into the ranks of the masters. Most of the operatives were now doomed to continue in the ranks of the employees. The question arose, therefore, as to how the condition of the multitude of workers who had so little share in the riches created by their efforts, and who had no hope of rising into the ranks above them, could be improved. The demands of the workers were at first quite modest. All they asked was an increase of wages, a guarantee against unemployment caused by the use of machinery or an excessive number of apprentices, and a modification of the harsh and arbitrary discipline in the factories and workshops. Their action in many cases, indeed, was confined to resisting a lowering of wages. In these things they were opposed by the manufacturers. The masters were bent upon paying as low wages as possible, upon lowering the cost of production by the employment of mechanical appliances and cheap labor, and upon exercising in and around the factory an uncontrolled authority.

In the past there had been temporary combinations of workmen for the purpose of redressing particular grievances; but now the workmen were stimulated by their wrongs to form permanent associations to defend their interests whenever threatened. It was in the textile industries that these permanent organizations first appeared. They were at first merely local, but soon they began to extend and combine. In 1799 there was an association of cotton weavers in Lancashire whose action made itself felt all over the country. Similar combinations were formed in all the other leading industries, and even in some of the minor occupations. They tried first to make their grievances known to Parliament, and to come to an understanding with the employers. Even the agricultural laborers, the most backward of all workmen, held meetings and asked Parliament to regulate their wages. When the labor unions found themselves unsuccessful in securing an amelioration of their wrongs by these methods, they resorted to strikes; and in order to keep workmen within their ranks, and to compel others to join them, they boycotted them and sometimes had recourse to violence.

The manufacturers feared and hated these labor organizations. They spread the impression that they were unpatriotic, that they wished to subvert the existing political and social structure of the country, that they were committed to the most revo-

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Oppo-
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lutionary of radical ideas. The government and the classes it represented became uneasy at the agitation which seemed to be spreading throughout the entire working class. In 1799 and 1800, therefore, laws were passed that renewed and completed the previous acts against workmen's combinations. "A more intolerable mass of injustice," said Richard Sheridan in speaking of the first of these acts, "had never before been entered on the statute books." There was a difference, however, between the former acts and the present ones. In the past it had been agreed that it was the duty of Parliament and the courts to regulate the conditions of labor, and so combinations that sought themselves to change those conditions were deemed to be interfering with the business of the government. The intervention of the government in such things, however, was now becoming more and more discredited. The policy of *laissez-faire* now prevailed in almost every industry. The state had long ceased to interfere in the questions of wages and conditions of labor. It left such things to be settled by the employers and the employees themselves. And yet by the laws of 1799 and 1800 it refused to let the workmen organize. Henceforth workmen who combined for the purpose of improving their conditions might be prosecuted, without trial by jury, before two magistrates who were always chosen from the ranks of the masters and landowners, and subjected to the minimum penalty of three years' imprisonment.

Persecu-
tion
of the
Workmen

The following quarter-century was a period of persecution. Workmen met secretly at night, and their reports were buried in places known only to the initiated. Convictions were frequent, and the offenders were severely punished; but still the workmen persisted. They sought at first to improve their condition by securing the maintenance or extension of the old regulations of industry by which the economic system of medieval times had been perpetuated to the beginning of the new industrial régime. They appealed to the apprenticeship regulations and the fixing of wages by law embodied in this time-honored code. The masters, on the other hand, had long ignored these regulations as much as possible, and had striven to secure their formal suppression. The Industrial Revolution had rendered these ancient provisions obsolete. The new machines did not require a long period of apprenticeship on the part of those who attended them. The children who worked in the mills were not really apprentices. Their age served as an excuse for paying them as little as possible and for submitting them to a cruel discipline, but in every essential respect they were full-fledged operatives. The swarm of apprentices, who worked for one-

quarter, and even for one-seventh of the wages of an adult, drove the workmen from the factories. Something had to be done. Penny by penny, throughout the length and breadth of the island, the calico-printers raised more than £1,000 to send their witnesses before a parliamentary committee. Sheridan, whom we know best as a playwright, spoke with his eloquent voice in behalf of "these poor people who have undergone such sacrifices in order to solicit the protection of the law" against their oppressors, the manufacturers, "a group of men of great power and wealth, whose money is supplied by their labor." But the appeal was in vain. On the contrary, at the request of the manufacturers, the old regulations were done away with. Thus was the doctrine of *laissez-faire* given full application. Hereafter industry was a field in which the laws of competition were to operate in all their nakedness. The government was to keep its hands off. Employer and employee were to fight it out to a finish. But, being forbidden to combine, the hands of the workmen had been tied.

There were constant quarrels in the textile industries regarding wages and the conditions of work. In 1800, therefore, a compulsory arbitration law was passed. Any dispute about wages and the quality of work was to be taken before two arbitrators appointed respectively by the two parties. If the arbitrators could not agree to give a joint decision in three days, a justice of the peace, who was not to be a person interested in the industry concerned, was to cast a deciding vote. If either one of the two parties refused to nominate an arbitrator he was to pay a fine to the other party. This arbitration was a partial revival of the medieval economic code. Many disputes were settled by it, most of them in favor of the workmen. It soon became odious to the manufacturers, who did all they could to impede its working, and who endeavored to secure its repeal. This hostility was shared by the very magistrates who had to do with its execution, and so the law gradually became a dead letter. Thus disappeared the last safeguard of their labor,—the only thing the workmen had to sell. The only resort left was to strike. A strike, however, was a feature of industry in which the government did not hesitate to interfere. Ringleaders were arrested and imprisoned, and then resistance broke down.

The policy of *laissez-faire*, formulated by economic theorists and supported by capitalists, was triumphant. Economic liberty was now the watchword of the *entrepreneurs*; but when we remember the ban upon labor unions and the interference of the government in strikes we see they meant only liberty for them-

Workmen
Left
Defense-
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Develop-
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Human-
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selves. Fortunately, however, there was another motive at work. It was the development of that humanitarian feeling whose rise we have already noticed in the course of our studies. The spirit of reform, as we have seen, found expression in novels, essays, poems, and sermons. It found an increasing expression in life. At first it made itself felt in the field of philanthropy. We see it at work in the charitable efforts of John Howard (1726-1790), who set himself to remove the deplorable conditions of the prisons. The jailers at that time were not salaried officials; they depended for their income upon fees extracted from the prisoners; and frequently they detained in prison for months, until they were paid the fees for release, men whose detention was entirely unjustified. Howard secured the passage of acts providing for the freeing of all prisoners against whom the grand jury had failed to find a true bill, and requiring the walls and ceilings of prisons to be cleaned and whitewashed at least once a year, the rooms to be regularly cleaned and ventilated, the naked to be clothed, and proper care to be taken of the sick. The agitation against the slave trade was begun by William Wilberforce (1759-1833) at about the same time as the factories, with their more terrible slavery, appeared. In the same period, too, several societies concerned with the education of public sentiment in the matter of social reform were established. Their ideas influenced legislation. They helped to render the system of public relief more humane by the abrogation of the undesirable Settlement Act; and in 1788 they secured the enactment of a law intended to protect the little chimney-sweeps against the dangers of their trade and the brutality of their masters.

Humanitarian
Employers

Some of the manufacturers were influenced by this humanitarian movement, but they were the exceptions in a world of men who knew nothing of the proper uses of their newly acquired wealth. Two of these humane employers, Boulton and Wedgwood, we have met. Others were John Wilkinson (1728-1808), a leading ironmaster, who held liberal political and religious opinions, and Richard Reynolds (1735-1816), another ironmaster, who is said to have given away at least £10,000 a year in charity. The kindly deeds of these employers served as the starting point for the more systematic efforts of men who had broader views on the means of alleviating the lot of the laboring class. A model village was built by David Dale (1739-1806) for the adult employees of his cotton mill at New Lanark, and the children were lodged in spacious and well kept dormitories. Open-air recreation was also provided for the children, and teachers were engaged for their instruction. Yet even at New Lanark the children

had to do an excessive amount of work; and so when Robert Owen (1771-1858) became the manager there in 1797 he found many things to improve. The houses were made more commodious and the operatives, who had been gathered from the lowest ranks of the population, were trained in habits of order, cleanliness, and thrift. The first infant school in the island was established; and in the instruction of the older children liberal and practical views of education were carried out. The basic idea in Owen's system of education and social reform was the paramount influence of environment in the formation of character. Men are no more responsible for their vices and crimes, he said, than for their ignorance and their poverty. Such things are the product of the social environment. In order to make men virtuous and happy it is necessary to improve the environment. He strove, accordingly, to surround the children of his factory with desirable physical, moral, and social influences.

The humanitarian sentiment that inspired the efforts of individual reformers was also responsible for the first blow dealt to the doctrine of *laissez-faire* by means of legislation. In 1784 the deplorable condition of the apprentices in the spinning-mills was made the subject of a report to the magistrates of the county of Lancaster. Those officials then decided no longer to authorize parishes to put children in factories in which work was carried on at night. The resolution, unfortunately, does not seem to have had much effect. The manufacturers appear to have had no difficulty in securing as many apprentices as they desired and in treating them as they saw fit. In 1796 another report was drawn up which, after describing the grave evils in the factories, ended with the following significant sentence: "We shall propose, if it is thought the end cannot be attained by other means, to make application to Parliament to pass laws which will set up a reasonable and humane system in these factories." At last men had come to realize that private benevolence was powerless to cope with the evils of the new industrial régime, and that the state should intervene to insure desirable conditions of employment in workshops and factories. The attention of Parliament was called to the terrible conditions of work in the new industrial centers, and to the shocking bargains entered into between the manufacturers and the overseers of the poor in the various parishes that supplied children as apprentices. A bill to protect apprentices was introduced in the Commons. It became a law in 1802, but it did not apply to industry in general. It was concerned only with apprentices, and it did not apply to places in which fewer than twenty persons or three apprentices were employed. It

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Begin-
ning of
Factory
Regula-
tion

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provided that the walls and ceilings of workshops were to be whitewashed twice a year, that the windows were to be large enough and numerous enough to insure proper ventilation, that each apprentice was to be properly clothed, that separate dormitories were to be provided for the two sexes, that no more than two children were to sleep in the same bed, that the working day was not to be more than twelve hours long, that night work was to be done away with, and that the apprentices were to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Visitors were to be appointed to see that the law was obeyed, and a series of mild penalties was provided for infractions of the law. The law had little effect. No difficulty was found in evading its provisions. Children were employed without signing a contract of apprenticeship. Thus, not being apprentices in the legal sense, they could be made to work day and night with impunity; and so useless did the visitors prove that in a few years many districts failed to appoint them. Yet one should not overlook the importance of the act. It was the first legislative attempt to control industry in the new spirit of intervention. It laid down the fundamental principle from which all modern labor legislation was to proceed.

The Industrial
Revolution at
the End
of the Eight-
eenth
Century

At the close of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution was far from being complete. It is, indeed, by no means finished to-day; nor can anyone foresee the end. Machinery had been applied only to certain industries, and even there it had not altogether displaced the efforts of those who worked by hand. Thousands of weavers continued to toil at their old hand-loom. Steam, which was to raise the effects of all the preceding inventions to a far higher power, had scarcely begun its wonderful work. Nevertheless the modern factory system, in all its essential respects, had come into existence. And already the profound change it was to make in the social life of man could be seen. Science and invention were now indissolubly wedded and had begun their marvelous coöperative career. The concentration of capital and the enlargement of business undertakings had already made their appearance. The minute division of labor had begun. New social classes, with new interests and new antagonisms, had been created. There had come into being, in short, every fundamental feature of the great industrial and social change which, affecting every person in the civilized world, has proved to be the most momentous change in history. It is at once a piteous and a stimulating story, this rapid and unrelenting transformation of a people's life. Piteous, because of the cruelty of the few to whom wealth came suddenly and the pathetic and heroic endurance of the many to whom the change brought only misery. Stimulating,

because of the increasing mastery of man over the forces of nature and the multiplied possibilities of social improvement once that mastery is directed by a noble ideal of life. Such an ideal was even then being agitated. Material enrichment by no means necessarily corresponds to spiritual impoverishment. Under all this engrossment in materialism the great democratic tide, which is nothing but the growing sentiment of the brotherhood of man, was rising, as we shall see, silently and steadily. In its warm current the evils of unrestrained competition had already begun to dissolve, and soon the exclusion of the mass of the people from the political activity of the state was to begin to disappear.

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CHAPTER XXIII

WARFARE AND WELFARE

(1790-1830)

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France
Declares
War upon
Austria
and
Prussia

ACROSS the Channel the Revolution was becoming more and more radical. Old institutions were greatly modified or swept away. The people had rid themselves of the triple burden of an intolerant Church, an autocratic monarchy, and a selfish nobility. A new constitution was adopted. It provided for a limited monarchy, gave equal rights to all citizens, and made the Church subordinate to the State. But things did not go well. The times were trying, and the leaders, men of liberal thought who desired to establish a just and efficient government, were lacking in legislative and administrative experience. Many were no more than well-meaning doctrinaires. Louis XVI was not satisfied with the new settlement, so he intrigued against it. Matters went from bad to worse. The national government declined in power, and as it did so the power of the Parisian radicals increased. Two things, reaction at home and invasion from abroad, threatened the success of the revolutionists. The leaders of the revolutionists thought that the common people in every country were as devoted as themselves to radical ideas, and that if war were declared upon the autocratic rulers the subjects of those rulers would rise and aid in their deposition. France, therefore, declared war in 1792 upon Austria and Prussia.

Extrem-
ists in
Control
in France

The extremists gained in the control of affairs in France. The King and Queen were beheaded, a Republic was proclaimed, and for the ancient faith was substituted the Worship of Reason. Opposition to this radical program was ferreted out and punished with death, the national armies were reorganized, and the invaders driven out. It was not a period of anarchy, this reign of terror, but the deliberate action of a radical minority determined to stamp out all resistance. The extremists displayed a terrible efficiency, and before long the ragged armies of the Republic, everywhere welcomed as liberators, overran Savoy and the Austrian Netherlands. They ignored race, religion, and national feeling. They proclaimed an international citizenship, a universal fraternity, intended eventually to replace all national distinctions and to include the people of every land.

The great landholders and manufacturers of England, fearing the continued success of the revolutionary ideas, now determined that their country should intervene in the struggle. In this they were supported by a large part of the middle class whose sympathy for the revolutionists had declined and disappeared as one atrocity led to another. The country was flooded with government spies and informers, and so many newspapers and public speakers were prosecuted as to make it seem that liberty of speech was a thing of the past. Men were transported to the colonies merely for speaking and writing in favor of parliamentary reform. Four repressive measures were enacted by Parliament. In 1793 an Alien Act provided for the surveillance and expulsion of foreigners; in 1794 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; in 1795 the crime of treason was extended to include spoken or written words against the government not followed by an overt act; and in 1795 all political meetings of which notice had not been given by resident householders were forbidden.

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Reaction
Against
Revolutionary
Ideas in
England

There were treasonable intentions, it is true, on the part of a few obscure agitators, but the panic fear seems to have been unjustified. The discontent and unrest were due only secondarily to propaganda from across the Channel. Lives were taken and property destroyed in many places by men who styled themselves "Loyalists," but in the entire course of the agitation for economic and political reform not one life was taken by the disaffected. This is eloquent testimony to the law-abiding character of the latter. Yet the government proclaimed by word and deed that it had no faith in the efficiency of existing law or in the allegiance of large numbers of the people.

Character
of the
Agitation
for Reform in
England

Before these four repressive measures were all passed, the country was at war. The revolutionary armies were threatening Holland, and England was bound by treaty to assist that country. The news of the execution of Louis XVI had been received with grief and indignation. Feeling was bitter between the two governments, and so, on February 1, 1793, France declared war upon Great Britain and Holland.

France
Declares
War upon
Great
Britain

Great Britain became a member of the coalition against the French, and spent large sums in subsidizing her allies. The lack of competent generals, and of a definite strategic policy, made her campaign ineffective. The revolutionary armies crushed rebellion at home, conquered Holland, and, in 1795, their government signed peace with Prussia. The triumphant radicals had now to face only Austria and Great Britain, the military forces of neither of which were very formidable.

Success
of the
French
on Land

On the sea, however, the island fleets were more successful.

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of the
English
at Sea**

Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were captured; and, with the timely aid of stormy weather, an attempt under General Hoche to land an expeditionary force in Ireland was defeated. The union of the French naval forces with those of Holland and Spain, and desperate mutinies in the British navy because of the intolerable conditions under which the seamen were compelled to serve, made the situation in 1797 very serious. But some of the abuses on board the English ships were removed, vigorous measures of repression were employed, the seamen returned to their tasks, the Dutch fleet, which had been blocking the mouth of the Thames, was defeated, and thus immediate danger was averted.

**France
Supreme
on Land
Under
Napoleon**

Meanwhile, in 1795, the extreme radicals in France, known as the Jacobins, had been overthrown and a more moderate government, called the Directory, had been established. It was this government that, in 1796, gave Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) his first independent position as a general in the French army. This remarkable military genius was placed in charge of the French forces in Italy, and there, in a campaign of great brilliancy, he expelled the Austrians and wrung from them a peace. England was thus left single-handed to carry on the struggle against France and the countries forced to aid her. Napoleon went to Egypt, which he mastered without difficulty; but his grandiose design of subduing India and then returning overland, conquering Europe as he came, was shattered by the defeat of the great French armament in Aboukir Bay. In this memorable "battle of the Nile" the English ships were directed by Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), who, commanding a ship before he was twenty years of age, had been trained in many seas. In 1799 a second coalition was formed by Austria, Russia, and Great Britain, and the tide of victory on the continent began to turn. Bonaparte, leaving his troops in Egypt, escaped in a fast cruiser and made himself master of France, assuming the title of First Consul. He persuaded the Russians to withdraw from the coalition, and in the battle of Marengo inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Austrians. Deeming further resistance useless, Austria signed the Treaty of Lunéville, in 1801, and thus once more England was isolated. The situation was even more serious, for now Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, forming "the Armed Neutrality," resisted England's search of neutral ships. They denied her right to seize her enemy's goods wherever found. The flag, they declared, covered the cargo. Thanks to Nelson, the Danish fleet was defeated at Copenhagen. Then Russia withdrew from the northern alliance and it fell to pieces. Napoleon had made France supreme on land, and Nelson had maintained England's command

of the sea. Both countries were exhausted, and Napoleon desired an opportunity to strengthen his position at home. The Treaty of Amiens was therefore signed in 1802 in the hope that the First Consul would now be content.

During these years of warfare, distress and discontent had been constantly increasing in Ireland. The legislative union effected between the two islands in 1800 served only to deepen the bitter feeling. That union had been brought about by fraud. Its only justification was its seeming political necessity. Things did not go well after it. The promise of Catholic emancipation was not kept. This failure to give the Catholics political equality with the Protestants rendered fruitless all hope of a sympathetic understanding between the two peoples. Then the united Parliament at Westminster did not interest itself in Irish affairs. It made no effort to inform itself of the needs over there; and, of course, it made no attempt to meet those needs. The affairs of the western isle were ignored, and the people were not permitted to attempt the solution of their problems themselves. It was because of this breach of faith that, in 1801, Pitt resigned, and that later on Napoleon was able to stir up rebellion over there.

One reform, the abolition of the slave trade, was carried out in these dark days. The participation of Englishmen in the slave trade had begun in the second half of the sixteenth century. It was at first limited to the supplying of various Spanish settlements with negroes taken from Africa. When England came to have colonies of her own in America the trade was extended to them. It reached its height just before the thirteen colonies declared their independence, it continued to go on during the war, and it did not stop when the war was over. African chiefs were persuaded to hunt human beings and to exchange them for European commodities. The most ruthless methods were resorted to in order to capture the miserable fugitives; and so terrible were the conditions of the voyage across the ocean that large numbers of them died on the way. They were chained to their places in the few feet of space between the decks and in stifling holds,—chained to each other, loaded with fetters, and insufficiently supplied with food and water. All through the eighteenth century there were men who protested against the inhuman traffic, among them Steele, Wesley, and Cowper. Concerted action for the abolition of the trade was begun by the Quakers of America and England. Success began soon after Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) threw himself into the movement. Deeply stirred by the atrocities of which he read, he gathered all the information possible about the trade. He then gained the support of William

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Discon-
tent in
Ireland

Abolition
of the
Slave
Trade

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Wilberforce (1759-1833) and other influential men for the complete abolition of the traffic. While he carried on the agitation throughout the country, Wilberforce exposed the evils and the horrors of the trade in the Commons. The slave merchants resisted reform at every step; but in 1788 an act was passed limiting the number of slaves a ship might carry, and thus the sufferings of the negroes at sea were lessened. In 1806 it was forbidden to employ any new vessels in the trade; and in 1807 the iniquitous trade, so far as British ships and British colonies were concerned, was entirely outlawed. This third act, the greatest single triumph of the reform, was often violated, and so in 1811 the trade was made punishable by transportation. This put an end to the trade in all the British dominions.

**England
Declares
War upon
Napoleon**

The Peace of Amiens proved an uneasy truce. The French constantly violated its spirit, and several of its provisions were unfulfilled by the British. It was clear that Bonaparte aimed at further annexations, and that the chief country in the way of his designs was England. He seemed preparing on a vast scale to invade England, and so the people of the island Kingdom were more unanimous than ever before for war with France. So unmistakable were the preparations of Bonaparte for conquest that in 1803 England again declared war upon her neighbor.

**England
the Soul
of the
Oppo-
sition to
Napoleon**

In order to meet the crisis Pitt, already sinking to the grave, was recalled to office. The war lasted without intermission for eleven years. Alliances were formed at one time or another with Russia, Austria, Sweden, Holland, Spain, and some of the lesser powers of the continent, against the great military dictator. England spent millions upon her allies, some of whom proved faithless, and others incompetent. She was always the soul of the opposition to the man who, in 1804, proclaimed himself Emperor of the French. It was she who taught him that though it may be easy to overthrow governments it is a different thing to conquer a nation. It is not possible here to give a detailed account of the vast military and naval drama then enacted in many parts of the world, nor is it necessary to do so.

**Rebel-
lion in
Ireland**

Napoleon stationed many troops along the northern coast of France, built flat-bottomed boats to carry them across the Channel, and waited for an opportunity to evade the English fleet. A rebellion in Ireland, headed by Robert Emmett (1778-1803), a dreamy and ardent patriot, broke out in 1803; but it quickly degenerated into a street brawl, and was suppressed within the course of two hours. The trial of the youthful revolutionist is memorable because of his eloquent speech in his own behalf. The adventurous circumstances of his career, his courage and devotion, and the for-

titude with which he met his fate, has endeared him to his compatriots. The uprising was a failure, yet it proved that legislative union had not ended disaffection.

The longed-for chance for the French to cross the Channel never came. Bonaparte, however, succeeded in stirring up trouble in India. But Sir Arthur Wellesley (1769-1852), one of the ablest generals and wisest statesmen that ever served his country in the Far East, was able to crush the hostile armies and make large annexations of territory. He was determined that the British should be the paramount power in the peninsula, and that the native princes should be permitted to retain the trappings of sovereignty only upon condition of surrendering the substance of independence. The gradual development of this policy has made England the direct ruler of the greater part of the peninsula and the suzerain of the rest.

Bonaparte, unable to cross the Channel, realized the necessity of destroying the English command of the sea if he was to defeat his main opponent. His own fleet was not strong enough to do that, so he compelled Spain, which was one of his dependents, to build more ships and add them to those of France. It was the plan of the English to prevent those combined fleets from concentrating in the Channel, and it was in carrying out this plan that, in 1805, the great battle of Trafalgar was fought. The British were outnumbered. They had only twenty-seven ships, while the French and Spaniards had thirty-three. But they won because of their superior seamanship, gained in long years of training, because of their better fighting spirit, and because for their commander they had Nelson. In that fateful moment the supreme seamanship, the peerless fighting instinct, and the unrivaled intuition for strategy in naval engagements, did not fail their leader. There is no other figure in his country's history at once so splendid in battle and so penetrating in its appeal to the emotions as the sailor who shattered the great dictator's dream of invading the island Kingdom and who disappeared from life in the hour of his signal victory. Nelson is not only a national hero; he is also the embodiment of a national ideal. At the foot of the column raised to his memory in the heart of the Imperial capital are inscribed the words that formed the last signal to his fleet: "England expects that every man will do his duty."

The crowning victory of the great naval commander had relieved his country from the fear of conquest, but it had resulted also in sending eastwards the army assembled on the Channel and the inflicting of a crushing blow upon the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz. What would be Napoleon's next step?

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Trouble
in India

Triumph
and
Death
of Nelson

Death
of Pitt,
the
Younger

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In this critical hour Pitt died. He is known to history as "the pilot who weathered the storm," but had not this been the most imperative duty of his time he would have won for himself an honorable name as a leader of political and social reform. In the midst of a life and death struggle with the military master of the continent, and in the time of a reactionary and stubborn King, he deemed it expedient to employ coercion; but the evidence is convincing that at heart he was devoted to measures that were remedial and humane.

**Napoleon
Endeavors
to
Cripple
British
Commerce**

As the months went by the military situation became more and more serious. When Prussia was crushed in the battle of Jena the only leading continental power left to block Napoleon's way was Russia. A fierce and bloody campaign brought that country to its knees, and then an alliance was formed between the two rulers by the Treaty of Tilsit. Even before this Napoleon once more turned his attention to England. He planned to cut off her commerce with the vast territories he controlled. In a decree issued at Berlin in 1806 he forbade his dependent states or allies to import from British territory, and he required them to exclude from their harbors every neutral ship that had stopped at a British port. In the following year the British government replied with the famous Orders in Council requiring every vessel going to France or her dependencies to stop at a British port, to pay customs duties, and to gain leave to proceed. This, in turn, was answered by a decree, issued at Milan, forbidding neutrals to trade in any articles imported from the dominions of Great Britain. Napoleon's restrictions upon commerce, known as the "Continental System," were keenly felt by the people on the continent who were now deprived of such things as sugar and coffee, and who had to pay more for food and clothing. And so from this time we may date the beginning of the popular revolt against the great dictator that eventually resulted in his undoing. The plan of cutting off the commerce of the island Kingdom did not succeed. England was now so powerful at sea that she was able to ruin the maritime commerce of her enemies, seriously to damage that of neutral powers, and one by one to capture many of the colonies of France, Spain, and Holland. In the meantime she did not lose her trade with the continent, because its people gladly aided in smuggling.

**French
Forces
in the
Spanish
Peninsula**

One country stood out against the Continental System. It was Portugal, long bound by friendly and commercial ties to England. French forces, therefore, invaded the little kingdom and occupied its capital. Then Napoleon made one of his brothers, Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844), King of Spain. This was a grave error.

The Spanish were too proud and too loyal to their own King to acquiesce in this high-handed procedure. Their rising began the popular movement in various countries that eventually broke Napoleon's power. British troops were sent to the peninsula and met with alternate success and failure until placed under Wellesley. Despite small forces, this able general inflicted defeats upon the French. In token of its gratitude the government conferred upon him the title of Viscount Wellington.

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The spirit of resistance spread to Austria, but for a time it was crushed at Wagram. Then Russia broke her alliance, and Napoleon led an immense invading army into the very heart of the great Empire; but the constant fighting of the retiring Russians, especially their cavalry, the burning of Moscow, their ancient capital, the utter lack of discipline on the part of the retreating French, and the harassing attacks of the exultant Germans who now rose to drive the hated foe from their fatherland, all contributed to a great disaster. Then all the Germanic lands rose against the invader. They defeated his troops at Leipzig, and drove him back beyond the Rhine. Napoleon was compelled to abdicate, and was sent to the island of Elba. In the following year he escaped, gathered an army, and hastened to crush Wellington before the latter could receive assistance. Near Waterloo, however, the great military genius met his final defeat. Once more deposed, he was this time, with a few associates, sent to the lone isle of St. Helena, where six years later he died.

Defeat
and
Death of
Napoleon

In the course of the struggle against Bonaparte numerous disputes arose between England and the United States. The Orders in Council aroused much animosity in America. While almost all Europe had been controlled by Napoleon, the United States, increasing in population, clearing her virgin soil, founding cities, and in general, despite some internal troubles, developing her strength with the virile energy of sturdy youth, remained neutral. She was therefore concerned with the restrictions upon commerce. If her ships went directly to a port under French control they were liable to seizure by British war vessels for having violated the Orders in Council; while if they stopped at a British port on their way to the continent they would be seized at their destination for transgressing the imperial decrees. Then, too, the English claimed the right to search American ships for war material intended for her enemy, and to find seamen who had deserted from her navy and taken service under the American flag. The two countries did not agree upon the law of allegiance. England, like all other European states, regarded as her subjects all persons born in her territory until they had been released by her own act

Disputes
between
England
and
America

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between
England
and
America

from allegiance to her; while America, breaking away from this prevailing principle, permitted an alien to become a citizen after a residence of fourteen years in the States. This difference explains the disputes relating to the impressment of seamen by England.

In 1812 the quarrels between the two countries resulted in war. There was some fighting on land, but not much. The English burned the Capitol at Washington, and were later defeated at New Orleans. The Americans had developed a notable maritime power. They captured many British ships; but they were not strong enough to risk a general action, or to prevent invasion. The war ended in 1814 with the Treaty of Ghent, most of the questions at issue being left unsettled. Now that peace had been restored in Europe the rights of neutrals no longer demanded immediate attention. The war might have been avoided, had each of the parties shown greater consideration for the other. The long wars in Europe were ended by a series of treaties signed in 1814 and in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. The wars had hastened the growth of British power in India; and the treaties increased it by confirming the possession of Malta, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Heligoland; but Britain's greatest gain was the unquestioned supremacy of her navy and her mercantile marine. With these advantages she turned to face problems at home far more profound than those that had engaged her thoughts and deeds across the Channel.

The
Churches
and the
People

All through the period of agrarian and industrial change, and the dark years of war, the people had suffered greatly. The wars had entailed an immense burden of taxation, and they had seriously interrupted commerce. The corn laws, a high protective tariff upon the importation of grain, imposed by Parliament in the interest of the land-holding class, greatly increased the price of food; and at this critical time, when the need of guidance was greatest, the working people were left largely without leaders. Large numbers of small farmers and laborers had suffered greatly as a result of enclosures. Their general condition had been obscured by the high prices prevailing during the struggle against Napoleon. When prices fell their situation was disclosed. Then the Industrial Revolution was a change altogether unparalleled in its swiftness; and the rapidity of its development, for which the old civilization was unprepared, had thrown society into something like chaos. Fifty years went by in which the great change that was so profoundly transforming the life of the time remained uncontrolled. Few among the leaders of the time understood the changes taking place, and still fewer gave

themselves to the work of social amelioration. Despite his power of prophecy the economic revolution was entirely unperceived by Burke. The Established Church, with thousands of its office-holders steeped in worldliness and sycophancy, lent the full weight of its position and prestige to the teaching of "contentment and submission to the higher powers." The dissenters, too, failed, though for far nobler reasons, to propose anything like adequate treatment of the evils of the time. Their preachers, whether in the slums of the new factory towns or in the distant lands of other continents, were primarily missionaries, seeking only the "conversion" of individual souls. They failed to concern themselves intelligently with the physical, economic, and social conditions of the mass of the people. Wilberforce, the greatest of their leaders at this time, though he devoted himself to the abolition of negro slavery in the colonies, consistently opposed every attempt to improve the condition of the working people at home by legislative enactment.

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To the working people, thus largely thrown upon their own resources in improving their condition, the most apparent cause of distress, and the one nearest at hand, was the new machinery, especially that in the textile industries. The workers knew only too well that the change from manual labor had been accompanied by great misery, and it was but natural for them to think that if the old conditions of work were restored their distress would be relieved. In the autumn and winter of 1811 riots broke out among the stocking-weavers, and many knitting frames were destroyed. Early in the following year frame-breaking was made a capital offense, but the riots swelled into local insurrections and spread into first one county and then another. The sufferings of the poor in the rural districts were also severe; in 1816 they provoked the first of two peasants' revolts; but they were usually endured in silence.

Agitation
by the
Distressed
Workers

It would be a mistake to think that the anger of the workers at this time was directed solely against machinery. They knew there were other causes of their misery. In breaking machines they were simply making use of their usual method of contending with the social classes that oppressed them. It was a complex period in which political and industrial and social forces were inextricably interwoven with each other. The rioters, who were known as Luddites, because thirty odd years previously a certain Ned Ludd had destroyed some stocking frames, were accused of entertaining revolutionary ideas, of wishing, among other things, to establish a republic. The alarmists became more alarmed; every conference was a conspiracy. Suspicion was not altogether

Views
of the
Workers
and Their
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nents

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unjustified. There were many who desired far-reaching political changes. Various forces were producing social unrest, and the discontent was not homogeneous. Naturally the agitators were abhorred by the Tory ministry. This had come into office in 1807, soon after the death of Pitt, and was to continue to rule until 1830, always stationary, if not actually retrogressive, in its domestic policy. When war ended, the moderate reformers and the Radical party raised their cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." It was a trying time. Depression was increasing, and discontent grew apace. The continent was impoverished by war, its demand for goods sank to the lowest level, its own industries were slow in reviving, and with this decline of their best market English manufactures remained largely unsold. Bankruptcies were numerous, and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. Sheer destitution, ideas of thoroughgoing reconstruction, and demands for moderate political reform all combined to produce renewed disturbances. The patience of the agricultural laborers came to an end. The harsh and unjust game laws had transported many of the village leaders to Australia. In hard winters, however, burning hay-stacks showed discontent to be still alive. Then in 1830 came the last revolt of the agricultural workers. Many threshing machines were broken, hay-stacks and barns were set on fire, and some houses were burned; but the dream of making their lot less intolerable was defeated, and the usual penalties of hanging, transportation, and imprisonment were inflicted upon the peasants.

William
Cobbett

The most influential agitator of the time was William Cobbett (1762-1835), who in 1802 began the publication of the *Weekly Political Register*. He was the son of a small farmer, and during his early years had worked on his father's farm. Having made his way up unaided, and having educated himself as he went along, he was extremely, even arrogantly, self-reliant; but the sincerity of his devotion to the cause of the poor, whose sufferings he had shared, cannot be questioned. His weekly paper was the best of the day. Its news was remarkably accurate, and its editorials were clear, pungent, and precise. In 1816 the price of the paper was reduced from a shilling to twopence, and its large circulation was thereby greatly increased. "The one question that absorbed the minds of the factory workers as they poured from the mills," so the Hammonds tell us, "was whether the *Political Register* had come with the latest coach." Gradually Cobbett became convinced that economic and social reform could not be gained until a reform of Parliament had been accomplished. So at every opportunity he advocated extension of the

suffrage and redistribution of seats. Even in his admirable *English Grammar*, of which tens of thousands of copies were sold, he did not hesitate to air his views. "Sometimes the hyphen is used to connect many words together," he told the students of their mother tongue, "as the never-to-be-forgotten cruelty of the borough tyrants." He, too, was one of the Radicals who virtually formed a third political party and were largely instrumental in bringing about the first great Reform Act; but, unlike the others, he insisted upon parliamentary reform, not as a matter of abstract right, but as a means of bringing about better social conditions for the mass of the people. He was the only man of his generation who regarded politics from that point of view.

Many members of the educated and wealthy classes displayed a complacent indifference to the misery and injustice that everywhere surrounded them. It was not easy for men born in the quiet of the eighteenth century to understand the new state of affairs that had come into existence as a result of political revolution on the continent and industrial revolution at home. The Tory party, which had a large majority in Parliament, was destitute of wide sympathies and true political insight, and lived in constant fear of revolutionary propaganda. It remained blind to the real causes of the disturbances, and therefore made no effort to remove them. Its legislative activity, indeed, inspired by the narrowest class interests, actually tended to increase them. Its best members sincerely believed that the part of wisdom was to leave nature to find her own remedies. It saw in the popular demand for reform only a conspiracy against the State, only a treasonable activity. So it proceeded to a stern repression. Manchester, the capital of the cotton spinning and weaving industry, became the center of the agitation for reform. Distress was once more acute in the summer of 1819, and in the manufacturing towns of the north mass meetings were held to discuss the evils and their cure. The most popular of all the proposed remedies were universal suffrage and annual Parliaments. These meetings were to culminate in a monster gathering on August 16 at Manchester for the purpose of drawing up a petition in favor of the reform of Parliament. Thousands of men poured into the city from the surrounding district, which is full of towns devoted to the cotton industry. The men had previously been drilled. Their leaders said it was for the purpose of fitting them to march in an orderly manner. The magistrates suspected it was preparation for armed insurrection. The men marched to St. Peter's Field, some of them carrying sticks, none with arms, and many with banners on which were inscribed such demands as "universal

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suffrage"; "annual parliaments"; "secret ballot"; "repeal of the corn laws"; and "union and liberty." Infantry and mounted troops were there waiting orders. In attempting to arrest a popular speaker a body of horsemen found themselves surrounded by the crowd. One of the magistrates, thinking incorrectly that the horsemen were in danger, directed the cavalry to charge the crowd. This they did with drawn swords. Eleven persons were killed outright or later died of their injuries, many were wounded, and the crowd fled in wild confusion.

**General
Result
of the
Repres-
sive Acts**

This discreditable suppression of the meeting known as the "Manchester Massacre" and as "Peterloo," had an effect exactly opposite to that intended. It revealed "the real relation of rulers and ruled." It gave a powerful impetus to the movement for reform, and greatly discredited the old Toryism. The use of military forces for police duty has always been regarded with disfavor in England, and this attempt to suppress freedom of speech was denounced from one end of the country to the other. The resentment of the people was increased by the belief that the ministry, of which the most important member, though he was not the Prime Minister, was Lord Castlereagh (1769-1822), was supporting the leading continental powers in a determination to stamp out "the revolution" wherever it should raise its head. Agitation increased, denunciation became more violent, and impatience with oligarchical rule found expression in inflammatory speeches.

**The Six
Acts**

For three more years, however, the old spirit had its way. The government, blind as ever, proceeded unwaveringly with its policy of repression. In the winter of 1819 its hands were strengthened by the famous Six Acts. The first of these new laws deprived the accused of the right of entering a denial, but stipulated that he should be brought to trial within a year; the second made seditious lies punishable with banishment, and authorized the seizure of all the unsold copies of the offending publication; the third, which had for its purpose the killing of the Radical press, imposed a fourpenny stamp upon all periodical publications, not only upon newspapers but also upon all pamphlets and similar publications containing news; the fourth still further curtailed the right to hold public meetings; the fifth forbade the training of persons in the use of arms; and the sixth empowered the magistrates to search for arms and to seize them. Thus, instead of a redress of grievances, the government was once more content to rely upon repression.

**Accession of
George IV**

At this moment the old King died, and the accession of his eldest son, who had been regent for the last nine years, together

with the neglect of social legislation and the enactment of the new restrictive code, caused a threatening outburst of popular discontent. For a generation George III had been subject to fits of mental aberration, and in the last ten years insanity had permanently settled upon him. This tragic close of a long life and a long reign had won for him, despite his obstinate adherence to narrow views, a certain measure of popular sympathy. The new King, George IV (1820-1830), had for many years been a leader in license and luxury, notorious for his adulterous life. The morals of contemporary society were loose, but that fact did not avail to lessen the contempt with which he was regarded. He lost whatever chance of indulgence he might have had by the meanness and selfishness of his character, and by his shameless treatment of his wife, Caroline of Brunswick. Many members of the classes whose fear of revolution had caused them to support the existing régime now gave their approval to the movement for reform.

There were certain things, however, that helped to mitigate the state of affairs and served to lessen the violence of the agitation. In the years that elapsed between the beginning of 1815 and the end of 1820 more than one hundred and twenty thousand persons emigrated to Canada and the United States, and a few thousand more went to other places, where they found a prosperity they had sought in vain at home. Then a number of fortunate changes took place in the ministry. Lord Sidmouth (1757-1844), who as Secretary for the Home Department had been chiefly responsible for the harsh measures of repression, resigned; and Lord Castlereagh, who unjustly was thought to have been the arch-enemy of freedom all over the continent, but who certainly had not proved himself to be a leader in the cause of social progress, committed suicide as a result of overwork. The old reactionary Toryism, always so fearful of revolution, retreated to the background, and, in the person of George Canning (1770-1827), a more enlightened Toryism came forward to replace it. Canning was made Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1822, and he did not become Prime Minister until 1827, a few months before his untimely death, but he was from the first the real director of the policy of the Cabinet. Under his guidance the foreign policy of the government was reversed. England and the continent were reading with eager approval the poems written in behalf of national freedom by Lord Byron. Approval, if not actual support, was now given to the national and liberal movements in various continental countries; and favor was shown to the revolting colonies of Spain in America. "I called the New

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Unions
Legalized

World into existence," said Canning in speaking of the latter, "to redress the balance of the Old."

In home affairs, too, the new ministry brought about some reforms. The men of the hour, indeed, were the enlightened Tories. According to the common law, labor unions were illegal combinations. They were therefore treated as conspiracies in restraint of trade. Theoretically the law applied to combinations of employers as well as to those of employees; but in its practical application it was limited to the latter. So far-reaching was the law that if, in order to improve their condition, even two workmen joined together and agreed to labor only on certain stipulated terms the agreement was a criminal offense and subject to severe punishment. Nor was this all. Numerous acts of Parliament, passed at different times in the course of the preceding five centuries, supported and extended the operation of the common law in this matter. These unjust laws were now gradually replaced. In 1825 it was made legal for persons to meet together for the purpose of concerted action regarding wages and conditions of work. Thus at last, after being illegal for more than five hundred years, the right of combining for an improvement of their condition was granted to workmen. It was only a partial recognition. Labor unions were still illegal in certain respects. But it was the thin end of the wedge.

Softening
of the
Barbarous
Criminal
Law

Another internal reform was the softening of the severity of the criminal law. Long ago a number of humane students of the law, especially Sir Samuel Romilly (1757-1818) and Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), had tried to reduce the penalties for minor offenses, and to this work the ministry now addressed itself. At the opening of the century some two hundred offenses were punishable with death. Picking a shilling from a pocket, shop-lifting if the article was worth five shillings, stealing a sheep, being found on the highway with a blackened face, might all be punished by hanging. Long terms of imprisonment and transportation were imposed for other petty crimes. Such a code was illogical as well as cruel. It made no distinction between a trivial offense and such a terrible crime as murder. So barbarous and unreasonable was the law that jurors, in defiance of evidence, often declared culprits innocent. Then, too, judges who did not approve of the cruel code frequently commuted the death penalty to imprisonment, and that left punishment uncertain. Crime was common in those days, despite the terrible penalties, and capital punishment was often inflicted. The frequent hangings in the towns attracted large crowds and were a demoralizing form of amusement for the people. Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), Home

Secretary in the reconstituted Tory Cabinet and one of the most sincere supporters of administrative reform in his party, was the sponsor of several acts that carried out, in part, the ideas of Romilly and Mackintosh in mitigating the punishment for minor crimes; and, as the years went on and humane ideas made their way in the life of the nation, still further legal reforms were effected.

Important reforms were also carried out in the field of religion. From time to time in the years since the Revolution of 1688 the various acts making for religious inequality had been amended and partially repealed. The broadening thought of the eighteenth century had now produced a distinct movement in favor of complete religious equality, but such an end could be attained, of course, only little by little. In 1812 the Five-Mile Act and the Conventicle Act were repealed; and in 1828, in the face of stubborn opposition, the Test Act and the Corporation Act were also repealed. This gave the dissenters virtually the same political rights as the Anglicans. In place of the sacramental test, however, there was substituted a clause binding the office-holder, "upon the true faith of a Christian," to do nothing hostile to the State Church. This continued the legal disability of all persons who were not Christians.

Catholics had been given freedom of worship in 1778 by the act that resulted in the Lord George Gordon riots; and the repeal of the Test Act permitted them to hold most offices. They were, however, still excluded from Parliament, and this was the right they most desired. The movement to enable them to sit in Parliament had now become very powerful. It had been given new energy by Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), one of the ablest lawyers in Ireland, an orator with a remarkable power of appealing to the emotions, brilliant, quick-witted, and trenchant, sometimes coarse, and not always strictly scrupulous. This great popular leader began the organization of the millions of his Catholic countrymen into a league, known as the Catholic Association, that carried on a continual agitation, within constitutional limits, for the removal of their political disabilities. Canning died in 1827, and the Duke of Wellington, with the talents of a soldier rather than a statesman, became Prime Minister. All the more progressive members then retired from the Cabinet, and thus the government was once more in the hands of the High Tories. Progressives and reactionaries were separating themselves from each other in the ranks of the Whigs and of the Tories. The new ministry was avowedly opposed to the movement for the emancipation of the Catholics; but it was impossible to withstand

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Removal
of Re-
ligious
Disabili-
ties

Catholic
Emancipa-
tion

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the great pressure of a people united and determined to secure justice. In 1828 it became necessary to hold a special election for a member of Parliament from the county of Clare in Ireland. O'Connell became a candidate. All the poorer electors flocked to the polls and cast their votes for the popular leader who was triumphantly elected. The lesson was easy to read. Catholic emancipation could be postponed only with a grave risk of civil war. Removal of political disabilities or rebellion was the alternative that confronted the Cabinet. The former was chosen. In 1829, solely on the ground of expediency, the ministry introduced the measure for relief, and, after a series of violent interviews, succeeded in securing the consent of the narrow-minded monarch. Henceforth the representatives of Catholic Ireland, sitting in the Commons at Westminster, were able, in their efforts to secure rights for their people, to exert a direct and disturbing influence upon the politics of Great Britain. The reactionary ministry had been forced to concede these measures of religious reform; but against political reform it set its face as adamant. Resistance to such reform, however, was doomed to failure. Extension of the suffrage and redistribution of seats might be delayed but could not be defeated. And even delay was getting to be dangerous.

The
Thought
of Jeremy
Bentham

Let us now suspend our story of the political and social affairs of the islands and turn our attention to thought and literature, in which we shall find exposition and illustration of the new ideas and ideals that were so largely responsible for the swiftly changing panorama of life at this time. In the course of our study of English thought we came upon Thomas Hobbes, whose deep interest in matters of social life led him to try to explain society and the individual with the same scientific principles that were then for the first time being applied to the world of nature. The time had now come when his basic principle of regard for the common weal was to inspire a more positive theory of legislation. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) undertook the task of discovering and explaining the principles upon which all sound legislation and government must rest. He probed into the foundations of morality and then of law, and he came to the conclusion that the basic principle in both fields is "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He did not originate the formula, but he made it peculiarly his own and gave it an appeal it had not previously possessed. In his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, published in 1789, he inquired of all governmental institutions whether their continued existence was justified by their usefulness. In every case in which an institution failed to answer this test successfully, another

was recommended by which the needed service could be satisfactorily rendered. All the political institutions of the nation were submitted to a careful and dispassionate analysis. Many of them were mere makeshifts brought into being in the gradual process of changing the rude symmetry of feudalism to meet the conditions of modern life. The time had now arrived for careful and rational reconstruction, for finding out if the continued existence of evils, many of which were admitted on all sides, was unavoidable, and for harmonizing all parts of the political structure. Few writers were so well fitted to begin the period of deliberate and systematic reconstruction as Bentham. True he had shortcomings. He approached the problem solely from the point of view of logic. What is the use of it? That question he asked over and over again. With it he undermined the chartered inefficiency and corruption of the last hundred years. The history of institutions, often essential to their proper understanding and improvement, did not interest him. That was left for other and later writers to give. His definite suggestions for change had a far-reaching effect. His salutary influence may be distinctly traced in the humanizing of the criminal law, and in the improvement of both criminal and civil procedure; but over and above his concrete recommendations is his generous and humane basic principle. Parliamentary, municipal, legal, educational, ecclesiastical, and economic reform all sprang from the "utilitarian" spirit which he did so much to create and spread.

The principles expanded and applied by Bentham were adopted in their entirety by James Mill (1773-1836), who devoted his energy to bringing them to the attention of his fellow-men. Yet we must not regard this historian and philosopher as a mere follower. His writings are full of original thought. Many of his articles in the magazines, that were then a notable feature of British intellectual life, were concerned with the cure of evils in the law, in the courts, in prisons, in the legislature, in the administrative branch of the government, and in the Church. His greatest literary achievement is the *History of India*, which, with his work as an official in the India Office, brought about a complete change in the government of that country. His most notable work as a thinker is the *Elements of Political Economy*, which, though now largely superseded, left a deep impression upon its own generation. More than any other man he was the founder of what was called "philosophical radicalism," a school of thought that, inheriting the rationalistic temper of the previous century, and making itself master of the gathered knowledge of its own time, sought to ameliorate the evils and injustices of society by improv-

The
Thought
of James
Mill

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ing the political and social institutions under which the life of man is so largely lived. Like all the other utilitarians, he advocated a wide extension of the suffrage. Thus a new current of reform united with the humanitarian stream that was flowing through life and literature, and together they did much either to abolish or improve institutions that were outworn and to lessen the misery caused by the widespread agrarian change and the sudden application of mechanical power to industry.

The
Thought
of
Malthus

Not all the economic thinkers were as optimistic as the humanitarians. In his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) asserted that the realization of a satisfactory state of society, one in which the miseries then so prevalent should be no longer present, will always be hindered by the tendency of population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. The thesis is full of ambiguous terms, and the evidence gathered in its support fails to include several powerful factors that have to do with the increase or the decline of population; but it is so simple and so sweeping, and at the same time so satisfying to the well-to-do classes, that it met with wide acceptance. Clearly, then, according to this plausible explanation of poverty, the capitalists were not to blame for the miseries of the multitude. And little good could come of legislative interference. The individual must be left to work out his own salvation. A new line of argument has been found for the support of *laissez-faire*, one that even the illiterate could understand. The laws of nature should be allowed to operate without let or hindrance. Malthus caused men to think on a topic whose importance had hitherto not been sufficiently recognized, but his service to economics has been much overestimated. In fact he did a good deal of harm. He gave to economics a gloomy atmosphere altogether false, and he sent the discussion of fundamental topics, such as wages and rent, on wrong paths that subsequently had to be retraced.

The
Thought
of
Ricardo

Another economist whose ideas were warmly welcomed by the capitalist class was David Ricardo (1772-1823), who may be said to have begun a new economy. Up to this time economic thought had been based upon the supposition that the mass of men will always live in the country, that the most important economic problems are those connected with land, and that the surplus from land is the most powerful cause of social progress. The growth of towns as a result of the Industrial Revolution had created a new way of considering national welfare. The two chief factors of industrial activity had become capital and labor; and the two chief forms of income had become profits and wages. The rate of profit had become the criterion of progress instead of the in-

crease of rent. Ricardo was a townsman. He was the first writer to consider economic questions from the industrial or the town point of view. His writings betray an exclusive regard for the interest of the capitalist class, an identification of its welfare with that of the entire nation. He was an accurate deductive thinker, but he lacked vision and a broad conception of social problems. The thought that the employer has duties to his employees never seems to have occurred to him; the laborer he regarded as nothing more than a piece of mechanism to be shifted about as the selfish interests of the capitalist seemed to require.

The minor writings of these economists appeared chiefly in the periodicals. One of the most important of these publications was *The Edinburgh Review*, established in 1802, which began a new era in periodical literature. For the first three numbers its editor was Sidney Smith (1771-1845), whose brilliant articles continued to appear in its pages for a quarter of a century. He was an eager champion of religious emancipation, parliamentary reform, and many other improvements, and wrote in behalf of all of them with an optimism that grew more confident with the flight of time. "A thousand evils were in existence," he said in speaking of the first years of the new century, "which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed; and these efforts," he was able to add, "have been not a little assisted by the honest boldness of *The Edinburgh Review*." He was succeeded by Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), who continued the inclination of the magazine towards political and social reform and made it the acknowledged organ of the moderate Whigs. He was easily the leader in all kinds of periodical literature; his articles were fluent and pungent; but his general outlook was essentially narrow, and so he was unable to appreciate the qualities of new and original writers, the passion of Shelley, for instance, and the imagination of Keats. The publication supported the Whigs and consequently aroused the bitter animosity of the Tories. It did much to prepare the mind of the coming age. In 1809 a brilliant competitor, *The Quarterly Review*, established by the agents of the Cabinet for the express purpose of putting down liberal writers, began its career. The new review was needed, said its publisher, "to counteract the baneful effects of the widely circulating and dangerous principles of the *Edinburgh Review*." These two reviews were the chief means of spreading the opinions of Whigs and Tories. Quite naturally a review was desired for the purposes of propaganda by the Radicals. In 1824, therefore, a periodical advocating sweeping reforms in politics and religion, and boldly basing its pleas upon the broad principle of utilitarian-

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ism, made its appearance. It was called *The Westminster Review*. Its criticism was directed more against the Whigs than the Tories. The former were deemed a subtle and dangerous foe to radicalism, because under a specious show of friendship they had a policy of hostility to thorough-going reform, while a frank enmity to such reform was displayed by the Tories. These were only the leading new periodicals. A flood of publications, weekly, monthly, quarterly, poured from the press, most of them ephemeral.

Coleridge
as a
Philoso-
pher

In the course of our studies we have seen streams of thought and feeling flowing from one country to another, there to contribute to the development of human life. In the Germanic States a restless, and even turbulent, period, a time of *Sturm und Drang*, a phase of the great emancipating movement that was making itself felt in many parts of the continent, gave birth to radical ideas. Much of that thought found its way into England, first through the talk and prose writings of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), one of the most remarkable critics his country has produced. He read omnivorously and digested what he read. In religious thought he left far behind him the narrow orthodoxy of his day, and in philosophy he passed from the growing skepticism of the time to a spiritual idealism. He did not agree with Locke and Hume that the only knowledge man can have is that gained through the senses; he placed great reliance upon man's capacity to acquire information through his intuitions. The function of religion, he declared, is not salvation from a place of perpetual punishment. That is a narrow and false conception. Its larger and loftier task is to develop the spiritual life of the individual, to lessen his shortcomings, to enlighten his conscience, and to strengthen his will. He gave an intelligent reverence to the scriptural writings, but to the spiritual consciousness of the individual he attributed a far greater power. The stream of religion, he said, wells up forever in the heart of man. Such teaching awakened and refreshed contemporary thought. It raised the mind of the time and gave it new and wide impulses.

William
Hazlitt

Coleridge in his youth was deeply imbued with radical thought, but as the years went on his banner drooped. Not so with William Hazlitt (1778-1830), likewise a child of the revolution. He remained a radical to the last. With him the wide range of the essay begins. Art, literature, history, politics, and people, all furnished him with themes; and through all his writings runs the eager spirit of delight and the untamed passion of revolutionary propaganda. His books are among the most delightful in the

language, fresh, vivid, full of fine examples of rhetoric, sometimes rising into pure eloquence, but lacking in judgments that last. His criticisms rarely penetrate to the core. He was an impressionist. But his power to stimulate remains unsurpassed, and neither living nor dead has he received his due meed of praise.

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The deeper questions of the day were carefully avoided by Charles Lamb (1775-1834), whose whimsical fancy played over the surface of things in so winning a manner as to hold in long captivity every reader who opens his pages. He lived in London all his days and loved it to the last, finding there a refuge from the stern realities of life in the company of his friends and "the scarcely less human companionship of books." His leisure hours were spent in lounging about the bookstalls, haunting the old familiar streets, or reading by candle-light his beloved books. His writings show him to have been not so much a great critic as a lover of literature with a faultless taste; and not so much a systematic observer of life as one who looked at men and things from his own unique angle.

Charles
Lamb

Only one historian of the period claims our attention, William Roscoe (1753-1831), whose *Life of Lorenzo Medici* at once gave him a fame that has faded but little with the flight of years; and whose *Life and Pontificate of Leo X* was the natural sequence to the book that made his reputation. Both these works did much to stimulate interest in the study of Italian history and literature. A word may be said about his political pamphlets in which may be seen something of the eager expectancy aroused by the great continental revolution.

William
Roscoe

Very important in the development of stories of domestic life is the work of Jane Austen (1775-1817), whose uneventful years were spent principally in two villages of the soft southern counties, far from the smoke of the factory towns, and who was virtually a stranger to the world of ideas. The first of her books, and the best known, is *Pride and Prejudice*. It reveals all her virtues and all her limitations. One hears in it not even the faintest echo of the swiftly changing life of the time with all its disturbances and distress. There is only the trivial daily comedy of the southern village, the affairs of its leading families, their courtships, and marryings, and christenings, their dances, their morning calls, and their occasional deeds of charity. These things, and their like, make up the only world she cared to know. She declined to attempt the portrayal of politics, passion, crime, or religion. But if we wish to see the country gentry and the parsons, the life of the manor-house and the rectory, as they

Novels
of Jane
Austen

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Walter
Scott

were in the southern counties at the close of the century it is to her novels we must go.

It was in 1814 that Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) published his first novel, *Waverley*. From that time forward his novels poured from the press, sometimes two in one year, until in fourteen years there were twenty-three of them, besides some shorter stories. For twenty years his insatiable curiosity about the life his ancestors had lived, and his converse with the people of his own time, with peasants, shepherds, doctors, dominies, lawyers, prison-keepers, robbers, and many others, had filled his marvelous memory with a motley crowd of his countrymen. All his novels, whether they deal with the past or the present, are formed of a mixture of reading and observation. With an epic gift of ingrained imagination he realized characters of long ago almost as vividly as those whom he met in the living flesh, and so the representatives of both types in his books are alive, though they are seldom subtle. In his make-up there was a curious mingling of eighteenth century conservatism and nineteenth century romanticism.

Scott's
Novels

Scott's novels may be grouped in several ways. One way is to divide them into those that deal with the past and those that have to do with the present. Admirable and entertaining as are the former, it is in the latter that his best work is to be found. The stimulus given by the historical romances to men's interest in their past cannot easily be overestimated. It may almost be said that the modern devotion to history as a means of understanding better the present and divining the possibilities of the future dates from the publication of *Waverley*. Be that as it may, the book opened a new place of beauty, the misty Highlands of the north, and took the world by storm. It combined with the macadamized roads, then being made, to send streams of tourists and sportsmen every summer and autumn into the north. Even to enumerate the titles of all the novels of the series is more than our space will permit. We can call attention, however, to two or three, to the somber eloquence of *Old Mortality*, with its dramatic opening and its tragic close, to *Rob Roy*, filled with borderers, wayside robbers, and other dubious characters, and to *Quentin Durward*, which is perhaps the best constructed of all its author's stories. Scott created the historical novel, and, all things considered, no man has since excelled him; and in his contemporary novels England discovered once and for all that she was linked with a people not inferior to her own.

Scott's childhood was passed in the heart of the borderland,

and the old ballads of that lawless region were his earliest reading. There, too, he roamed on foot and learned from the peasants many a story of adventure. He made a collection of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in which he continued the recovery of the old ballads begun nearly forty years before by Bishop Percy, and at the close of which he inserted several ballads of his own. Then he published *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the first of the metrical romances that made him famous, a tale of the border in the sixteenth century, full of unflagging vigor. Next *Marmion* appeared, and its dramatic form, its picturesque splendor, its epic quality and frequent passages of high poetic beauty, won an instantaneous and striking popularity. Several more of these narrative poems appeared, but now the people were flocking to a new idol, to Lord Byron.

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Scott's
Poetry

The poetry of George Crabbe (1754-1832) lifts the veil from contemporary life in the country. The circumstances of his early years, passed in the poverty of a decaying fishing village on the coast of Norfolk, led him to delineate and accentuate the less lovely phases of nature and the more squalid aspects of humanity. His poems are profoundly poignant stories of the sorrows and sufferings of peasant life, in village or workhouse, in the fields or on the sea, mingled with descriptions of nature, and many of them are masterpieces of their kind. He is essentially the poet of the poor.

Poetry
of George
Crabbe

With William Wordsworth (1770-1850) began the period in which men were to give free rein to their feelings, to express without external restraint their interest in nature and humanity. The movement had long been under way. It was now to sweep everything before it, to find full expression in the work of a series of poets of great power. Wordsworth was born in Cumberland, and so his early years were lived under the influence of hills and lakes, open skies, and quiet fields. In 1791 he began a visit of some thirteen or fourteen months in France. There he became acquainted with men who were taking an active part in the Revolution, and he sympathized with them strongly. He had not himself experienced the injustices of the old order, but he was able to realize them, and so he was led to espouse the cause of those who were afflicted by them. His revolutionary ardor, in that time when Europe "was thrilled with joy," left a deep impression upon his life. The record of his experience on the continent, that deepened his love for humanity and increased his faith in the capacity of the mass of men to guide their own lives in the path of wisdom, is to be found in *The Prelude*. When the movement began to work itself out in deeds of blood

William
Words-
worth

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he shrank in horror from its violence and cruelty; and then gradually his political and social views, and even his religious convictions, became the very reverse of his former liberalism. To nearly every important measure for political and social progress he was stubbornly opposed. Yet he did not altogether abandon the principles of the revolutionary period. The most fundamental of them was the simplification of life, and of this he became the finest and most faithful exponent.

Words-
worth's
Principles
of Poetry

In the lonely upland region of the Quantock Hills, where he devoted himself to the development of his poetic powers, Wordsworth met Coleridge. In the course of their walks over the heather-covered moors they discussed new theories of poetry, and decided upon the joint publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*. In this book all the highest and most characteristic qualities of Wordsworth's poetry may be discerned, though, of course, the revelation is by no means complete. In the famous preface he explained and defended the principles upon which his poems of lowly life are based. What are these theories? Simple diction, truth to nature, the significance of the human soul under the garb of the peasant as well as under that of the prince, the necessity of imagination, the spiritual influence of nature,—these are the primary postulates of his creed.

Words-
worth as
a High
Priest of
Nature

The world needed the fundamental thought of Wordsworth. The great elemental passions vary little from age to age in their essentials, however widely they may differ in their circumstances and expression; but it is otherwise with the relations of man to nature. In the eighteenth century men had become more or less estranged from nature. That is an undesirable state of affairs. Wordsworth taught men to look upon nature with new eyes. He opened for them a new way of escape from the narrow intellectualism of the preceding century and the tumultuous agitations of his own time. He believed he saw and felt infinite truth shining through the beauty of the world of nature. Divinity, he believed, can be perceived in all the forces and aspects of the external world, and he regarded himself as a high priest of nature, as one whose mission it was to make the revelation apparent to other men.

Lord
Byron

The poetry of Lord Byron (1788-1824) deals with the life of men of action, of men of the world, from one end of the continent to the other. In it there are several distinct elements: the picturesqueness and the glamour of the Orient; an elegiac sentiment for the classic past aroused in the scenes of its long-departed glory; an ardent advocacy of freedom; a love of the greater and more sublime aspects of nature, the mountains, the

ocean, the forests; and, affecting all these and in turn affected by them, an inordinate love of self. All except the last of these are found in the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in part an autobiographic record of his own first journey in the world. These cantos won instant and unparalleled popularity. Everywhere men left the ballads and novels of Scott to read the story of this romantic and melancholy hero. Stimulated by the discovery of his genius, Byron gave to the world within the next few years several poetic tales of life and of heroic resistance to oppression in Turkish lands that became even more popular than their famous predecessor. Then came an unfortunate marriage, separation from his wife, ugly rumors, public disapprobation, and a second and final flight to the continent.

Only eight years of life remained to Byron in his voluntary exile, years of restless roving, reckless living, and feverish composition; but in them nearly all his best poetry was written, and in them, too, appeared that final and dominant characteristic, the overpowering sentiment of self, the ideal of the blighted life. Among the writings of this time are the drama of *Manfred*, in which the author's stormy discontent with himself and with the world finds poignant utterance; *Cain*, a play that questions commonly accepted dogmas with the utmost boldness; the matchless *Vision of Judgment*, with its terrible arraignment of George III; and the never completed *Don Juan*, typical of the poet's own erratic life, one of the incomparable masterpieces of modern literature.

In his own day Byron's poetry was far more popular than that of any other writer. His more important works were immediately translated into all the leading languages of the continent, and the stream of translation has continued to flow from that day to this, invading even the languages of the lesser countries. A survey of continental literature in the nineteenth century affords striking testimony of the universality and penetrating character of his influence. He is, indeed, far more a poet of the continent than of the island of his birth. The part he played, or seemed to play, in the revolutionary struggles of the times endeared him to all the nations that longed for freedom. What is the permanent value of his poetry? No other poet of the same rank has given as much loose and uneven work to the world as he. But of the fundamental elements we have noticed there is abundant and splendid expression. Let us note first his championship of freedom. Strange though it be, this proud and sensual aristocrat became the most popular poet of radical reform. The revolutionary thought of the time appealed to the solitude

Byron's
Later
Poems

Signifi-
cance of
Byron's
Later
Poetry

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Shelley's
Concern
with
Abstract
Humanity

and apparent freedom of mountain and forest and ocean as a relief from the woes of civilization. To this thought, with which he was in intimate sympathy, Byron gave passionate and oftentimes beautiful expression. His inordinate sentiment of self seems due very largely to a belief that his ambition had been thwarted, his life blighted, by a society that was corrupt and that was everywhere in chains. He gave full rein to his egotism, denounced the conventions and rulers of society with great boldness, and so made himself the voice of his age crying for a multitude of rights that were known by the one name of Freedom.

Like all the other writers of the time, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) was affected by the revolutionary thought of the great upheaval in France. There were, of course, different reactions to this thought. Coleridge hid himself in a cloud of abstruse speculation; Wordsworth sought consolation in communion with nature; and Byron denounced and defied authority and convention with all the intensity of his nature. Shelley was unlike any of these. He was far more of an idealist than any of them. He was always concerned with abstract humanity, more than with actual men and women. No one else was so much a wandering voice, a spirit from another sphere, forever winging his way to vague translunar spaces where few could companion him and live in the rarefied ether. He was impulsive. He believed that every emotion that stirred within him was to be expressed or acted upon without waiting to consider either its cause or its consequence. The addiction to this belief, and to its carrying out in practice, was largely peculiar to him, but it was also due in no small degree to the widespread acceptance of nature as being in all its impulses good. He accepted the current opinion, derived from Rousseau, that mankind is naturally and inherently good, that its impulses should have free rein, and that all that interferes with those impulses is mistaken and sometimes even malignant.

Shelley
as a
Poet of
Reform
and a
Singer
of Songs

Shelley began his literary career as a reformer. His *Queen Mab*, privately printed in 1813 because its aggressive tone in matters of religion and morals would not permit of publication, was intended to advance the cause of social reform. In *Alastor* he uttered an impassioned protest against the conditions of daily life, and set forth, with great poetic power, the dream of human perfection that haunted him until the day of his untimely death. In *The Revolt of Islam*, full of lyrical splendor, he gave an allegorical story of revolution, a picture of the social millennium that would follow the universal prevalence of justice and love; and in *Prometheus Unbound* he unburdened himself again in

a story of the redemption of humanity through the efforts of a godlike hero. As the years passed Shelley became more and more removed from practical measures of reform. Not that he ever ceased to care for such things as the equal political rights of men regardless of their religious beliefs, the freedom of the press, the reform of property, and the question of marriage; but specific reform requires a machinery that he was not inclined to master. What he was most interested in was such abstract principles as justice and love. He knew that the ultimate source of all reform is the principle of love of man for man; and never has this principle found such utterance in literature as it found through him.

The words and music, one and indivisible, of the poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) came to the world through the gates of dream. He sought his inspiration in the dim debatable region where life is shadowy with legend and the human touches hands with the spectral. His *Ancient Mariner*, a strange tale of sin and expiation, which alone of his longer poems possesses the advantage of completion, passes in the region of the supernatural and is therefore typical of the others that were to follow. Again in *Cristabel*, which is only a fragment, and which, perhaps, could never have been satisfactorily completed even by the golden genius of its author, the supernatural is brought into the realm of everyday life. Wordsworth wrote of "the light that never was on land or sea," but, though the words are his, the thing was captured by Coleridge, and never more fully than in *Kubla Khan*, a poem full of romantic strangeness and cloud-like and rainbow splendor. These, and most of his other poems, were all written in about two years of the author's youth, and then poet and philosopher alike were gradually lost in a mist of opium.

Few understood and loved the poetry of John Keats (1795-1821) in his lifetime, but the hope he once expressed that after his death he would be given a place among the poets of his native land was completely and signally fulfilled. He found the imperishable beauty of the chivalric past in the *Faerie Queene*, the glory of Rome and the charm of Italy in the *Æneid*, and he gathered details and imbibed much of the spirit of Greece from the *Classical Dictionary*. These books, especially the first, enthralled, fascinated, and absorbed him, and from the moment he opened their pages poetry rapt him to "her realms of gold." A triple flame of genius, passion, and disease burned away his life, and so all his work was done in four brief years. After his first volume, which, aside from one splendid sonnet, contains

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Poetry of
Coleridge

John
Keats

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little that is not immature, came *Endymion*, a long narrative poem. Overladen with ornament, it is a failure as a story; but it shows a power of sustained flight and a luxuriance of imagination that were the promise of poetry truly great. In *Lamia*, together with several posthumous pieces, the promise was abundantly fulfilled. *Lamia* itself is one of the most beautiful and flawless poems in our literature; the *Ode to a Nightingale*, radiant and musical, strikes a deep note of personal passion; the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, a poem of classical perfection, and the one to *Autumn*, are both triumphant in technic and beauty; while the one to *Psyche* is pictorial and tender in its passionate fancy; and that on *Melancholy* is subtle and sweet in thought and feeling. These pensive and brooding odes are the finest embodiment of the poet's powers; they reveal the varied character of his genius, and assure him a permanent place in the highest rank of lyric art.

Southey
as an
Expres-
sion of
the Spirit
of His
Age

Robert Southey (1774-1843) with Wordsworth and Coleridge made up the trio of the Lake Poets. But though he lived in the lovely region of the lakes, the district had little influence upon his poetry. At first he was a valiant soldier in the warfare of human liberation, the French Revolution having stirred him deeply; but when he was made Poet Laureate he became something of a pusillanimous time-server. In his numerous "epics" he truthfully reflected the spirit of the court. Little of his verse, save a few minor pieces like the *Battle of Blenheim*, is read to-day; but when we turn to his prose we are in a different world. He had a genuine gift for biography, and his *Life of Nelson* is a model of that form of literature. The best and truest side of the man, however, is to be seen in his *Letters*, for they reveal at once his amiable literary gift and his quality of loyalty, gallantry, and tender-heartedness; and in them, as well as in some of his fugitive essays, he is found to be, in the latter part of his life, once more concerned with the problems of poverty and to be a believer in the efficacy of coöperative reform.

Thomas
Campbell

With *The Pleasures of Hope*, written when he was a boy of twenty-one, Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) won an instantaneous success. It owed its popularity not so much to its intrinsic merit as to the fact that it deals with topics in which men were then greatly interested, with the French Revolution, the partition of Poland, and with negro slavery. Then, changing completely, he wrote the splendid war-pieces of *The Battle of the Baltic*, *Hohenlinden*, *Ye Mariners of England*, and *The Soldier's Dream*, and the fine ballads of *Lochiel* and *Lord Ullin's Daughter* and the

romantic *Gertrude of Wyoming*, the scene of which is laid in the valley of Wyoming in Pennsylvania.

Another poet who caught the romantic tide at its flood was Thomas Moore (1779-1852), an Irish minstrel with an endearing though somewhat trivial note of his own and a good deal of witty banter. The careful eastern coloring of his *Lalla Rookh*, which delighted his contemporaries, is now quite faded, and the undercurrent of Irish patriotism that was cleverly worked into the poem no longer excites as eager an interest as it did a century ago; but the songs meant to be sung to the accompaniment of the piano, such as *The Last Rose of Summer* and *She is Far from the Land Where Her Hero Lies Sleeping*, still enjoy a wide popularity.

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Thomas
Moore

LIST OF MINISTRIES

Date	Party	Prime Minister
1801-1804.....	Tory.....	Henry Addington.
1804-1806.....	Tory.....	William Pitt (2).
1806-1807.....	Whigs and Tories.....	Lord Grenville.
1807-1809.....	Tory.....	Duke of Portland (2).
1809-1812.....	Tory.....	Spencer Perceval.
1812-1827.....	Tory.....	Lord Liverpool.
1827.....	Liberal Tory.....	George Canning.
1827-1828.....	Liberal Tory.....	Lord Goderich.
1828-1830.....	Tory.....	Duke of Wellington.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the general history of this period see: Broderick and Fotheringham's *Political History of England*, which gives scarcely any indication of the effect of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions upon the life of the time, but which recounts the political, diplomatic, and military events in an able and interesting manner. The tenth chapter of F. S. Marvin's *The Living Past*, though somewhat fragmentary, is a very helpful summary of this period of agitation for political and social reform. Harriet Martineau's *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace* is written from the viewpoint of the Radicals. The first two chapters of George M. Trevelyan's *British History in the Nineteenth Century* are an admirable introduction to the study of that period. Cyril Alington, *Twenty Years, 1815-1835*. Spencer Walpole, *History of England*.

To the primary sources should now be added: William Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, and also his *Tour of the Northern Counties*. Charles P. Moritz's fascinating *Travels through Several Parts of England in 1782*, a book written by a visitor from Prussia. *The War Speeches of William Pitt*, edited by R. Coupland. *The Creevey Papers*, edited by H. Maxwell.

Books dealing with special topics are: P. F. Aschrott, *The English Poor Law System*. A. W. Benn, *History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, a useful book, though loosely written and lacking wide sympathy. W. L. Blease, *Short History of English Liberalism*. F. A. Bruton's *Three Accounts of Peterloo* is the most complete and

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reliable source of information on the subject. Edward Dowden, *The French Revolution and English Literature*. A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in Its Relation to the War of 1812*, and also his *Life of Nelson*, which is unexcelled as a biography of a man of action, and gives in true proportion the significance of the chief events with which it deals. Frank Peel, *Risings of the Luddites*. Edward and Annie G. Porritt's *Unreformed House of Commons* is an interesting and useful book to which should have been given a far more general title because it deals with the Parliaments of England, Ireland, and Scotland. E. C. Stevens, *English Railways*. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Social Life in England, 1750-1850*. Julia Patton, *The English Village*.

Among the more interesting and useful biographies of men who lived and worked at this time are: C. M. Atkinson, *Life of Jeremy Bentham*. Alexander Bain, *Life of James Mill*. E. I. Carlyle, *Life of William Cobbett*. J. H. Rose's two books, *William Pitt and National Revival*, and *William Pitt and the Great War*, form the most complete account of the great statesman's career, and are especially sound and luminous in their treatment of foreign affairs. J. A. R. Marriott's little book on *George Canning and His Times* gives a satisfactory analysis of the aims and tendencies of Canning's foreign policy, including his conspicuous services to Greece and Portugal, but it fails adequately to reveal this interesting statesman as a writer and a "Friend of Humanity." R. W. V. Temperley, *Life of Canning*. Graham Wallas's *Life of Francis Place* is the story of the man who is chiefly entitled to credit for securing liberty for the trade unions. J. W. Fortescue, *British Statesmen of the Great War*. Ghita Stanhope and G. P. Gooch, *Life of Charles, Third Earl Stanhope*.

CHAPTER XXIV

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM

(1830-1852)

TWO of the fundamental forces that helped to shape the life of the nineteenth century were nationality and democracy. They were powerful factors in the overthrow of Napoleon. After his defeat, however, they still suffered suppression. Should each nation rule itself; and should each citizen have a share in the government of his nation? The legitimist sovereigns and the bureaucratic ministers who, at the Congress of Vienna, had signed a general treaty for the settlement of the continent had answered these questions in the negative. They had been concerned only with perpetuating their own personal interests. They continued to be filled with an irrational dread of the "revolution," they opposed every aspiration for national freedom as being merely separatist, and they stigmatized every attempt to extend democracy as being subversive of stable government. Not one of them was able to see with prophetic vision that these forces were to play an important part in shaping the future, nor was any among them able to realize that the part of wisdom was not to resist these forces but so to guide them as to turn them from the work of blind destruction to the building up of a new and better world. Their régime, resisting the vital tendencies of the time, was destined to be overthrown.

Let us, first of all, glance briefly at the working of the force of nationality. The change of the British Empire from a centralized monarchy into a federation of free states, which had its beginnings in the agitations of this critical period, is the first example of the working of that tendency; but it was, naturally, on the continent and principally within the limits of the Russian, Austrian, and Turkish Empires that the movement made itself felt most powerfully. Finland, Poland, Hungary, Serbia, Rumania, Belgium, Italy, and Greece were all restless with unsatisfied national aspirations. Greece secured her independence in 1830; and when, in the same year, Belgium became free the first breach was made in the elaborate treaty system with which the

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Nation-
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Democ-
racy

National-
ity

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racy**

diplomats fifteen years previously had attempted to bind the continent.

On the continent, where so many nations were subject to a foreign yoke, the struggle for national freedom came first; and, as a rule, only after such freedom had been gained did men turn to the securing of a greater degree of democracy in government and to the bettering of economic and social conditions. Such a struggle took place in France in 1830, when the government of the reactionary Charles X was overthrown, and in its place was set up the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe, who represented the middle classes. The democratic advance may be noticed in other continental countries at this time; but it was in England, which for seven centuries had known no alien rule, and in which the Industrial Revolution revealed its most baneful results, that the desire for greater democracy and social improvement made itself most strongly felt.

**Oppo-
sition
of the
Duke of
Wellington
to Democ-
racy**

George IV died in 1830, and, having no children, he was succeeded by his brother, William IV (1830-1837), a genial and well-meaning but dissipated man, whose timidity and irresolution helped to prolong a serious crisis and to bring the country to the verge of revolution. It was only a month after his accession that the revolution broke out in Paris which drove Charles X from the throne, curtailed the power of the monarchy, and increased the number of electors by lowering the qualifications for voting. This gave a great impulse to the reform movement in England. Early in 1828 the Duke of Wellington had become Prime Minister. The chief act of his ministry, as we have seen, was the emancipation of the Catholics, a measure for which, even though it was done to avert the danger of civil war, he deserves much credit; but he lacked the imagination and breadth of view necessary to a statesman of the highest order. He displayed slight sympathy with the national causes then stirring the continent; and against the demand for parliamentary reform and extension of the suffrage he showed stubborn opposition. When Parliament met for the first time in the new reign he made an emphatic declaration against any reform whatsoever. This utterance led at once to the fall of his ministry.

**Lord
Grey
as a
Promoter
of Democ-
racy**

Disunion has always been the bane of liberalism in Great Britain. For nearly half a century it had greatly lessened the power of the political leaders devoted to the cause of democracy, but now the Whigs were restored to something like their old popularity and to their former power in the Commons. At their head was Lord Grey (1764-1845), who had entered Parliament in 1787 when he was only twenty-three, attached himself to Fox,

and annually had moved a resolution in favor of parliamentary reform. He seceded from the party ten years later with other progressive Whigs. On the death of his father in 1807 he became a peer and believed his political career was ended. His first speech in the House of Lords, so he wrote to his wife, was "like speaking in a vault by the glimmering of a sepulchral lamp to the dead." He remained, in succession to Fox, the titular head of the small group of enlightened Whigs and declined to change in any particular his youthful creed. Yet one must not think there was any connection between this aristocratic reformer and the middle-class or working-class agitators for reform. Even in his hot youth he was careful to avoid dealings with the early Radicals. He always distrusted them. "Is there one among them," he asked after the Manchester Massacre, "with whom you would trust yourself in the dark?" He did not see very far, but clearly and distinctly he saw the need of parliamentary reform. He did not, however, agitate for that reform. He sat still and waited for the favorable moment to arrive, waited until the people should "seriously and affectionately" take up the question for themselves. The Tory party, after many years of office, was now split into factions, and the shift of population brought about by the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions had created a greater need and, at last, a popular demand for political reform. It was a critical time. Widespread misery and discontent manifested themselves in riots against machinery, in the burning of hayricks, and in the formation of trades unions that took an active part in the effort of the people to improve their condition. All the elements of revolution were present, and it was plain that a grave crisis could be averted only by improving the existing political and economic conditions. Lord Grey emerged from a long retirement to lead the middle classes with firmness and tact against an intrenched oligarchy, and, succeeding, saved his country from civil war. The work done, he took the first opportunity to go back to his country estate and the political world knew him no more.

The grave defects of the system of parliamentary representation were notorious. There were two fundamental, or structural, evils, the first of which was inequality between the counties and also between the boroughs in their representation in Parliament. Each of the old boroughs, no matter how its population had increased or declined, was represented by two members, the same number as given to it centuries ago. The shift of population due to the Industrial Revolution had produced glaring inequalities. Rutland, until 1821, returned as many representatives as York-

**The
First
Fundamental
Defect
of the
Existing
Parliamentary
System**

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shire; and the single county of Cornwall sent forty-four members, while only forty-five were given to all Scotland. The ten southern counties of England, with a population of 2,900,000, had two hundred and thirty-seven members, while the thirty counties of the midlands and the north, with a population of more than 8,350,000, had only two hundred and fifty-two representatives in the Commons. The inequalities of the boroughs, those towns and cities privileged to send representatives to Parliament, were still more striking. Some of the older boroughs had so declined in population as no longer to have a real constituency. They were known as "rotten boroughs." Two representatives were sent to the Commons by the deserted site of Old Sarum, but not one was sent by the great industrial town of Manchester. In effect each close borough, where the right to vote was confined to the governing body of the municipality, belonged to a single owner who could dictate or purchase the votes of the nominal electors. Such were the legacies of five long centuries.

The
Second
Fundamental
Defect
of the
Existing
Parliamentary
System

The second fundamental evil of the parliamentary system was a narrow restriction of the suffrage. In the counties the right to vote was possessed by all forty-shilling freeholders; but it was withheld from copyholders and leaseholders, no matter how many acres they cultivated. The forty-shilling franchise had been created in 1430, and since then the value of money had greatly declined. This had increased the number of voters; but many of the freeholders were poor dependents of well-to-do neighbors, and, because of the open polling, were often susceptible to bribery and intimidation. In certain districts, especially in Scotland, free voting, both in counties and boroughs, had virtually ceased to exist. There were varied and curious qualifications for voting in the boroughs. Some were based upon tenure, others upon residence, others upon the payment of certain ancient local taxes and the performance of local duties, and still others upon the possession of a single room in which food could be cooked. The members of this last set of voters were known as potwallers or potwallopers, the latter being one of the popular alterations of the word that had largely replaced the original. In one borough at this time the voters were only one in every fifty-five of the adult male inhabitants.

Three
Minor
Defects
of the
Existing
Parliamentary
System

In addition to these two structural defects, the parliamentary system had three other evils. Seats in Parliament were sold, bribery was prevalent, and the expense of elections was far too great. In the rotten boroughs the representatives were "nominated" by the patrons or "proprietors," and such seats were often openly advertised for sale in the newspapers. "The price

of a seat in Parliament," said a contemporary, "is better known than the price of a horse." A number of conditions favored bribery. Seventy members were returned by thirty-five places with scarcely any voters at all; and ninety members were returned by forty-six places with no more than fifty voters. In such places as these bribery was resorted to freely and effectively. The expense of elections was so great as to be one of the evils most generally condemned.

Conditions were even worse in Scotland and Ireland. The right to vote in the counties of the northern land was a special privilege, depending upon neither property nor residence; many of the "old parchment freeholders" owned not a foot of land. In the burghs the members of the self-elected town councils enjoyed an electoral monopoly. There were only thirty-three voters in Glasgow, and the same number in Edinburgh. In the total population of more than two millions there were less than four thousand voters; and it is not an exaggeration to say that in all the civil institutions of the country there was not a single element of self-government. In Ireland the forty-shilling franchise could be bestowed without the possession of any property by the recipient. This privilege was not neglected by the great landholders; they made voters of men upon whom they could depend.

For more than fifty years these grave evils had been denounced by liberal-minded political leaders. "Before the end of this century," said Lord Chatham in 1770, "either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without." But with the excesses of the French Revolution and the attempt of Napoleon to control the continent, a strong reaction set in and the governing classes took a determined stand against reform. The question, however, was not forgotten; and, although the cause was injured by the violent agitation which, towards the close of the first quarter of the new century, spread widely over the country, it continued to grow in strength until at the time at which we have arrived it reached its culmination.

The Reform Bill that was presented to Parliament in 1831, and that, with a few changes in detail, was enacted into law in the following year, was drawn on broad and simple lines and was intended to lessen the two fundamental evils by providing for an extension of the right to vote and a redistribution of seats,—chiefly the latter, for the rotten boroughs had become the bull's eye of the target. It met, quite naturally, with stubborn opposition. The borough-monger was loath to give up his lucrative business, and the landlord was not particularly eager to assist in diminishing his own power. The members of the Lords realized

Defects
of the
Parlia-
mentary
Systems
in Scot-
land and
Ireland

Agitation
for
Parlia-
mentary
Reform

Enact-
ment
of the
Reform
Bill

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that the conflict was the opening of a decisive struggle for political supremacy between themselves and the Commons. The bill at first failed to pass the Commons, and so Parliament was dissolved and an appeal was carried to the country. The strenuous election, though held under all the unfavorable conditions which the bill was intended to remove, resulted in the return of such a large majority of reformers that no further difficulty was experienced in carrying a second bill through the Lower House. It was an overwhelming victory for the people. The opposition members who were returned represented little more than so many rotten boroughs. When the Lords rejected the second measure, dangerous rioting broke out in many parts of the country. Two large cities petitioned the Commons to stop the appropriations of money for carrying on the government, some of the more reckless elements clamored for a run upon the Bank of England, and a mass meeting in one of the new industrial centers declared that unless Parliament should comply with the will of the people it would raise the standard of revolt. Then the King promised to create as many new peers as should be necessary to carry the bill. This determined agitation, together with the threat of the new peers, frightened many of the Lords. A considerable number of them absented themselves, and then the remainder passed a third bill by a fairly large majority.

**Provisions
of the
Reform
Act**

The Reform Act disfranchised all the boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants, and to those with between two thousand and four thousand inhabitants it gave only one member. This was at once the most popular and the most bitterly contested part of the bill. One hundred and forty-three seats were thus set free, and these were given to the larger counties, which had been underrepresented, and to the new industrial towns, which, in many cases, had not been represented at all. Thus some of the most glaring injustices of the preceding period were done away with, but there was no pretense of adopting the principle of equal electoral districts. Not a few of the smaller boroughs still possessed the same political power as that exercised by far more populous districts. The property qualifications for the franchise were changed, both in the counties and the boroughs, so that everywhere all men of the upper middle classes then had the right to vote. Similar bills were passed in the course of the same summer to remedy the electoral abuses in Ireland and Scotland. The civil institutions of the latter country had contained no elements of popular election whatsoever. In that land, therefore, the act produced political birth. The net result of the long continued agitations for the development of democracy was the

transference of a large share of political power, as far as the Commons was concerned, from the landed aristocracy to the middle classes. It did not extend the franchise to the working classes in town or country; an attempt to do so would have caused the defeat of the bill; and, of course, it left unimpaired the power of the hereditary peerage in the Upper House to override the will of the Commons. The representation of the boroughs was left mainly in the hands of shop-keepers and of those diverse groups of manufacturers and distributors who, enriched by the Industrial Revolution, sought further gain and hitherto unenjoyed political power, while that of the counties was in those of the landlords and farmers who remained inactive in selfish somnolence. A deep antagonism continued to separate these two classes which possessed the right to vote. The Commons continued to be chiefly a house of country gentlemen, and the non-payment of its members led to its being composed, almost entirely, of men with independent means who were primarily concerned with upholding the existing state of affairs and safeguarding their special interests.

The manner in which the reform had been brought about was no less important than the actual changes it made in the law. Hard times had returned. Hay-ricks were burning in the rural south, and in the industrial north men were drilling and arming. The middle and working classes drew together. Their common misery intensified their sense of common political injustice. Employers clamored for the bill in order to avert civil war. For the moment all the streams of discontent were united in one channel of parliamentary reform. Through storms of passion the bill was forced by the people, led by a group of enlightened ministers, particularly by the wise and tactful Prime Minister, upon a reluctant House of Commons, a fiercely resisting House of Lords, and a King who dreaded the rising tide of democracy. It was the determination of public opinion, the mass meetings, the petitions, the popular excitement, and the agitations that assumed a revolutionary aspect, that sustained the ministers and overcame the opposition of all the guardians of the existing state of affairs. Such diverse leaders of Radical thought as William Cobbett, Thomas Attwood, and Francis Place gave their support to the bill heart and soul and helped to secure for it the support of the multitudinous lower classes despite the fact that it withheld the franchise from workingmen. It was a great popular victory, supported by a widespread delusion that it would immediately relieve the poor and needy from the ills they were enduring. Despite the limited change it brought about, we must

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the
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Brought
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not fall into the error of underestimating the moral effect of the act. Once more the people had learned that it is possible to beat down opposition to their wishes, no matter how strongly it may be intrenched. It was a victory for the people at large even more than in the cases of the Great Charter and the Petition of Right; and it put an end to the doctrine that the constitution could not be altered with the changing years so confidently proclaimed by Edmund Burke. Supporters of the bill, however, were found not only among the working people and the middle class, but also among the great landholders and the country squires. The only class that opposed it with anything like unanimity was that of the clergy of the Church of England. Had such a reform been accomplished a hundred years earlier there would not have been so wide a divergence between the political life of England and that of the United States.

Make-up
of the
First
Reformed
House of
Commons

The first reformed House of Commons, which met early in the following year, consisted principally of Whigs, some Radicals, and a compact body of Tories with somewhat progressive inclinations under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel. This last group, of which we are to see much later on, was given the name of Conservative. The Tory party was gradually sloughing its elements that refused to come to terms with the new conditions of the time, and was to change its name for that of Conservative. The name of Tory has, however, never been wholly renounced. It has been preferred by those Conservatives who regard the new name as too purely a negative appellation; and it has been used by opponents of the party as a term of reproach. The Whig party, too, was also undergoing change. Slowly it was finding itself and becoming definitely the party of progress. In time its name was to be exchanged for that of Liberal. Yet, again, the old name did not entirely fall out of use. Frequently it was given, as a term of opprobrium, to the less progressive element of the party. Then there were the Radicals. Something more than a dozen years before the first Reform Act the men who favored more sweeping political and economic change became definitely known as Radicals. At first, under French influence, they had looked at political affairs from the point of view of the abstract rights of man; but now they regarded them from that of practical utility. They talked less, for instance, about innate and natural rights, and strove more persistently to secure secret voting by means of the ballot. The fountain source of their creed was the utilitarian thought of Jeremy Bentham modified by that of John Stuart Mill. How many members they had in the first reformed Parliament it is impossible to say, for as a political

party their position was by no means sharply defined. A want of unity, even bitter mutual animosity, was, indeed, one of their chief characteristics. The main importance of the Radicals lies not in their achievements as a party, but in their influence upon the general public and upon the other parties.

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The popular demand for reform had by no means been completely satisfied by the Reform Act. That act, indeed, was merely the breaking of a spell that had kept men bound to fear of change. There were still grave political, economic, and social problems to be met and solved. Annual Parliaments, household suffrage, cheap bread, better wages, a shorter working day, and other ameliorations of the social lot were still in the future. And so the passion for reform persisted. Under the Benthamite and Radical impulse the reconstituted House set itself immediately to the task of improving the conditions that had given rise to discontent. Few sessions have been more fruitful in reform than that of the year immediately following the first reform of the Commons.

**Further
Reforms
Desired**

The law of 1807, which forbade the slave trade, prevented the importation of new slaves into the colonies; but, inasmuch as the negroes continued to multiply, slavery continued to exist. An emancipation bill was passed in 1833 which set free all slaves throughout the Empire, which appropriated £20,000,000 to remunerate the slave owners for their losses, and which forbade slavery in the future. Credit for this great act of humanitarianism must be given to the religious sentiment which, towards the end of the preceding century, had found its most eloquent mouthpiece and indefatigable champion in William Wilberforce.

**Emanci-
pation
of all
Slaves
in the
Empire**

For more than a generation the sufferings and degradation of the workers in the factories, especially the children, had from time to time been brought to the attention of Parliament, but the terrible conditions that prevailed in the factories were known to only a few except the employers. The act of 1802 restricted the hours of work to twelve a day, abolished night work, required better living conditions, and made some provision for education; but it did not apply to places in which fewer than twenty persons or three apprentices were employed, and its application was limited to apprentices. Inadequate as were its provisions, the act was made far less effective by the failure properly to enforce it. Yet the need of proper regulation of the conditions of work in the factories was constantly increasing; and so once more the evils of child labor demanded attention. An act passed in 1819, due very largely to Robert Owen, attempted to deal with the increased employment of children in cotton factories. Its chief features were prohibition of child labor under nine years of age

**Michael
Sadler,
The
Earl of
Shaftes-
bury,
and
Reform
of the
Factories**

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and the limitation of the working day to twelve hours. In 1833 the first really important Factory Act, the first act that was at all general in its application, was passed. It was the result very largely of the activity of Michael Sadler (1780-1835), a leader in the reaction against the individualistic principles of Ricardo. He declared that, in a society which fails to provide its members with equal measures of economic freedom, the individual pursuit of self-interest does not inevitably lead to the general public welfare. He contended that individual effort needs to be restrained and guided by the conscience of the community, acting through the organization of the State. He became the parliamentary leader of the cause of factory reform. His exposure of the injustice and the miseries to which the workers in the factories were subjected led to the appointment of a parliamentary committee of inquiry whose report impressed the public with the gravity of the existing state of affairs. "I look upon the facts disclosed in the late report," said a contemporary economist, "as most disgraceful to the nation, and I confess that until I read it I could not have conceived it possible that such enormities were committed." Sadler battled long, and happily in the end not in vain, amid all manner of obloquy, for simple measures of humanity and justice. When he lost his seat in the Commons his place was taken by Lord Ashley (1801-1885), who afterwards became the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury. This man of noble birth carried on a long strife, in behalf of the children who worked in the factories and mines, against stubborn conservatism and heartless self-interest. Almost alone he stood, year after year, the advocate of those unfortunate ones, incurring mendacious insult, ingenious calumny, at the hands of his ignorant and selfish opponents. After the death of Wilberforce in 1833 he became the leading philanthropist among the Evangelicals. The act of 1833 forbade the employment of children under nine years of age. It limited the employment of young persons under eighteen years of age to twelve hours a day, and that of children under eleven to nine hours a day, it forbade night work, and it provided for skilled inspectors to enforce the law. The chief importance of the act lay in this last provision for thus the law was enforced by men unconnected with the locality in which the factories were situated, and the exclusive devotion of the inspectors to their work enabled them to acquire information which later on could be used in improving and extending legislation for the protection of labor.

All during the eighteenth century the poor law had been the object of criticism. At the end of the century the labor statutes had been abrogated, but the conditions remained the same; and

so the state of the poor in the period of famine that began with the Napoleonic wars became one of extreme suffering and actual serfdom. Outdoor relief, relief in their own homes, such as weekly payments in proportion to the number of their children, was given to large numbers of able-bodied persons, in order to eke out their inadequate wages. The effects of this practice had been deplorable. Wages had fallen as doles had increased. Farmers preferred pensioned paupers to independent laborers because they were willing to work for lower wages, and so the independent working-men, unable to secure employment except at wages too low to support themselves and their families, had constantly furnished recruits to the ranks of pauperism. Under this system one out of every six of the population received partial or entire support from the poor funds; thrift, self-respect, and self-control on the part of the lower classes constantly diminished; and the taxes levied for this purpose became an intolerable burden. The recipients of doles to supplement wages were tied to their respective localities, and were made more dependent upon their employers and the poor-rate authorities. Once more there had come into existence a state of serfdom. In the early years of the new century general discontent with existing methods for the relief of the poor expressed itself in the establishment of mendicity societies in some of the larger towns; but a more far-seeing effort to bring about reform was the issuing of many thoughtful and useful publications by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. Gradually, as a result of intelligent discussion, a general desire was created to put an end to the serfdom of pauperism.

The Poor-Law Amendment Act of 1834 did much, eventually, to make able-bodied pauperism dwindle to a minimum. The chief features of the law were the restoration of the practice of giving relief to able-bodied persons only in workhouses, where they were set to work, institutions which, as time went on, came to be much better regulated than they were at first, and a more centralized administration of the poor laws under a national board. Outdoor relief, the giving of relief in the homes of the paupers, was once more confined to those unable to support themselves and, if they were married, their families. The building of workhouses throughout the country, in localities where they did not already exist, was speedily begun so as to permit the carrying out of the law. The sudden cessation of money grants to supplement wages worked great hardship to thousands of persons, especially in the rural districts, a hardship that might have been mitigated had the commissioners made every possible effort to enforce the

Reform
of the
Poor Law

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XXIV****Political
Reform
in the
Municipalities**

workhouse test gradually, and had the workhouse been managed with a less degree of harshness; but when the period of transition had been passed the salutary effects of the law became plainly apparent. There was a long, persistent struggle between the pauper class and the administrators of the law, the former desiring to obtain relief in their own homes, and, in many cases, choosing to go without aid rather than to live in a workhouse. In 1838 *Oliver Twist* made the reading public familiar with the way in which workhouses were regarded by those who had to live in them. Even yet the struggle has not wholly subsided, but to-day comparatively few persons are unwilling to admit that the general result of the law has been a permanent improvement of the condition of the poor. Together with the Factory Act of the preceding year, the new law formed the first serious attempt of Parliament to lessen the evils caused by the Industrial Revolution.

Closely connected with the question of parliamentary reform was that of the reform of the towns. There was much the same necessity for reform in the towns as there had been in the country at large. Under a wide variety of old charters many grotesque incongruities and shameful abuses existed in the municipalities. The governing corporations were chiefly self-appointed, and many of them were scandalously corrupt. Parliamentary inertia was matched by municipal stagnation, and they were destined to end together. Under the old economic system the deficiencies of town government had given rise to grave social evils, and under the new conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution they produced a still more deplorable state of affairs. Factory towns arose with great rapidity. They were made of barracks for cheap labor, not of homes for citizens. Alike in central and local government there was no serious attempt to provide education, sanitation, justice, police, prisons, and many other things needed for the safety and welfare of society. Up to this time dissatisfaction with the management of town affairs had found expression chiefly in a number of local acts of Parliament which placed under the authority of special commissioners a variety of administrative details, which, if all had been going well, would have been assigned to the care of the corporation. The many special authorities established in the towns by Parliament led to overlapping and conflict of functions, and so increased the need for a general reform of town government. In 1833 a commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of municipal corporations, and the result of a thorough study was a bill, passed in 1835, that conferred the municipal franchise upon the rate-payers, and thus replaced the irresponsible and corrupt oligarchies

with something like a self-governing constituency. In every town affected by the act the government was confided to a town council, consisting of a mayor, aldermen, and councilors. The minutes of the council were to be open for inspection by any burgess, and an audit of accounts was required. The right of engaging in retail trade, which in some towns had been restricted to freemen of the place, was extended to all persons; and the police were everywhere placed under the control of the council. The measure, which was the most important step in breaking down the patriarchal and personal government that characterized the old order of society, met with stubborn opposition in the House of Lords. In consequence popular feeling mounted still higher against that body. The act is the high-water mark of the influence of Bentham working through the Whigs. The reforming energy of the middle class then subsided for a time. They were content to enjoy the fruits of victory. The act was extended several times later on by additional legislation, and finally, in 1882, the various amendments were codified in a new Municipal Corporations Act.

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Cheap
Postage

Still one other important measure belongs to this period of reform. In 1839 a system of cheap postage was established. The beginnings of the postal system may be found in the supervision of the royal messengers begun somewhere about the middle of the thirteenth century. Development of the service was slow. For a long time the government regarded the system as a means of obtaining revenue and an opportunity for political espionage. In the reign of Queen Anne the several postal systems of the Empire were consolidated and improved. The reforms now enacted were due very largely to Rowland Hill (1795-1879), a man of liberal political and social views, who, as a school teacher, is entitled to a place side by side with Arnold of Rugby. In 1835 his reforming zeal was directed to the postal system. Postage on letters was charged in proportion to the distance they were carried, the average charge for domestic letters being about sixpence, letters were not usually prepaid, and the mails were slow and infrequent. Hill demonstrated with statistics that the chief expense in the postal service was not involved in carrying the letters but in receiving and distributing them, and that the cost of conveying them differs so little with the distance that justice to all concerned demanded the adoption of a uniform rate of postage. And then, believing that an increase in correspondence, a saving that would result from prepayment by means of an adhesive stamp, a saving that would be gained by improved methods of accounting, and a still further saving that would be made by a lessening of the expense of distribution would justify

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it, he recommended that for all domestic letters not exceeding half an ounce in weight the charge should be only one penny. His plan also contemplated an increase in the speed and the frequency of the mails. After the enactment of the law, which met with much opposition, he was given an official position in which his administrative ability could be used for the continual improvement of the service. Though the plan was begun in a time of severe commercial depression it justified itself at once. The number of letters greatly increased, and the service was much improved. After being adopted in due course of time by every other civilized country, it has proved to be a powerful factor in the development of the internal and international communication that has been so important a feature of the life of the succeeding century.

Victoria

The death of William IV brought to the throne Victoria (1837-1901), who was then only eighteen years old. She had been brought up in much seclusion, and was almost unknown to her people; but good sense and a clear perception of the proper place of the sovereign in the existing system of government, together with confidence in the men whom she chose as her advisers, won the approval and the loyalty of the multitude. In 1840 she married her cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who for twenty-one years lived quietly by her side as the Prince Consort, acting as her private secretary, tactfully avoiding all appearance of intrusion, treating men of all parties and positions with the utmost courtesy, encouraging progress in art and science, unostentatiously giving temperate and sagacious counsel in foreign as well as domestic affairs, yet doing much to make the Crown once more a powerful factor in the government.

**Liberals
and
Conserva-
tives**

It was a time of readjustment. Gradually the party composed of the Whigs and those who had been associated with them for the purpose of bringing about the reforms we have described fell apart, and the new group that replaced them was known as the Liberals. Only later did this word come definitely into general use as the name of one of the two great parties; but for some time past, as we have seen, it had been in the process of becoming current coin. The crystallization of the term was brought about by the reforms begun in 1832, and by the writings of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill; and it was under Lord Melbourne (1779-1848), a man destitute of statesman-like qualities and of uncertain liberal leanings, but endowed with tact and enjoying much personal popularity, that this transformation assumed a definite form. He became Prime Minister in 1834, and, with the exception of an interval of six months, he retained the office

until 1841, a period of seven years, during which his party steadily declined in power. A little later the name of Tory became quite generally displaced by that of Conservative. The members of this party, as a whole, accepted the recent reforms, but insisted that any further changes should be made in a conservative spirit, and that as far as possible the existing constitution of Church and State should be preserved. They were skilfully led by Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) and rapidly increased in power. Peel cultivated the good will of the middle classes, the importance of whose newly acquired power he was quick to appreciate, and, in the period of political shifting and regrouping, he appealed for the support of the more conservative Whigs. Melbourne employed his charm and wit to captivate the young Queen, and he indoctrinated her with constitutional precepts suitable to the new age. This instruction helped to carry her successfully through her long reign.

Change was not confined to political matters. The Industrial Revolution went on apace. Railways had their origin in the tramways, or wagon-ways, which at least as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century were used for carrying coal from the pits to the river Tyne. Planks of wood were used for rails; and then, as time went on, it became a common practice to cover the planks with thin strips of iron. The next improvements were to make the rails and the wheels of the wagons wholly of iron. The wagons were drawn by horses. Improvements were made in the steam engine. Its adaptation to railways became a success in the hands of George Stephenson (1781-1848), under whose direction, in 1825, the first railway was opened over which passengers and freight were drawn by a locomotive. The railway ran between Stockton and Darlington, and something of what the sweeping effects of steam transportation were to be might have been guessed from the fact that the cost of transporting merchandise between these places was at once reduced to one twenty-fifth of the former charge. It was, however, the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 that first impressed upon the national mind that, for better or worse, a revolution in transportation had really taken place, and the next decade witnessed something of a mania for building railways. These early locomotives were far from being perfect, but it was Stephenson and his son who determined the form which, in every essential respect, has been maintained by the far heavier locomotives of later times.

The first practical steamboat was a tug built by William Symington (1763-1831) and operated in 1802 on the Clyde Canal. At first the invention found no favor in Great Britain, but it was

Railways

Steam-
boats

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taken up in America by Robert Fulton (1765-1815), who had been on board the tug when the practicability was first demonstrated. In 1807 Fulton's first vessel was launched on the Hudson. Five years later a boat devised by Henry Bell (1767-1830) began to ply on the Clyde, and from that time the success of steam navigation in Great Britain was assured. The first steamship to make a sea voyage was the *Phoenix*, which in 1809 ran from Hoboken to Philadelphia. Three years later Bell began to run the *Comet*, with passengers, between Glasgow and Greenock. Steamboats then soon began to make their appearance on many of the principal rivers of the world. In 1816 the first steamboat for carrying passengers crossed the Channel from Brighton to Havre. Three years later the *Savannah* crossed the Atlantic, though she made only part of the journey under steam. All the vessels of this time were propelled by paddle-wheels; and all of them were built of wood. By the close of the fourth decade of the century the commercial possibilities of screw propulsion had been proved, but the mercantile marine adhered with great tenacity to the paddle-wheel. The first iron steamship, the *Aaron Manby*, was constructed and employed in 1820 in a direct service between London and Paris, but the building of such vessels was retarded for a long time by a national prejudice against the substitution of iron for "the wooden walls of old England." Steam vessels were used at a very early date in the mail service. They were much quicker than the sailing ships, and they were virtually independent of the direction of the wind.

Tele-
graph
and
Cable

Much was done at this time to perfect the electric telegraph and to bring it into general use. In 1835 there was constructed a working model of an instrument which, within a few years, was so improved that, with some modification in detail, it has been largely used ever since. Two years later the earliest practical trial of electric telegraphy was made on the London and North-western Railway; and after another half-dozen years had gone by the first public line was put into operation. In 1851 a cable was laid between Dover and Calais; and two years later another was laid between Scotland and Ireland. In 1866, after many costly and disheartening failures, a submarine cable was laid between England and America.

Condition
of the
Working
People

Replacing of manual labor by machinery, and displacement of agriculture and rural industry by manufactures, had been making rapid progress. The change resulted at first in deplorable consequences. A radical economic revolution had come upon a community with unusual swiftness, and as yet there was no proper adaptation to the new conditions. Labor-saving machinery began

at once to enrich the manufacturers, but, temporarily at least, it deprived many thousands of working people of employment. Villagers poured into the towns, which were quickly swollen to an unwieldy bulk, and which were overcrowded, unsanitary, ugly, noisome, and lawless. The dwellings in the rural districts were often worse than those in the towns. For the most part the aristocracy and the middle class, especially the latter, regarded the situation with complacency. The fashionable *laissez-faire* philosophy of the time discountenanced any interference with the iron law of competition. Wages were kept down, and terrible conditions of work were continued, by competition; but, at the same time, prices were held up by the protective tariff. The English working class has seldom been in a more deplorable condition than it was at this time. So bad was the condition of the mass of the people as to be beyond belief, were it not for the governmental documents of the time. Naturally there was much impatience with the prevailing social and political order. The working classes became more definitely and painfully aware of the great differences between themselves and the newly enfranchised middle class. Their discontent grew as unemployment increased and as the price of wheat, because of poor crops and the corn laws, continued relentlessly to rise. Agitation, often revolutionary and violent, was rife among the unenfranchised and oppressed classes.

Three separate movements for bettering the lot of the working people now developed. One, which was socialistic, was connected with the name of Robert Owen; another, having for its purpose the repeal of the corn laws, was begun by members of the urban section of the middle class; while the other, which sought to bring about the enfranchisement of the masses and then to effect an improvement in their economic and social condition, came to be known as Chartism.

This third movement assumed definite shape when, in 1838, the demand for manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, a newly elected Parliament every year, abolition of the property qualification required of members of Parliament, payment of members of the Commons, and the division of the country into equal electoral districts was formulated in the People's Charter. The evils from which the mass of the people were suffering were economic and social, but it was believed they could be remedied only by first extending the franchise. "A Parliament which represents only those who thrive by labor's wrongs," said one of the most prominent leaders of the movement, "will never recognize labor's rights, nor legislate for labor's emancipation." Opponents of the

Plans for
Improv-
ing the
Condition
of the
Working
People

Chartism

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movement were even more outspoken about its economic aims than were its leaders, and were explicit in their hostility to any further extension of the suffrage. From the first, therefore, the movement was inspired by class consciousness, and was thereby distinguished from previous democratic propaganda.

Agitation
for the
Charter

Agitation was carried on in an effort to bring about an immediate enactment of the Charter. At the great meetings some of the speakers were intemperate in their utterances, seditious language was occasionally used, and several collisions with the military took place, and these things were seized upon by the general press as justification for denouncing the leaders of the movement as scoundrels, firebrands, plunderers, knaves, and assassins. To these partisan epithets, however, the people gave but slight heed, and pressed forward eagerly, under the guidance of their leaders, for the attainment of political power as a first step in the amelioration of their economic distress.

Feargus
O'Connor

Chief of these leaders was Feargus O'Connor (1794-1855), a man, not without serious faults, of impressive physical appearance, of unusual oratorical power, who was inspired by a deep passion for democracy, and who, in 1837, founded the most radical of all the democratic weekly newspapers, *The Northern Star*. He gave voice to the views of the working people regarding the unrestricted use of machinery. "It leaves to the employer complete and entire control over wages and employment. As machinery becomes improved, manual labor is dispensed with, and the dismissed constitute a surplus population of unemployed, system-made paupers, which makes a reserve for the masters to fall back upon, as a means of reducing the price of labor. It makes character valueless. It entices the agricultural laborer, under false pretenses, from the natural and wholesome market, and locates him in an unhealthy atmosphere, where human beings herd together like swine. It creates a class of tyrants and a class of slaves. Its vast connection with banks, and all the moneyed interests of the country, gives it an unjust, injurious, anomalous, and direct influence over the government of the country."

First
Petition
for the
Charter

In the years between 1836 and 1840 many large meetings were held, usually in the open air, because halls were often denied them, and because the halls were nearly always too small to hold the crowds that gathered; and the meetings were sometimes preceded by processions in which flags and banners, inscribed with appropriate mottoes, were carried. In July, 1839, after almost two years of agitation, a petition was presented to the Commons. It was signed by more than a million and a quarter names, collected in more than five hundred public meetings, and it required twelve

men to carry it into the parliamentary buildings. Only a few speeches were made in its favor, and it was rejected by a vote of two hundred and thirty-seven against forty-eight, a vote which proved decisively that the newly reformed Commons had set its face against further extension of democracy.

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The agitation was continued. Meetings increased in number and size, and sometimes the impassioned speeches blew the smoldering embers of popular discontent into the flame of revolution. Such was the case at Newport, in Monmouthshire, in 1839, where an outbreak was promptly repressed. These riotings, however, were exceptional cases; and it should always be remembered that the working men who carried on the struggle for the Charter did so with little aid from the upper ranks of society. Discontent was deep and widespread, but as a rule the masses were opposed to violent measures. The movement, like other popular agitations, had periods of intense activity, coinciding with a more or less serious industrial crises, alternating with intervals of comparative quiescence. It was greatly strengthened in 1840 by the establishment of the National Charter Association, which in time came to be the head of about four hundred societies. The great petition of 1842, the overwhelming preponderance of the signatures of which came from the towns, especially those in the new industrial districts, was denied a hearing by an increased majority of the Commons. With this petition the movement reached its height. During the next four years the condition of the mass of the people seems to have been somewhat improved, and consequently there was a decline in the agitation for the Charter. But the news of the revolution in Paris in 1848, and the fact that another period of great suffering for the working classes had come upon the country, gave additional impetus to the struggle and lent it a more determined character. The year 1848, we may remark in passing, is memorable in the history of Europe. It was a prairie fire of revolution that swept from land to land. The military despotisms of the continent were threatened by democracy, but they managed to survive, and then they tempered their procedure without changing their essential character. If nationality and democracy had triumphed then the great misfortune of our own day might have been averted.

Continued
Agitation
for the
Charter

Evidently no mere petitioning, no matter in what numbers, could bring about the granting of the demands of the Chartists. The agitation appeared to be rapidly coming to a head. There were now leaders who definitely preached the doctrine of physical force. Disturbances broke out in several places, and the prospect seemed threatening. But those who were content to

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rely upon moral force planned a great demonstration for London. O'Connor announced that a petition for the Charter, signed by four million names, would be carried to Parliament by two hundred thousand men. The petition, however, had fewer names than the one of 1842; and the ministry forbade the procession. Large numbers of troops were employed to guard the streets, a whole army of special policemen was enrolled, and a number of public buildings were put in a state of defense. The demonstration was a comparatively insignificant affair. Only some fifty thousand people assembled at the appointed place; and after the petition, sent inconspicuously in three cabs, had been presented to Parliament it was discovered that the signatures were less than half as many as the number claimed for it, and that many of them were fictitious. The Commons paid no more attention to their petition than they had done to the others. It was the last flicker of the flame. Thereafter the movement gradually died out. Campaigns for other reforms, especially against the protective duties on grain which artificially increased the cost of living, against the long hours of labor in the factories, and against the harsh administration of the new poor law, had been carried on during the struggle for the Charter. Agitation for the Charter, which from its beginning had been weakened by faction and internal strife, and which had always suffered a grave disadvantage from the fact that its aims were essentially economic while its program was purely political, became merged with the developing program of a general advance of democracy. The further struggle of the poor and oppressed against conditions that weighed heavily upon them was in large part transferred from the political to the economic field.

Sir
Robert
Peel
as the
Leader
of the
Enlight-
ened
Tories in
the
Commons

For some years nothing of importance had been done by the Whigs. The "condition of the people problem" was chronic and acute, but the party in power seemed to have exhausted its list of remedies. Nominally, at least, they were the representatives of progress in Parliament, and so it lay with them to improve the condition of affairs in Ireland, to repeal the import duties upon grain, and still further to better the lot of the working people. Yet for fear of breaking up their party they let these things alone, and so the control of the Commons passed over to the Radicals and the more progressive of the Conservatives as it had done in the days of Canning. In 1841 Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), who more than anyone else had built up his party since the time of the Reform Bill, and who stood for the reconciliation of classes, became Prime Minister. He was one of the best examples of the enlightened Tories.

Catholic emancipation did not satisfy the members of that faith in Ireland. They still suffered special political disabilities. Then, too, they were obliged to pay tithes for the support of the English Church in Ireland. So they became engaged in a crusade against the tithes, and against the alien Church for whose support the tithes were levied. For many months the island was terrorized by crime and bloodshed. Popular sympathy with the offenders served to baffle the police; and, even when the guilt of prisoners had been fully established, juries often refused to convict. Gradually the agitation broadened into a demand for the repeal of the union, and to this demand Daniel O'Connell lent his powerful support, for, unlike the revolutionists of a later period who openly declared for the separation of the two islands by physical force, he believed the severance of the political tie would not weaken the real bond between Great Britain and Ireland. Great meetings, convened by the priests, were held in 1842-1843 and the demand for repeal of the parliamentary union became almost unanimous on the part of the Irish Catholics. After some hesitation the government decided to repress the new agitation. In 1843 a meeting was planned to be held at Clontarf, a village to the east of Dublin. The government forbade the gathering because of alleged probable disorder, and occupied the ground with an armed force. O'Connell urged the people to submit to the authorities. They obeyed, and went their separate ways; but the spell of their leader's power vanished, and never again was he able to persuade them to do as he desired. A few days later he was arrested, and then, after a trial by a packed jury, found guilty of conspiracy. His health suffered much from the short imprisonment to which he was subjected; he was nearly seventy years old; and he was greatly distressed by the spread of the revolutionary doctrines he had always feared and denounced. Leadership passed from him to the extremists of the party of Young Ireland. This new movement had at first a literary quite as much as a political character. Its leaders were young men filled with zeal for liberty and nationality. Peel attempted to quiet the agitation by making concessions to Irish sentiment. He increased the grant of money to the Catholic College at Maynooth; he established three undenominational colleges, one in Cork, one in Galway, and one in Belfast, that were quickly denounced by fanatical Protestant theologians as "godless colleges" and received no more favorably by many Catholics; and he introduced in Parliament, but failed to carry, a bill to remedy some of the grievances in the holding of land in Ireland. But the spirit of nationality and of democracy was stirring the neighboring continent; revolution was

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in the air; and so these measures failed of the effect they might otherwise have had, and the new leaders flung out challenge after challenge to the government. After a few minor collisions, however, and the arrest and transportation of some of the leaders, the movement gradually subsided.

Famine
in Ireland

Far more serious was a famine in Ireland. About 1585 potatoes were brought from America to Ireland. Gradually they had come to be the principal crop and the chief article of food. The excessive moisture in the frequent wet seasons was unfavorable to cereals, and so a majority of the people, especially the poorer classes, had come to live almost entirely upon potatoes, and more than half of the others depended upon them for the greater part of their diet. Then, too, there was a teeming population fiercely competing for a very narrow margin of subsistence. It was a perilous position. Should anything destroy the crop upon which the people were so dependent famine, with all its horrors, would be inevitable. In 1845 this is what came to pass. Peel very early realized the gravity of the situation. The only effectual remedy, he thought, would be the removal of duties upon imports. Cheap bread, he believed, was the best means of preventing the impending disaster. In the following year the disease that had attacked the potato appeared earlier, and its ravages were far more extensive. The government expended, not always wisely, almost £10,000,000 to mitigate the famine and the diseases that followed in its train. Charitable associations in the other island did much to relieve; and money, wheat, and maize were sent from America. But many thousands died of starvation and disease. Then a great movement of emigration began, principally to the United States, but also to the British colonies, and it has been continued ever since. Gradually the population has fallen from more than eight millions to less than five. Ireland is the only civilized country in the world whose population has declined in the last three-quarters of a century.

History
of the
Corn
Laws

The great famine hastened to a conclusion the discussion of the repeal of the corn laws that had long been in progress in England; and a month of rain in England when the wheat was in the ear helped to "rain away the corn laws." The word "corn" in the British Isles means grain of any sort, and in particular is applied to wheat. What we call corn is not used there largely for human food, but to feed pigs and cattle, and is known as maize, or Indian corn. For centuries a duty had been imposed upon the importation of grain from foreign countries in order to encourage its production at home, and duties had also been placed upon exports of grain. In 1773 an attempt was made to

put these laws into order. Under the law enacted in that year a regular import duty on foreign grain, varying with the abundance or scarcity of the home harvest, yet maintaining in general a preponderance of imports over exports, was established. The period was one of notable agricultural improvements. Much waste land was reclaimed, and in the first twenty years after the enactment of the law the home produce of wheat was increased by nearly sixteen million bushels. But the policy of greater freedom of trade, of which the act of 1773 was only one of several indications, was brought into disfavor at the time of the French Revolution. In 1781, therefore, the duties were made more restrictive. As yet, however, the corn laws had probably influenced the price of grain only very slightly. Then came the Napoleonic wars. The landlords found themselves unable to pay the immense debts with which their estates became encumbered, and so, seeking to increase their revenues, they secured the enactment in 1815 of a law, known by the common people as "the Famine Law," which prevented any foreign importation as long as the price of home-grown grain was below eighty shillings a quarter. One of the consequences of this restriction, together with the war, was that the price of grain rose greatly. But the duties were made still more restrictive. In 1838 wheat rose to seventy-seven shillings a quarter, or about two dollars and thirty cents a bushel, which, considering the wages and salaries of those days, was several times higher than the price of wheat during and after the recent Great War. Gradually, however, as the nation began to feel the whole naked weight of the war debt, and as natural economic causes once more came into operation, the continued attempt to maintain so enormous a price for wheat aroused a very determined opposition. A cry for untaxed bread went up from all the manufacturing districts. Fortunately there was a great leader who heard this cry as a trumpet-call to battle.

Throughout his public career Richard Cobden (1804-1865) made the furtherance of the common good the great object of his life. In his first pamphlet, published in 1835, he advocated the unselfish and lofty principles of peace, non-intervention, retrenchment, and free trade to which during the remainder of his life he was faithful. He was opposed to the entire foreign policy, then in vogue, based upon the ideas of the balance of power and the need of large armaments for the protection of commerce, and to duties upon exports and imports. At his suggestion there was formed the Anti-Corn-Law League. From the first he was its directing mind and animating soul. His life in the seven years between the establishment of the League and its final triumph was passed

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Cobden
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in the midst of an agitation which for volume and intensity has seldom been surpassed. It was a difficult task. Town government had been made somewhat democratic, but the rural districts were still under the old régime. Landholders as a class were not involved in such reforming measures as town government and Factory Acts. To these things they had offered slight resistance. Now, however, a direct clash came between rural and urban society. Then, too, the opposition was supported not only by the selfish interests of the landholders, and by the mental inertia that resists change, but also by the ease with which the fallacies of protection find their way into the human mind. The protectionists were well aware of all the facts and forces contributing to the strength of their cause, and at the outset of the struggle they surveyed their antagonists with a scornful sense of security. The Tory press, contemptuous of the working people and the manufacturers, surpassed itself in virulent denunciation. The *Quarterly Review* declared the League to be "the foulest, the most selfish, and altogether perhaps the most dangerous combination of recent times." To the Tories the corn laws were the Ark of the Covenant, and they were regarded as no less sacred by the landholding Whigs.

Cobden
as a
Public
Speaker

Cobden addressed crowded and enthusiastic meetings in the large towns and country districts, never failing, by the lucidity and logic of his arguments, the felicity of his illustrations, and above all else by his power of persuasion, to make a deep impression upon the minds and hearts of his hearers. In the general election of 1841 he became a member of the Commons, where, despite the hostility of the vested interests, and of the men who sincerely believed that free trade would ruin the country, he soon became an acknowledged power. He advocated the repeal of the disputed taxes not so much to make food cheaper as to develop industry and enable manufacturers to obtain labor at low but sufficient wages. His purpose, he said, was to permit his countrymen "to buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest." His policy was really that of *laissez-faire*; but it was as generous as it was sincere. It should be remembered, too, that he was one of the few leading men of the time who felt and confessed international aspirations, who looked forward to a union of the nations as members of a common family whose true interests would prove identical.

At last, in 1846, the duties on grain were abolished. The failure of the potato crop was largely instrumental in bringing about this triumph of free trade. Sir Robert Peel, seeing that the failure of the potato would bring famine, became determined that the ports should be opened forthwith in order that bread might be

made cheaper. With the duties on grain other items of the protective tariff disappeared. The general election of 1841 had been fought chiefly on the rival policies of protection and free trade, and the former had won. But Peel's protectionist views, owing to the success of his budgets which had been increasingly based upon freedom of trade, had undergone a rapid and decided change, so that now he was opposed to the policy that had placed him in power. Even before the repeal of the corn laws he had abolished all duties on exports, and had removed or reduced the duties on certain imports, including sugar, which had been heavily taxed for the benefit of the sugar-growing British West Indies. In the four years from 1846 to 1849 the tariff duties were removed from some two hundred articles of commerce. A natural sequel was the repeal, in 1849, of the Navigation Acts, which had been retained from the seventeenth century as a means of confining British commerce to the ships of Britain. Ships of all other nations were now permitted to enter and leave the ports of the islands upon the same conditions as ships owned in the Kingdom. Thus was the old policy of protection discarded and that of free trade established while the leader of the government was an enlightened Tory. The abolition of the corn laws was the third important step on the part of the government to lessen the evil consequences of the Industrial Revolution. But the abolition of the corn laws shattered for a time the Conservative party. Tory landholders, seeking revenge for the loss of "protection," joined with the Whigs to defeat the government in the Commons.

Let us now turn our attention to an important expression of the religious life of the time. The Romantic Revival was a highly complex movement. One of its elements was a renewal of interest in the medieval past, and, indeed, an idealization of the Middle Ages. It was probably inevitable that this romantic flood, sweeping over the continent and finding its expression chiefly in literature, should invade the realm of religion. There was perhaps still another cause of the appearance of the movement in the field of religion. The great political and industrial changes of the time had produced an extraordinary disturbance of society. In such a time there are always men who cling pathetically to whatever relics of authority seem to promise security. And in religion, more than in any other phase of life, men turn to tradition in times of general uncertainty. They long for stability and assurance, and so they turn to ancient truths. It is, moreover, not without significance that the religious current in the stream of romanticism should take its rise in Oxford. For a long time the dreamy city that "lies spreading

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her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages," had been "the home of lost causes, of forsaken beliefs, of unpopular names, and of impossible loyalties." It stood outside the sphere of influence of the modern mind. It was there one might expect first to hear the voice of protest against the liberal tendencies and rationalistic thought of the day.

**Purposes
of the
Oxford
Movement**

The religious movement that took its name from Oxford was, however, only in part a protest against the new thought of the time. Its most powerful impulse was a desire to spiritualize religion, to infuse warmth and reality into devotion, to energize the Anglican Church, which under the Hanoverian Kings had been scarcely more than a respectable though little respected department of State. It desired to make the Church more acceptable to the mass of the people. The historical aspect of romanticism led to a belief in an intimate and unbroken connection between the Church of the first Christian centuries and the Church of England. It endeavored to prove that the doctrines of the English Church are identical with those of the Fathers, and that every one of the doctrines of the primitive Church might be held by the members of the Church of England.

**Begin-
ning
of the
Oxford
Movement**

A sermon preached on July 14, 1833, by John Keble (1792-1866), author of *The Christian Year*, a book of lyrics for each festival and holy day of the year, may be taken as the beginning of the Oxford Movement. The occasion of the sermon was the suppression of ten bishoprics of the Established Church in Ireland, and its purpose was to protest against the treatment of the Church as a mere creature of the State, to call attention to its historical continuity, and to reiterate its claim to be a divine institution. About the same time, and partly stimulated by this sermon, a number of men in Oxford and elsewhere began a concerted and systematic course of action to revive ceremony and ancient beliefs in the Anglican Church.

**Leaders
of the
Oxford
Movement**

The new views found expression in a series of *Tracts for the Times*, written by different members of the movement, that gave to their authors the name of Tractarians. The movement soon found its real leader in John Henry Newman (1801-1890), who supplemented the teaching of the tracts by the unusual and penetrating sermons he preached in the fading light of Sunday afternoons at St. Mary's, one of the churches at Oxford. Richard Froude (1803-1836), a high Tory who accepted tradition as a main instrument of religious teaching, and who was powerfully drawn to Catholicism, was another leader of the movement, but ill-health brought him to an early grave. Another important

member of the group was Edward Pusey (1800-1882), who was very active in promoting it. His support of ritualism and his advocacy of doctrines which had faded from the common view made him for more than a quarter of a century the most influential member of the Anglican Church.

Newman moved nearer and nearer to the Catholic Church. He wrote of the need of an infallible Church. He had become convinced that the *Bible* in itself is an insufficient basis for faith, and that some authority to interpret that varied and oftentimes ambiguous book is necessary, a living authority, to which the individual can bow in simple obedience. So he sought for such an authority, first in the Anglican Church, then in the early Church of the Fathers and finally in the contemporary Catholic Church.

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Conversion of
Newman
to
Catholicism

William Ward (1812-1882), another member of the group, was not interested in the movement from the historical point of view. He approached the question from the point of view of logic. He openly contended that the only logical procedure for the members of the Anglican Church was to attempt a reconciliation with Rome. This precipitated the crisis that for long had been impending. His ideas were condemned, and he was deprived of his University degrees. Then he joined the Catholic Church, and was followed by many others, including Newman. These secessions put an end to the Oxford Movement. Within the English Church, however, the ritualistic development continued.

Conversion of
Other
Leaders
of the
Oxford
Movement
to
Catholicism

The subject-matter of literature came to be more varied, perhaps more vital, than ever before. It found its topics in the unfolding of the new social order, the conquests of the new scientific thought, the aspirations of newly aroused faith, and the inspiration of new insight into the complex character of human nature. These were the chief themes which, after several of the older writers had passed away, were to dominate the thought of the later poets and writers of prose. Leigh Hunt (1784-1859) began his professional literary career in 1808, when he became the editor of a newspaper. He was not a great poet, but a true one, writing fluent, musical, and colored verse. It is as a prose writer, however, that he best deserves to be remembered. He marks the change from the aristocracy to the democracy of letters. He was a vagabond of literature, writing rapidly and somewhat indiscriminately about almost everything, and always in a sprightly and graceful manner, with keen insight into meanings and delicate appreciation of beauty that had escaped others. In all he wrote he had the good of humanity at

Leigh
Hunt

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heart, and persistence in the liberal desires of his youth prompted some of the last words he wrote.

Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859) was a shy and sensitive child, with a tendency to dreaming by day and night, and much given to lonely study and meditation. Yet he became a man of the world, keenly interested in the men about him as well as in those of bygone times. In his second year at Oxford he took opium to allay neuralgic pains; but his slavery to it did not begin until he was twenty-eight, after the virtual determination of his character and habits. His famous *Confessions of an Opium Eater* attracted much attention, not only by its personal disclosures, but also by the wonderful virtuosity of its style and its shadowy vastness of vision. In his other writings he showed himself to be a challenger of routine views, except in the field of theology, in which he was pathetically credulous; and to the exquisite keenness and subtlety of his highly analytic and imaginative intellect was united a sensibility that humanized all he touched. In his pages prose went farther into the realm of music than ever it did elsewhere. He composed prose as though it were music for an orchestra, and he remains the greatest master of all its musical resources.

Lander

Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864) wrote both prose and poetry, but he seems to have put more of himself into the former than the latter. He was an eager radical, desirous of seeing the world move forward, and wishing to help it as far as he could. His faith in republicanism, surviving the reaction that carried several of his eminent literary contemporaries into the camp of the conservatives and made them lost leaders to the cause of liberty, remained unquenched to the last. When the wave of revolution swept over the continent in 1848 he was the same eloquent and resolute champion of liberalism he had been half a century before. Throughout his life he continued to be deeply interested in the political happenings of the time, taking fresh heart for humanity with every new uprising of the democratic spirit, and finding happiness in the fact that he lived long enough to see almost the complete accomplishment of the dream of a liberated and united Italy.

Historical
Writers

Among the historical writers of the period was John Lingard (1771-1851), a priest, whose important *History of England* corrected many mistakes of some of its predecessors in a quiet and unostentatious manner. It is temperate in tone, and remains valuable and interesting as representing the point of view of an able and learned Catholic. More important in helping to lay the foundations of modern historical writing in England was the

work of Henry Hallam (1777-1859), whose *View of the Middle Ages* is one of the first histories written in the island which, without being exclusively antiquarian in character, is the result of a genuine study of original sources. His work is distinguished by conscientiousness and accuracy, by wide reading, and by calm and sound judgment. When he has to deal with radical points of view, such as skepticism in philosophy, atheism in religion, and democracy in politics, he shows himself a conservative Whig, but he is generally a fair if not a profound critic. When, in 1829, Henry Milman (1791-1868) gave to the world his *History of the Jews* he was violently attacked by the orthodox critics and the sale of the book was stopped, for it is a work in which the documentary evidence is skilfully sifted and arranged, in which the "chosen people" are regarded as an oriental tribe, and the miraculous element is cleverly evaded or quietly deprecated. His *History of Latin Christianity* is marked by extensive research, liberality of thought, a fine sense of historical continuity, and a sympathy that includes a wide variety of persons and parties.

In 1825 Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) burst into popularity with his essay on *Milton* in *The Edinburgh Review*. Six years later, having become a member of the Commons, he made, in support of the bill to extend the suffrage, the first of many notable reform speeches. In 1834 he went to the East to accept a seat in the Supreme Council of India. There he began a system of national education, and procured for the natives equality before the law with Europeans. He returned in 1838 and once more entered Parliament; but nine years later he retired from public life in order to devote himself to writing. The first two volumes of his *History of England from the Accession of James II* appeared at the end of 1848 and met with great popular favor. Five volumes of the history were completed, and they deal with the events of only sixteen years. The work remains, therefore, a sectional picture of a limited period in a single country. It is a compound of historical romance and biographical memoir rather than a sketch of the evolution of the fundamental ideas and principles of the period. As a critic, poet, biographer, and historian Macaulay gained wide renown. He was not interested in either philosophy or art; of the wonderful discoveries in science that were being made in the period in which he lived he seemingly took no note; and he was unable to follow the more delicate clues of character; but he brought to the writing of history a personal acquaintance of legislative and administrative affairs, a knowledge of literature so wide as to be imperial, and

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a gift of vital narrative seldom equaled. He was able to visualize and to feel the past. In his pages a bygone age becomes visible, interesting, and significant to the ordinary reader. He was above all else a Whig. In his history the opponents of that party are unfavorably characterized and denounced in a decidedly immoderate manner, but his partiality is apparent and deceives nobody. He was, moreover, never intentionally unfair; and his estimates of character are seldom deserving of intellectual contempt or moral reprobation. As a politician and a writer he was always a somewhat mild and complacent champion of progress. The world as he found it seemed to him to be, on the whole, a fairly satisfactory place, and so he made himself its eulogist.

Disraeli's
Political
and Social
Ideas

It was with *Vivian Grey* that, in 1826, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) introduced himself to the public. This insolently clever novel, full of audacious social satire, was followed by a series of political pamphlets, interspersed with other novels, in which he revealed his political ambitions and his ideas of social improvement. He had determined to cast his lot with the Conservatives, but he knew the success of that party depended upon a complete reconstruction and liberalizing of its principal ideas. He knew that a long historic day was ending in England, and that a new era was beginning. Reflection convinced him that, in the temper of the times, the novel was the most promising means for influencing public opinion, so it was in novels that he gave his political and social ideas to the public. These ideas were so far-reaching that their carrying out involved nothing less than the founding of a new party in Parliament. He realized that for generations before the recent extension of the suffrage the authority of the Crown and the liberties of the people had been absorbed and extinguished in an oligarchic system of government, and that this dictatorial minority had become selfish and without a soul. He was resolved to undertake the task of "changing back the oligarchy into a generous aristocracy round a real throne," of "infusing life and vigor into the Church as the trainer of the nation," and of recalling the popular sympathies to "the principles of loyalty and religious reverence."

Disraeli
as an
Advocate
of "Tory
Democ-
racy"

The difficult task of instilling the new 'faith of "Tory democracy" into the Conservative party was begun, in 1844, with the publication of *Coningsby*. In this novel Disraeli unfolded his theory that the natural rulers of the nation are the aristocracy, directed by the Crown, and supported by the people. He declined to trust the reins of government to the people themselves. "I have no faith in the remedial qualities of a government carried on by a neglected democracy," he said, "who for three centuries

have received no education. What prospect does it offer us of those high principles of conduct with which we have fed our imagination and strengthened our wills?" The novel, like its successors, is the work of a writer, endowed with literary gifts of a high order, who had for his chief purpose the gaining of a practical end. It is the statement of a subtle faith; and it contributed, in no small degree, to the achievement of its author's political purpose.

Then Disraeli turned his attention to the social situation. Ever since the signing of peace in 1815 a deepening agitation had been carried on concerning the question of "the condition of England." The evils following the beginning of the factory system and the long wars had become multiplied. The deplorable condition of the masses, in town and country, was described in *Sybil, or the Two Nations*, which appeared in 1845, with a wealth of detail and great dramatic power. The "two nations" are the rich and the poor. "There are two nations," we are told, "between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws. I mean the rich and the poor. Between the poor man and the rich there never was any connection, and that is the vital mischief of this country." All this had come about under the oligarchic régime that he hoped to displace with Tory democracy. The novel opened many eyes, roused consciences, and led directly to several reforms.

Disraeli
and the
Problem
of "the
Condition
of the
People"

Still another man of letters who turned his attention to politics was Edward Bulwer (1803-1873), better known as Lord Lytton, from whose prolific pen, for more than a generation, flowed a long list of poems, plays, essays, and novels. The poems are seldom read to-day. The plays, of which *Richelieu* and *The Lady of Lyons* are the best remembered, abound in passages of strained sentiment, but possess a certain theatrical flair that occasionally persuades actors to revive them. The numerous novels may be divided into those of sentiment, those of mystery and crime, and those dealing with a historical period. Of the first group the one that best illustrates the author's characteristic qualities, both good and bad, his ability to weave an effective plot, his sense of dramatic situation, his prodigality of expression, and his high-flown sentiment is *The Pilgrim of the Rhine*. Perhaps the most reliable and generally effective of his historical romances is *The Last of the Barons*, which deals with the Wars of the Roses.

Lord
Lytton

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son's
Early
Poems

And the best of the novels of sentiment is probably *My Novel*, which contains a good deal of gentle wisdom, and often betrays, in the midst of an artificial beauty, a really fine literary faculty.

In 1830 there appeared a little volume of *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, by Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), his first separate book of verse. It showed a mastery of original cadences, a close observance of nature, a delicate voluptuousness, and, uncontrolled as yet, a splendor of imagination. Two years later another volume of *Poems* was given to the world. It may be doubted whether in the exquisitely original, varied, and imaginative art of his landscape touches he ever surpassed the delicate work of this beautiful book. Less than a year later the sudden death of Arthur Hallam, his most intimate friend, affected the poet profoundly. It aroused him from a conventional acceptance of things as they seem to be; it made him distrust the orthodox explanations of the problems of life; it made him determined to learn the truth of things as far as it lay within his power to do so. He spent the next ten years very quietly in undivided devotion to his art. Then to the lovely lyrics of the earlier days were added the majestic fragment of the *Morte d'Arthur*, the noble *Ulysses*, and the lofty and passionate monologue entitled *Locksley Hall*, in which he gave expression to the almost boundless optimism of the second quarter of the century. In 1851 *In Memoriam*, the lament for his dear friend, which had been written in a desultory manner, was published. What most interests us in it is the unmistakable suggestion of the law of evolution given to the world before it was published by Darwin. In the same year he was made Poet Laureate. He rose in *Maud*, which appeared in 1855, far above his ordinary serenity of style and complacency of political and social thought to a passion for common humanity that was astonishing to his aristocratic admirers and decidedly unwelcome to them. It is not strange that this poem, with its warmth and glow, its free sweep of emotion, in which he rises to a level of human sympathy he reached nowhere else, should, despite its copious and varied music and its richness of imagery, have been received with sharp resentment. It startled the smug satisfaction of both Whig and Tory, of all those whose personal interests seemed bound up with the established order of society.

Tennyson
as a Poet
of the
Past and
of the
Present

Tennyson won all his popularity back again, however, when, four years later, four of the *Idylls of the King* were published. These versions of old tales are rich in beauties of style, in delicate observation of nature, and in such characters as Elaine and Lancelot. Later on the idylls were continued until they made a book of twelve connected poems. They are not all of equal

merit, and there is in them a curious mingling of medieval romance and modern psychology; but, taken altogether, they are a rival in romantic charm to the old stories upon which they are based. In the volume entitled *Enoch Arden* he gave voice once more to the optimism of the age. It was a hopefulness born of the social and political reforms that, in the course of the last generation, had been enacted into law or that were promised for the immediate future, of the great commercial and industrial development of the country, and of the development of the physical sciences, especially those having to do with the origin of the earth and the development of human life. He gave voice also, as we shall see, to the deep questions of human destiny, which the contemporary discoveries in science were bringing to the surface. Here, however, we must leave him until a later chapter, the foremost poet of his day.

Far more introspective was Robert Browning (1812-1889), who never took a keen interest in the politics of the day, but who, accepting the general position of the new liberalism, turned his attention to the study of the mysterious springs of character and temperament. In 1834 he visited for the first time a land that, in his own words, was his University, that quickened his senses, deepened his genius, and inspired some of his noblest work, the enchanting and storied peninsula of Italy. His personality was fully revealed in *Paracelsus*, one of his finest studies in character, which made a profound impression upon the sensitive spirits of the time, and in *Sordello*, the story of a troubadour, told in involved and elliptical phrases, that, because of its obscurity, initiated the temporary eclipse of his reputation.

In the meantime Browning had written *Strafford*, his first play. He was not successful as a writer for the stage. He was interested in poignant situations, but not in weaving and unfolding a plot. His concern was not with action, but with the motives that lead to action, and with the way in which these motives are influenced by the varying play of circumstance; and so all his plays, while they abound in passages of high poetic power, failed to attract the public and are better suited for the study than the stage.

Then came a series of poems in the special form, the dramatic monologue, in which no other poet is the peer of Browning. They rarely depict action, but they show great subtlety in interpreting the mind of man as he approaches action or shrinks from it. Nothing else summoned to the surface his utmost power more certainly than the chance of tracing an obscure motive back to its source, and then following it, through all its modifications

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Brown-
ing's
Early
Poems

Brown-
ing's
Concern
with
Motives

Brown-
ing's
Dramatic
Mono-
logues

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by other motives, to its final issue in action or to its ultimate defeat in renunciation. "Little else is worth study," he said, "than the incidents in the development of a soul." So he took souls of many types and complexions, some from bygone times and others from the time in which he lived, medieval scholastics, painters and poets, a spokesman of the charlatanry of modern spiritualism, casuistical theologians, a sophistical defender of modern imperialism, disclosed their inmost workings and laid bare their profoundest secrets.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

Date	Party	Prime Minister
1830-1834.....	Whig.....	Lord Grey.
1834	Whig.....	Lord Melbourne (1).
1834-1835.....	Conservative.....	Sir Robert Peel (1).
1835-1841.....	Whig.....	Lord Melbourne (2).
1841-1846.....	Conservative.....	Sir Robert Peel (2).
1846-1852.....	Whig.....	Lord John Russell.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the general history of the time see: Low and Sanders's *Political History of England*, the final volume of its series, an intelligent and largely successful attempt to write an accurate and impartial history of contemporary times; its treatment of the Home Rule controversy is particularly interesting and fair. J. A. R. Marriott's *England since Waterloo* is also the last of its series; it is a vigorous and able record in which the author's personal opinion of men and events is often supplemented by those of students of the same period who have come to different conclusions. The eleventh chapter of F. S. Marvin's *The Living Past* is very useful in connection with our present chapter and also with succeeding ones. Herbert W. Paul's *History of Modern England* is a popular and animated story of the varied life of the nineteenth century. Louis Cazamian, *Modern England*. Gilbert Slater, *The Making of Modern England*.

Primary source material will be found in C. G. Greville's *Journals of the Reigns of George IV and William IV*; in the *Letters of Queen Victoria*, edited by A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher; in *The Letters of Charles Greville and Henry Reeve*, edited by A. H. Johnson, written from the point of view of the group of conservative Whigs; and the *Recollections and Suggestions of John, Earl Russell*.

For economic and social reform see: Max Beer's *History of British Socialism*, an admirable book by an Austrian scholar who has lived many years in England. It is a history of ideas rather than events, yet it contains interesting chapters with much detailed information on such movements as the first Reform Bill and Chartism. Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism*. G. R. Fay, *Life and Labor in the Nineteenth Century*. Harold U. Faulkner, *Chartism and the Churches*. R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement*. The three books by Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, whose titles have been given in previous lists, are essential to a proper understanding of the period immediately preceding the first Reform Act; and

for the succeeding period see their *Lord Shaftesbury*. Leonard T. Hobhouse, *The Labor Movement*. Mark Hovel's *The Chartist Movement*, the unfinished work of a young scholar killed in the Great War, is an able summary of the movement, its causes, its momentary spectacular success, the differences and uncertainties of its leaders, and its ultimate failure. J. P. Kay, *Condition of the Working Classes in the Cotton Manufacture*. Nicholls and Mackay, *History of the English Poor Law*. Joseph S. Nicholson, *History of the English Corn Laws*. F. F. Rosenblatt, *The Chartist Movement in Its Social and Economic Aspects*. P. W. Slosson, *Decline of the Chartist Movement*. Julius West's *History of the Chartist Movement* contains many details gathered from original sources, but it is mistaken in regarding the movement as an expression of revolutionary socialism.

Political reform is dealt with in: James M. Butler's *Passing of the Great Reform Bill*, the first complete and satisfactory story of its subject, gives a vivid picture of the agitation and throws new light upon the inner history of the bill. Edward and Annie Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*. G. S. Veitch's *Genesis of Parliamentary Reform* is crowded with facts, but is not a well written story.

Among the abundant biographies of the period see: R. Coupland's *Wilberforce*. Edward I. Carlyle's *William Cobbett*, written long after the dust and din aroused by this vigorous reformer had subsided, displays sympathetic insight and a judicious temper. Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria*. Lewis Melville, *Life and Letters of William Cobbett*. W. F. Money Penny and G. E. Buckle's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli* is the standard biography of that interesting statesman. John Morley's *Life of Richard Cobden* is one of the best and most memorable of political biographies. G. L. Strachey's biography of *Queen Victoria*, written with intimate information, good judgment, and the literary charm of an accomplished man of letters, is an unusually illuminating book; see also his *Eminent Victorians*. George Macaulay Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of John Bright*; and also his *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, a well-informed and dispassionate study. George Otto Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*. Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* see, among others, the articles on Henry Brougham, a Whig who ranged himself on the side of reform; Richard Carlile, a free-thinker who did more for the freedom of the press than any other of his countrymen at this time; and Lord Holland, another liberal in the ranks of the Whigs. G. D. H. Cole's *Robert Owen* is a fine biography of a great social pioneer.

CHAPTER XXV

DEMOCRACY AND EVOLUTION

(1852-1867)

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Tempo-
rary Ad-
vance of
Democ-
racy on
the
Continent

DURING this period of social agitation and material progress in the British Isles there was increasingly grave unrest on the continent. The signs of the times seemed to bode ill for the anti-national and anti-democratic forces. Prince Metternich (1773-1859), the leader of those forces, was growing old and weary, and the assistance he received from the autocrats he served became ever more ineffective. As repression weakened, the forces of nationality and democracy grew bolder. The first symptoms of a general upheaval came from Italy; but though the agitation in that land met with some minor successes, the most important events in the advance of democracy on the continent took place in France. The troubled reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) had given satisfaction to few, and when at last, in 1848, riots broke out in Paris the incompetent and pusillanimous King abdicated and hastily crossed the Channel to England. Thereupon a new Republic was proclaimed. The sudden revolution sent an electric thrill through the entire continent. Everywhere the long-gathering waters of liberalism burst their barriers and flooded the land. Fifteen separate revolts took place. Democracy, however, is the most difficult form of government. Its success depends ultimately upon the intelligence and ideals of the majority of the people. The mass of the people were not yet prepared for self-government; or at least the popular leaders displayed but slight political ability. The triumph on the continent quickly declined into disaster. Even in France, where democracy seemed to have made greatest progress, a reaction took place. On December 2, 1852, that country, by an almost unanimous vote, conferred supreme power, with the title of Emperor, upon Napoleon III.

Causes of
the
Crimean
War

The attention of the diplomats was now attracted to the eastern Mediterranean. The question of the Near East, which for many years had been quietly slumbering, was awakened by a quarrel between the eastern and western monks regarding the holy places

in Palestine. For more than a hundred years all visitors to Jerusalem other than Moslems had been under the special protection of France. Certain rights in the places to which the pilgrims throng had been granted to Latin Catholic ecclesiastics, but as the power of Russia spread these rights had been encroached upon by the clergy of Greek Catholicism. The squabbles of these monks should have been left in the contempt they deserved; but the new Emperor, who bore his grand-uncle's name, saw in the situation an opportunity to conciliate the clericals at home, who had supported his elevation to the throne, and to avenge the equivocal recognition given to his accession by Russia. He was well aware that in the eyes of many of his subjects he was on trial; that he was expected to keep a firm hand upon the radicals at home, and to restore to the country its lost leadership of the continent. Soon it became evident that a contest for paramount influence in the Near East was rapidly being prepared for by Russia and France. It was not a contest which England could ignore. Her possessions in the Far East might be endangered if Russia secured possession of Constantinople. It appeared to be her interest to maintain the existing state of affairs in the eastern Mediterranean. There was, too, on the part of many a desire for war for its own sake after forty years of peace, and of this we may see what Tennyson had to say in *Maud*. England tried at first to bring about a compromise, but such a settlement was desired neither by Nicholas nor by Napoleon. Hostilities broke out first between Russia and Turkey; then, in March, 1854, England and France declared war upon Russia, and later on, at a critical moment, they were joined by Sardinia.

The main operations of the war were confined to the Crimea, where the allied armies, with the purpose of crippling the naval station of Sebastopol, landed in September, 1854, and remained for fifteen months, when the struggle was brought to a close by a threat of active intervention in behalf of the allies by Austria. Few realized the difficulty of the undertaking. The fortress, at first almost unprotected, was stubbornly and skilfully defended. The winter was unusually severe, and both sides suffered intensely. In the storms of the first months of the campaign many ships with cargoes of medicine, forage, clothing, and food were wrecked, and thus the sufferings of the soldiers, vividly described in the letters of war correspondents, were greatly increased. Then, too, the spirit of reform which had changed Parliament, municipalities, and commerce had been powerless to overcome the lethargy and the opposition to enlightenment and reform of the military authorities. Military matters continued unreformed. Ten

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times as many British soldiers died of disease as were killed in battle in the entire course of the campaign. Popular condemnation finally compelled the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen, under which the war had been entered upon, to resign. It was replaced by one under the leadership of Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), which infused new energy into the struggle and made reforms in the War Department. Sebastopol was finally captured in 1855, and in the following year peace was signed at Paris. The treaty pushed back the boundary of Russia from the Danube to the Pruth, secured the free navigation of the Danube, opened the Black Sea to commercial vessels of all countries and closed it to all ships of war, gave a new lease of life to Turkey, and for a brief time placed a check upon the territorial expansion of Russia.

The Lady
of the
Lamp

Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) was the most interesting figure of the war in the Crimea. She was the first woman to take up professional nursing; the first to follow an army into action, to nurse the sick, and to bind the wounds of the fallen. Her administrative work in the war was not inspired by mere generous impulse, but was the outcome of years of preparation. Born of English parents in the Italian city of her name, she had grown to womanhood in an atmosphere of humanitarianism and was one of the first women anywhere to study medicine. She gained practical knowledge in several of the leading hospitals of Great Britain, and then at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, where Pastor Fliedner was training women for women's work, she broadened her experience in social service. Upon her return to England she managed a home for sick governesses, assisted in the organization of "ragged schools" and in segregating diseased pupils, and established a training school for nurses, the first in England. Ten years of preparation thus went to the work she was called upon to do in the Crimea. When she and a staff of trained nurses arrived at the hospitals at Scutari, across the narrow waters from Constantinople, thousands of wounded and diseased soldiers were lying on the ground in a condition of unparalleled hideousness. With a daring few men would have shown, she ordered warehouses broken open by force and confiscated supplies needed by her patients; and by her knowledge, her zeal, and her courage she succeeded in a few weeks in putting the hospitals into good condition. Then she went to the scene of battle, and there established hospitals, reading tents, and recreation huts, sent home for books and newspapers, opened school rooms, started lecture courses, and upon her own responsibility founded a bank in which the soldiers could deposit their pay

and get money orders for transmission home. "She would speak to one and nod and smile to a many more," said a soldier in a letter written home, "but she could not do it to all, you know. We lay there in hundreds; but we could kiss her shadow as it fell, and lay our heads on the pillow, content." And a newspaper correspondent wrote that "when all the medical officers have retired for the night, and silence and darkness have settled down upon those miles of prostrate sick, she may be observed alone, with a little lamp in her hand, making her solitary rounds."

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Soon another conflict engaged the attention of the country. In the years that had followed the accession of the Queen, the territorial possessions of the English in India had been greatly augmented. These additions, together with the lessening of the British garrison in order to meet the needs of the war in the Crimea, had imposed an increased strain upon the native troops enlisted in the British service. A number of causes, such as arbitrary annexations of territory, injudicious interference with powerful native landlords, and coercive processes against native debtors, had combined to raise up many bitter and influential enemies against the English. The classes that had lost power and influence made common cause with those who preferred oriental laxity and lawlessness to a strict administration of the laws and enforcement of punctual payments of taxes. The native troops, of whom there were five to one soldier of the ruling race, had also their own special grievances. Their pay and the conditions of their employment in the army were no longer as attractive as they had been in years gone by. They had become insolent and insubordinate. They had magnified their petty causes of complaint, and discipline among them had become relaxed. The gun was loaded. Only a touch on the trigger was needed to explode it. Then occurred the unfortunate incident that produced a wild terror among the sepoys and drove them into murderous revolt. A new rifle was introduced in the native regiments, and, though the authorities denied it at the time, the cartridges for it, by gross carelessness, were lubricated with a mixture of beeswax and tallow, and these the sepoys were compelled to use. The previous lubricating compound was composed of beeswax and coconut oil. There was "no official knowledge" of what the components of the new mixture, as supplied by the contractor, consisted, or from what animal's fat the tallow was made. The sepoys believed the grease was a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows. To touch the fat of the sacred cow, or that of the unclean pig, meant to the native soldiers nothing less than loss of caste. All in vain was permission given to the sepoys to use their own

Causes of
the
Mutiny in
India

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Events of
the
Mutiny**

mixture, and assurance given that nothing unfriendly had been intended against their religion. In the existing state of native opinion throughout the peninsula there was a predisposition to believe the most improbable stories; and so the sepoy became convinced that the government desired the destruction of their caste in order to facilitate their conversion to Christianity.

The mutiny began on April 24, 1857, at Meerut, where native troops refused to accept their cartridges. They were condemned to ten years' imprisonment, publicly stripped of their uniforms, and marched to prison. The next day the remaining native soldiers released their comrades and broke into open revolt. Then the mutineers marched to Delhi, where, joined by others, they put a descendant of the old dynasty on the throne and proclaimed a revival of the Mogul Empire. Thus an attempt was made to give the outbreak the character of a national uprising. The ancient city became the headquarters of the mutiny, which quickly spread throughout the central and northern provinces. The native troops and the populace attacked the English soldiers and civilians, and, making no distinction between men, women, and children, mercilessly put them to death. Delhi, which was besieged for more than three months, Cawnpore, where took place a ghastly massacre that excited a storm of anger among the British and for which a terrible vengeance was exacted, and Lucknow, the relief of which is one of the most stirring stories of the uprising, were the more important centers of the revolt; but, in the almost intolerable heat of the summer, more than thirty minor engagements were fought, and the outbreak was not completely suppressed until after two and a half years of strenuous warfare.

**Change
in the
Govern-
ment of
India**

The mutiny was the outcome of various blunders and miscalculations, but it cleared the air like a thunderstorm. Thereafter progress was effected more smoothly and more rapidly than before. After a career of more than two and a half centuries the fate of the East India Company was sealed. As long as its principal business had been trade, the Company had been left to manage its own affairs; but after the battle of Plassey, in 1757, had made it a ruling power the need of government control over the wide-extended territories became imperative. Gradually the direction of public affairs in the peninsula passed definitely from the Company to the Governor-General in India and to the ministry in London. In 1813 the Company was deprived of its monopoly of trade with India, and two years later it was stripped of its monopoly of trade with China. Its annual dividends were then paid out of the revenue of the peninsula, and thus it had ceased

to be a trading concern and exercised only administrative functions. Such a state of affairs could not long continue, and so in 1858, after the great upheaval of the mutiny, the entire administration of the vast dependency was transferred by act of Parliament from the Company to the Crown.

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This change strengthened the British position in India. The great dependency is now governed through a Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the Cabinet, and who is assisted by a Council. The chief representative of the Crown in the dependency is the Viceroy. In more recent years natives have been given a part in each of the three divisions of the government. In the intervening years railways and roads have been built, irrigation has been extended, forests cared for, manufactures developed, sanitation improved, and education promoted. Several of the protected states have been placed immediately under British control, and two or three frontier districts, including all the rich Kingdom of Burma, have either been annexed or placed in the position of dependent states. Many of the improvements have been carried out under adverse circumstances. Prejudices of caste, and the general inertia of the Orient, have been encountered; and in the midst of these changes the peasants have sometimes found themselves worse off than they were before. Despite all that has been done, therefore, there is much discontent in India. The danger that now threatens the dependency is, however, not another revolt of the native troops, but, instigated by misguided patriots, a general uprising of the various peoples.

Results
of the
Change of
Govern-
ment in
India

There were a number of minor wars at this time, one in Persia, one in Egypt, one in Afghanistan, besides three in China. The first of the encounters in the Celestial Empire is the unworthy affair known as the Opium War. China attempted to suppress the importation of opium, which at the close of the eighteenth century she had placed under the ban of the law. But the production of opium is one of the most profitable activities in India, and at this time the annual exportation from there was more than thirty thousand chests. British ships, not altogether without the connivance of Chinese officials, had long been engaged in smuggling opium into China. Efforts were made to induce the Empire to legalize the importation of the drug and thus avoid the risk of armed conflicts and obtain additional revenue, but to such solicitations the Chinese turned a deaf ear. An outbreak of hostilities was, under the circumstances, inevitable. Certain demands of the Imperial commissioner were considered by England to be a *casus belli*, and so war was declared. The result was that Hong-

Minor
Wars

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Unifica-
tion of
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of the
North
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Kong was ceded to the British, a large indemnity was paid, four additional ports were opened to Western trade, and, there being no definite settlement of the question, the opium traffic was continued. Later wars opened the vast Empire still further to the commercial activity of Europeans and Americans. Among the other struggles were brief wars with Japan, Ashantee, Abyssinia, and conflicts with the Maoris, the Kaffirs, and the Zulus.

There were other wars, too, in Europe. With military aid from France in the first stage of the struggle, the Italians finally succeeded in unifying the greater part of their peninsula. Only Venetia remained to be wrested from Austria, and the Papal States to be taken from the Pope. Before Venetia could be acquired it was necessary that Austria should be weakened; and as a preliminary to securing Rome it was imperative that its protector, Napoleon III, should be defeated. Both these things were accomplished by Prussia. Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), its leading statesman, had steadily pursued his purpose of uniting the Germanic states under the leadership of Prussia. Having built up a powerful army, and having isolated her diplomatically, he proceeded to attack Austria. In 1866, in the battle of Sadowa, he completely defeated her. Italy, in return for her assistance, was given nearly all Venetia, and Prussia was able to reorganize the states north of the Main into a North German Confederation.

Great
Britain
and the
Civil War
in
America

A civil war had meanwhile broken out in America. Its progress was followed with deep interest by England. At the beginning she recognized the Southern States as belligerents and announced a strict neutrality from which, through the four years of the struggle, despite the suffering she endured from the interruption of commerce, she tried not to depart. The blockade of the southern ports by the northern forces prevented the importation of raw cotton, which up to this time had come almost exclusively from the seceding states, and at the same time made impossible the shipment of English manufactures to those ports. The chief industrial activity of the island was thus paralyzed, and others were greatly injured. Tens of thousands of men and women were thrown out of employment, and many manufacturers failed. The distress naturally gave rise to a feeling in favor of intervention, but the government persisted in its policy of neutrality. The recognition of the Southern States as belligerents, which seemed to indicate a sympathy for the southern cause, produced a good deal of irritation in the North. This irritation was increased by the "Trent Affair." Two southerners who had been sent to represent the Confederate States in England and France respectively, and had succeeded in running the

blockade and reaching Cuba, took passage on the Trent, a British mail steamer, for England. An American warship overtook the steamer, took the envoys from it, and carried them to New York. The British government, tactfully placing the responsibility for this upon the officer who had committed the irregular act rather than upon his government, demanded their release. Fortunately the American government, under the wise administration of Lincoln, complied with the demand, and thus the danger of war between the two great English-speaking peoples was averted. Other difficulties, however, arose. Ships built, launched, and equipped in British ports slipped out to sea and as privateers made havoc with merchant vessels of the North. The most notorious of these was the Alabama, of whose purpose the members of the British Cabinet had been warned before she left her dock, and which inflicted a great amount of injury upon American commerce. Later an international board of arbitration, which met at Geneva, awarded America for these depredations the sum of \$15,500,000. But though the British government failed to detain such vessels, it remained in all else faithful to its policy of neutrality. Those members of the upper classes who were opposed to democracy at home naturally desired to see democracy defeated abroad. A large majority of the people, however, hoped for the victory of the North. For a generation past many emigrants had gone to the northern states as well as to Canada. These settlers wrote to their relatives left behind, and so the great country across the sea was better known in the cottage than in the mansion in England. The cotton operatives, afflicted with famine though they were, refused to break out in riots, as they had been wont to do in times of distress, for fear such demonstration might lead their government to lend its support to the South. Lincoln was grateful. He wrote to tell the workingmen of Manchester that their sufferings for democracy were "an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."

After the extension of the suffrage in 1832 and the subsequent reforms, there were many people who thought it would be well to wait some time before undertaking any further political or social changes. This spirit of moderate conservatism was for some time in the ascendancy among those who possessed the right to vote, and it found a leader in Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), a statesman of the old aristocratic type, not altogether unfavorable to the march of progress, but stubbornly opposed to any further extension of the right to vote, whose position behind the eager but before the slow gained him the confidence and insured him

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the support of many members of each of the two leading parties. For twenty years previous to the reform of 1832 he had been a minister in Tory Cabinets, and in the course of the agitation for that measure he had gradually gone over into the ranks of the Liberals. In 1830 he was placed at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of his new party. There he did not a little to further the interests of the continental nations struggling to be free; but, for the purposes of preventing Russian acquisition of Constantinople and the conquest of Egypt by France, he also lent his influence to the defense of the Ottoman Empire. In 1855, when he was seventy-one years old, he became Prime Minister, and he remained in the position, with the exception of a single year, until the day of his death. The skill and breezy good nature with which he retrieved the mismanagement of the Crimean War, and the promptness and firmness with which he intervened in foreign affairs to secure what he deemed to be the interests and the rights of his country, won for him the support of the people during the rest of his life.

Gladstone and His Speech in Support of His First Budget

When Palmerston died in 1865 his policy of intervention in foreign affairs and inactivity in domestic matters came to an end. Younger men who desired to extend the suffrage and to make the electoral districts more nearly equal, for which there had been increasing agitation for a dozen years or so, at once became outspoken and insistent in their views. Among these leaders was William Gladstone (1809-1898), who had begun his active and varied public career in 1833 as a member of the Tory party in the first reformed Parliament. In 1843 he had become a member of Peel's Cabinet. A few years later the change in political opinion had begun that finally carried him over into the ranks of the Liberals. He had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1853, an office for which he was remarkably well fitted. His first budget, carrying forward the policies of his predecessors in the direction of free trade, had sought to make life easier and cheaper for the mass of the people by repealing the duties on some of the necessities of daily life and reducing the duties on others, and by lessening the charges on transportation and on postal communication. The deficiency thus created was to be met by applying the inheritance tax, or death duty, to real property and to property transferred by settlement, by an increase of the duty on spirits, and by a downward extension of the income tax to incomes of £100. The speech with which he introduced these proposals held the House spell-bound. To the elucidation of the intricate statistics he had brought a remarkable power of exposition, and for the support of the social ends he

had in view he made a lofty and impassioned appeal. This speech established him as the paramount financial authority of the day, and as a leader of social reform with whom the forces of reaction would soon have to reckon. The promises and intentions of the budget were, it is true, frustrated by the outbreak of the Crimean War, but the policy it embodied was later on continued and extended.

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In 1859 Gladstone accepted Palmerston's invitation to become Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Liberal Cabinet. Long afterwards, in conversation with a friend, he gave the reason for the change. "I was brought up to distrust and dislike liberty," he said; "I learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my changes." The impression of greatness he had created quickly deepened, and before long he had made himself the real leader of his party in the Commons; and a little later on he became recognized as the most brilliant and conspicuous figure in the Cabinet. His budget of 1860 provided for a still greater degree of free trade. Then, with the purpose of helping to provide cheap literature for the people, he introduced a bill for the repeal of duties on paper. The measure, despite sharp opposition, was carried in the Commons, but met defeat in the Lords. The rejection of a bill proposing to remit existing duties by the Upper House, that long ago had lost its control over taxation, precipitated something of a crisis between the two chambers. It was argued that if the Lords had the right to reject a bill that sought to put an end to existing taxes, they had in effect the right to impose taxation, since between the continuance of an old tax and the adoption of a new one there is no essential difference. In the following year the Commons included the repeal of the paper duties in the general budget; and the Lords were thus unable to reject the measure again without paralyzing the entire administration of the country. No previous administration, with the possible exception of Peel's term in office, had been able to point to a more remarkable series of financial reforms.

Glad-
stone's
Financial
Reforms

Outside the field of finance, however, Gladstone had not as yet been able to accomplish much. On all the pressing domestic problems he had been met and thwarted by his chief's invincible hostility to change. The more progressive members of his party now regarded him as their logical leader, yet just in proportion as he gained their confidence he lost the favor of those who wished to let things alone. Oxford elected another man in his place, and so he turned to a constituency of a different sort and was elected for South Lancashire. Thereafter it was always in the teeming industrial populations, especially those of the great

Support
of Glad-
stone by
the
Indus-
trial Pop-
ulation
of the
North

**CHAP.
XXV****Premier-
ship of
Lord
John
Russell**

northern towns, filled with profound political earnestness and also hopefulness, that he was to find his chief support. And it was they who took their view from him, not he who accepted a mandate from them.

Palmerston was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord John Russell (1792-1878), now Earl Russell, who for more than a generation had been an advocate of progressive measures at home, and who had lent his support to the cause of the North in the American Civil War. Gladstone retained the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and became the real leader of the government in the Commons. He turned the currents of public opinion and shaped the body politic to face a new age of progress and freedom. He mastered the liberal mind of the country, and from this time on he had to be supported or resisted as the very incarnation of the government or the opposition. In 1866 Lord Russell introduced a moderate Reform Bill, and the task of piloting it through the Commons fell to Gladstone. The measure, however, by a combination of Conservatives and disaffected Liberals, was defeated, and the government thereupon resigned.

**Disraeli
the Real
Leader
of the
Conserv-
atives**

Lord Derby (1799-1869), who twice before had been Prime Minister, was then entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. The new ministry, though its existence was brief, lived long enough to settle the question that had proved fatal to its predecessor. In 1867, as we shall see, a bill for the redistribution of parliamentary seats and further extension of the franchise was finally enacted. It was not the Prime Minister who had succeeded in winning the Conservatives to this reform, for he had described the further extension of the right to vote as "a leap in the dark," but Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881), at whose writings we have glanced. A man neither of birth nor of wealth, by race though not by religion a Jew, distrusted by his political friends and hated by his political opponents, he had already made himself the most influential leader of his party and was soon, with amazing audacity, to transform it into the semblance of a party of democracy.

**Disraeli's
Trans-
forma-
tion of
His Party**

Disraeli had first entered Parliament in 1837 and had made an unfortunate impression with his first speech. He had an unusual endowment of divination. He instinctively looked beyond the immediate results of any proposed action to its remoter consequences. Almost at once he began a deliberate and persistent campaign against the conservatism of the party in whose ranks he was enrolled. This he did principally, as we have seen, through the medium of political pamphlets and novels. Soon after the beginning of the second half of the century he had made himself

the leader of his party in the Commons. Ten years later parliamentary reform had become a burning question, and one that was embarrassing to the Conservatives. It was a period of prosperity, and every wind of popular favor filled the sails of the Liberals. In the ranks of the opposition there was much despondency and discontent. Among his colleagues there was distrust of "the mystery man," the theatrical Jew. But Disraeli, working for his party more carefully and successfully than was generally realized, held his way. He favored strict neutrality during the war in America; and then at last, in the summer of 1866, when his party was once more in power, the opportunity to accomplish a notable extension of democracy presented itself.

What was the political situation at this time? We have seen that the reform of 1832 by no means provided for equal electoral districts. It had left many small boroughs enjoying political power equal to that of far more populous districts. The anomalies had increased as the continuance of the Industrial Revolution gave rise to new towns and swelled the populations of old ones. In the generation gone by since the enactment of the great reform the population of England had become half as large again as it was, and the increase was almost wholly in the centers of manufacture and commerce. The inequalities of representation were rapidly becoming as great as they had been in the opening years of the century. Already one-third of the electors sent two-thirds of the members to the House. This state of affairs was widely known. It had been published in speeches, pamphlets, magazine articles, and books. And when one turned to consider the question of enfranchisement there was still greater cause for complaint. The working class, both in city and country, was left almost entirely excluded. Such was the undemocratic situation which the landed aristocracy and the prosperous middle classes had defended during the Chartist agitation and were still determined to maintain.

The preservation of the existing state of affairs had been made easier by the general prosperity of the country. The great increase of manufacture and commerce had supplanted penury with plenty, and so disaffection on the part of the masses who did not possess the right to vote had become far from vociferous. Yet agitation did not entirely cease. Important meetings in several of the larger cities soon after the middle of the century gave indication that popular desire for the right to vote had not been extinguished. Many political leaders believed that popularity and power were to be gained for the statesman and his party who should succeed in extending the franchise, and only Palmerston

Need of
Further
Political
Reform

Agitation
for Polit-
ical Re-
form

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was able to postpone such a measure. When, in 1858, the admission of that leader began to wane the question rose to the surface and became a factor in the practical politics of the day. Chief of all the advocates of franchise reform was John Bright (1811-1889), under whose influence the lower middle class and the working class drew together in a new Radical party. He and other statesmen of the time were supported by the writings of John Stuart Mill, whose books *On Liberty* and *Representative Government* were published in the decade immediately preceding the passing of the second Reform Bill. A period of distress stirred the people to demand further reform. In 1866 and 1867 agriculture, industry, and commerce suffered severe reverses; and when the Reform Bill introduced in 1866 was defeated by a combination of Conservatives and disgruntled Liberals the agitation increased. A series of great meetings was held, and strong support was given to the movement by the trade unions. There was now no mistaking the popular demand for reform. The government was now in the hands of the Conservatives. The votes of some forty estranged Whigs, opposed to further parliamentary reform, had put them in a majority in the Commons. What would they do with the burning question of the franchise? They decided to "dish the Whigs." The shifting of political opinions and positions going on at this time may be seen in George Meredith's political story of *Beauchamp's Career*.

Provisions and
Character
of the
New
Reform
Act

Disraeli presented a very moderate measure to the Commons. But the constant agitation going on in many parts of the country during the parliamentary debates, together with the suggestions of liberal-minded members, induced the government to make one concession after another until at last the bill became a real approach towards democracy. It was finally passed in both Houses by quite large majorities; and then, later on, similar bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland. The act, which received the royal assent on August 15, 1867, disfranchised four corrupt boroughs, and took away one member from each of thirty-eight boroughs which had returned two members; a third member was given to each of three towns, and a second member to each of three others; one borough was divided into two, ten new boroughs were created, and a member was given to the University of London. Thirteen new divisions of counties were created, to which twenty-five members were given. All these changes corresponded to the shifting and increase of population brought about by the development of manufacture and commerce. The most important change, however, was the extension of the right to vote. Every householder in the English and Scottish bor-

oughs, whether he was an owner or a tenant, was permitted to vote if he was taxed to pay for the relief of the poor. A qualification of a £4 poor rate, for the privilege of voting, was made for the householders who lived in Ireland, because the landlords in that country paid the poor rate when it was below that amount. Lodgers were allowed to vote if they paid £10 a year rent and if they had lived in the same rooms for a year immediately preceding the election. In the counties everyone who held a piece of land worth £5 a year or more, either as an owner or life tenant, and everyone who for a shorter term was a tenant of land worth £12 a year and who paid the usual taxes, was entitled to vote. These changes, especially the beginning of household suffrage in the towns, were a notable advance upon the reforms of 1832, yet there was nothing final about the act. It removed certain anomalies and injustices, but it did not make the government very much more democratic than it was; and it had, on the other hand, increased the difference between the proportion of voters in counties and boroughs. In the towns it had left one man in every seven of the population with the right to vote, whereas in the country only one in fourteen had that privilege. In all the agricultural counties the power of the landholders was still supreme. No farm laborer could vote, and in the towns the franchise was still withheld from workmen without a domicile.

What expression did all these innovations and tendencies find in literature? To Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) the material changes and prosperity of the time were largely a cause of dismay. His studies led him to doubt the authority of the *Bible*. Gradually the entire fabric of orthodox Christianity dissolved before his investigations. The harsh creeds of his Scottish ancestors could be traced back no further than the Councils of the early Church, whose members were predominantly the subtle and sophisticated Greeks of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. No foreshadowings of them could he find in the simple teaching of Jesus. So he wandered in the wilderness of doubt, and approached the precipice of despair. Then gradually, through the dissolving mists of an outworn creed, he saw emerge the outlines of a larger faith. Deity, he came to believe, is immanent in the universe. Everywhere beneath the surface of life it may be perceived. The one necessary thing for each of us is to do a man's work in the world. Such is the spiritual struggle described quite literally in *Sartor Resartus*. He constructed no formal system of philosophy. The immanence of the divine spirit, the presence in man of a sense of what is right and what is wrong, and the duty of work,—these were his fundamental postulates.

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Carlyle's
Most
Charac-
teristic
Book

Sartor Resartus is a quixotic tilt at the shams and superficialities of conventional life. It deals with clothes as a symbol of all the husks and wrappages, such as words, customs, creeds, and institutions, beneath which are concealed the realities of life. "The beginning of all wisdom," says the author, "is to look fixedly on clothes, or even with armed eyesight, till they become transparent." Custom and convention, he believed, have a deadening influence upon men. They subject men to routine and lead them into materialism. So he attacked them with all the power of his thought and imagination. In this the earliest of his greater works, the most original, the most lyrical, the most characteristic, he strove by the very strangeness of his imagery to rouse men out of their slavery to conventional ideas, to emancipate them from the customary, to make them think for themselves, to compel them to realize that their political opinions, their economic conceptions, and their religious beliefs ought not to be taken over from their parents or their neighbors with the indifference with which they accept whatever happens to be the fashion of the day in clothes. But the book is written in so unusual and difficult a style that despite its great and splendid literary power, it appealed to only a few.

Carlyle's
Epic of
the
French
Revolution

Carlyle's *French Revolution* proved far more accessible to the general public. The subject supplied him with a framework of facts, and yet gave his imagination great freedom. The work is not always accurate in detail. Its author did not assimilate all the source material then accessible, and documents recovered since then have disclosed a still greater number of errors. It is not for those who need a simple narrative of the great uprising that unfolded itself in so many blood-stained pages, but for those who, having made themselves familiar with the chief events of the story, wish to read it again in the form of an impassioned prose poem.

Carlyle
as a
Counselor
of the
Individual

It was not as a historian, but as a prophet, that Carlyle loomed largest in the eyes of his contemporaries and to us most fully reveals the life of his time. The one remedy he prescribed for the evils, both individual and collective, that beset life is work. "Do the duty that lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a duty. Thy second duty will already have become clearer." He was far more concerned with the life of the individual than with the problems of society, and that explains his attitude towards the great political and social movements of his time.

Carlyle
as an
Opponent
of Democ-
racy

The simplest of all his works is *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, in which he set himself squarely against the democratic tendencies of the time. He had no sympathy with the prevailing political

ideas. He spoke of the extension of the suffrage in 1867 as "shooting Niagara." He believed that society can be served best by selecting the wisest men as its leaders, and that the general exercise of the right to vote is not the best means to choose the leaders. So he put forth the doctrine that one strong man is likely to be right and all the rest, "mostly fools," wrong. It is well, therefore, that the strong man should rule, even by the sword. The book closes with the installation of "our last great man," none other than Napoleon.

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In 1839 Carlyle had considered economic and social conditions in *Chartism*. He had been profoundly moved by the deep and widespread distress of the mass of the people. In *Past and Present*, published in 1843, he gave what may be considered his last will and testament to the nation and to the modern world. It is a living and pathetic picture of monastic life in the twelfth century put in the midst of an exposition of the evils and injustices of modern society. When the author passes suddenly from the simple and placid life of that far-off day to the cotton spinners and platform orators, and all the feverish activity of his own time, the effect is thrillingly dramatic. No society can flourish, he declared, if the only relation between man and man is a mere tie of money. The condition of England, he asserted, the condition of the great mass of the people, demanded imperiously the active and immediate intervention of the government. So powerful was the appeal of the book that, though its remedy consists too much of a beneficent despotism and not enough in any hope that the mass of the people will be able to work out their own salvation, that always there is an implied distrust of education and democracy, it became the basis of subsequent thought about social problems and the future conditions of industry.

Carlyle's
Last Im-
portant
Book

The line of thought that began with Locke, and went on through Adam Smith and Bentham, reached its fullest and finest expression in the earlier writings of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), and through him and his followers exercised a notable influence upon the life of the nation. He believed a great need existed for a sound method of thinking. Such a method would be a great aid to social progress. So he wrote his *Logic*. The book fulfilled its author's expectations in that it served as an aid in sound thinking and gave assistance to the advance of intelligent liberalism. At the beginning of the second book of his *Political Economy* we find the statement that, while the conditions of production have the inexorability of physical laws, the distribution of what is produced among the various classes of the producers is a matter entirely within the control of men. This

John
Stuart
Mill

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thought became the germ of all his most characteristic economic writings. Then he began to speculate upon the prospect of such changes in human character as might make possible a stable society without the institution of private property. He believed that the mass of the people were not yet ripe for socialism, with the principles of which he was in general agreement; but he devoted himself more and more to a sweeping amelioration of the conditions of the working classes. His treatise *On Liberty* is one of the great books of modern democracy. None other of his writings was so carefully composed and so diligently revised as this tract in which he advocated giving full freedom to human nature to expand itself in many and even conflicting directions. Only for the purpose of self-protection, he declared, is society justified in interfering with the liberty of action of the individual. The eloquent little book made a profound impression upon contemporary thought. In his *Utilitarianism* we find the final exposition of the empirical school of philosophy that owed its beginning to John Locke. The fundamental characteristic of that line of thought is the emphasis laid upon all thinkers to study for themselves rather than to accept the authority of others. Mill's chief contribution was the infusion of a warm stream of humanist feeling. He made clear that the pleasures of the imagination, and the gratification of the higher emotions, are included in the term "utility"; and then he went on to show that the welfare of mankind as a motive in thought and deed appeals powerfully to the imagination. *The Subjection of Women* is in several respects the finest and most characteristic of all his books. Its practical effect upon opinion and legislation has probably been greater than that of any other of his writings. Hatred of oppression in all its forms was rooted in the very fiber of his being. His *Autobiography* is a modest but frank revelation of a life of unceasing industry inspired by lofty social ideals.

Begin-
ning of
the
Movement
Known as
Christian
Socialism

Almost from the beginning of the factory system writers and speakers had called attention to the deplorable condition of the poor. Thus far orthodox religion had done little or nothing to make things better. But now there were men who infused into religion a social enthusiasm and took its message to the peasantry of the villages and the sullen dwellers of the slums. They were the leaders of Christian Socialism. This new movement was begun by John Ludlow (1821-1911) who had been reared and educated in Paris. He had been brought up in the atmosphere of social democracy, and had come to know at first hand something of the early socialistic experiments then being carried out by the French. He realized that society was confronted with a

double task, that of the development of the individual, and that of the democratization of government and industry; and he was convinced that these tasks must be carried on simultaneously. He saw in the uprisings of 1848 a real aspiration and striving after the brotherhood of man. In the midst of these events he wrote a letter which may be said to have been the beginning of the movement known as Christian Socialism.

The recipient of the letter was Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872), a priest in the Church of England. He it was who, more than anyone else, turned the current of religious thought to the consideration of the social problems of the time. In 1840 he was appointed to the faculty of King's College, London, as a teacher of literature and history. He had helped to found Queen's College for the education of women. As a priest in the great city he threw himself energetically into all that affected the social life of the people. The condition of the poor was always before his eyes, and a desire for its improvement always present in his heart. "To lie down and sleep till the fates accomplish their purpose," he said, "is the inference the devil has whispered to every one a thousand times, and which most of us have obeyed till a louder whisper has awakened us." For a long time the chief spokesman of the movement was Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), country parson, lecturer on literature, professor of history, poet, and novelist. The last of the original members of this group of reformers was Charles Mansfield (1819-1855), a notable chemist who approached the study of that science from a wide philosophical point of view.

The year 1848 was the most opportune and dramatic moment that could have been chosen for the beginning of Christian Socialism. The revolution in Paris had acted as a signal for similar outbreaks in other countries. That year, too, witnessed the culmination of Chartism. On the very evening of the final fiasco of that agitation the new movement began. Kingsley, after consulting with Maurice, addressed a placard to the working men, and on the following day copies of it were posted. It was the first public act of Anglican clergymen, after a long period of placid acquiescence in a lamentable state of society. *Politics for the People*, a weekly paper, was issued for three months. It rendered a needed service at that time by counseling moderation and pleading for gradual progress. Yet by the clergy who continued to remain aloof and apathetic, and by others who were interested in preventing reform, it was denounced as being dangerously radical; and, while it failed to reach the mass of the working people, by most of those to whom it did find its way

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it was regarded with suspicion. The next enterprise was the opening of a night school, in a dangerous slum, for men and boys, and, later on, for women. In the following year weekly meetings were held with selected representatives of the workers in which questions of the time were explained and debated, and thus first-hand knowledge was gained of the needs and aspirations of the poor. Practical relief work was also carried on during the epidemic of cholera that broke out in 1849, especially among the terrible dens and hovels in the river-side streets of London. Finally, under the leadership of Ludlow, the plan of industrial coöperation was adopted and advocated.

Kingsley's
Novels and
Poems

Many pamphlets were published from time to time, dealing with a wide variety of subjects, but the greatest literary achievements of the movement were two novels by Kingsley. That writer knew the country better than he did the town, and in *Yeast* he pictured with singular power the sodden and dispirited peasantry, too beaten down to have even a thought of rebellion other than burning hay-ricks, and finding their only consolation in strong drink. The title of the book suggests that it was meant to be a ferment thrown into the mass of current ideas regarding the life of men in order to stir them and cause them to issue in some happier combination. The novel is not without fallacies of thought, it is desultory and disjointed, but it has true and beautiful descriptions of scenery, and is filled with the passion of its author's youth, the glow of his enthusiasm, the ardor of his love for humanity. *Alton Locke*, though likewise marred by feverish haste, is less formless and discursive. It deals with the life of the working people in the towns. To-day, when labor unions, industrial coöperation, and governmental ownership of public utilities are supported by both secular and ecclesiastical leaders, it is not easy to imagine the bitterness with which these books, and other writings of the little group of reformers, were denounced; but in many ways these two novels were among the most powerful influences upon the thought of the time, and their effect has been permanent, widespread, and creative. Kingsley's historical novel *Hypatia* deals with the transition from the dying pagan world to medieval asceticism; and his *Westward Ho!* is a swiftly moving narrative of the adventurous and buccaneering days of Elizabeth. The remedy that Kingsley had to offer for the evils he disclosed with so much pathos and passion is conservatism itself. It is nothing more than better landlords and better priests. Yet he was for a long time considered to be an extreme radical, and the ecclesiastical press strove unemit-

tingly with calumny and misrepresentation to defeat his efforts and those of his fellow reformers.

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Christian Socialism did not confine its activities to making speeches and writing pamphlets and novels. With little money and less experience, though with a large amount of idealism, the leaders of the movement launched a number of coöperative enterprises. The organization of these undertakings was poorer and less complete than it should have been. A general constitution, however, in which was embodied the fundamental provisions for carrying on each separate undertaking was drawn up with much skill. It was based upon the practical experience of a book-binder who was familiar with associations of working men in Paris. The first enterprise was an organization of tailors. It was an attempt to attack the sweating system in its worst phase as pictured in *Alton Locke*. There were eight original associations, and a number of subsequent ones. They met with external opposition, of course, and also with internal difficulties. They were accused of being subversive of the existing order of society, and at the same time they were sneered at for impotency. None of them achieved more than a brief success. Yet these little experiments exercised no slight influence in helping to spread the idea of coöperation and making possible the organization of labor.

Late Work
of the
Christian
Socialists

One other incident of this reform movement should be noticed, the establishment of the Working Men's College. Maurice strove to give the more intelligent wage-earners something like a college education. He enlisted the support of other men who were willing and able to help in maintaining a college in which workmen were taught in the evenings. In 1854 the college was opened. There were one hundred and seventy-six students; and among the teachers was John Ruskin. Working men were given an opportunity for further education, while members of the more fortunate strata of society were enabled to associate in helpful manner with men and women who thus far had been to them only strangers. Here, too, we may see something of the wide results of Christian Socialism. There is to-day scarcely a large city in all the English-speaking world without at least one social settlement in which the work of this college is carried on. The college is still in existence, and continues its work in a spirit that would meet with the approval of its founder were he able to revisit the scene of his earthly labors.

The
Working
Men's
College

From time to time we have spoken of wonderful discoveries in the field of science. No other has exercised a more profound influence upon the thought of men than the gradual unfolding of

Darwin's
Investi-
gations

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the theory of evolution. It may be said that ever since Copernicus and Galileo revealed to us the proper place of our planet in the universe the chief effort of philosophers and men of science has been to rationalize the life, both plant and animal, with which our world abounds. This they have done by learning the processes of life, by ascertaining the laws that determine the life of plants and animals. How, men asked themselves, have all the various species of living things come into existence? There was, of course, the legend of special creation; but this was proving less and less satisfactory as scientific knowledge accumulated. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), soon after he was graduated from Cambridge, went on a voyage around the world, which lasted almost five years, in the *Beagle*, a government ship engaged in surveying. The expedition afforded him a very unusual opportunity for making original observations and for reflecting upon them, and as a result of these studies he arrived at a new general theory of life. Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913), another student of biology, working quite independently, had come to precisely the same explanation of the laws that govern life. A paper by each of these two men was read at the same meeting in 1858 of the Linnean Society in London. Then, in the following year, Darwin published his famous *Origin of Species* in which he set forth his theory of natural selection.

Theory of
Natural
Selection

What is this theory that has caused so much discussion and has exerted so deep and widespread an influence? Every species of plant and animal produces far more seeds and young than will arrive at maturity and become, in their turn, the parents of another generation. If all the young of any species of animal were to survive and go on producing descendants during a normal life-time the world would soon become filled with that species, and every other species would be crowded off the planet. The vast majority of animals, as well as seeds, do not live to maturity. They are eliminated in the severe struggle for existence. Those that survive are, on the whole, better fitted to survive than those annihilated. They have survived because of a better adaptation to their environment, because they were more fitted to meet the circumstances that surrounded them. They were better protected from their enemies than those that died, or they had a greater power to gain food, or they were more prolific in reproducing their kind. Their superior fitness was, perhaps, in some cases slight; but it was sufficient to insure their survival. Their greater fitness, however slight, was inherited by their young; and so the next generation started where its predecessors left off. As this selective process goes on, as, in by far the greater num-

ber of cases, only the fittest of any generation survives and leaves descendants, a greater and greater adaptation to the environment results. All environments are not alike. The seeds of a plant sown in, say, a dry climate will find an environment of a certain kind. They and their progeny must increasingly adapt themselves to the condition of that dry climate if they are to survive in it. And other seeds of the same plant sown in a wet climate will find quite another environment. They and their progeny must adapt themselves to the circumstances of this environment. As these plants become better and better adapted to their respective environments, some to the dry environments and others to the wet, they will grow more and more unlike each other. Their environments, being different from each other, make different demands upon plants and animals, call forth different qualities, and develop different capacities. Thus if we were able to trace back far enough plants that differ from each other as, say, the cactus of the desert and the cedar of the swamp we might find that they had originated from the same ancestor. They have become so widely different because, through uncounted centuries of time, they have adapted themselves more and more to their respective environments. Thus different environments, favoring those plants and animals that conform to them and eliminating those that fail to conform to them, produce different species. This theory of natural selection has been subjected to vigorous and prolonged criticism; but it remains the best supported theory of the origin of species. Natural selection is the producer of species. It is the cause of change. It is the "unerring power" that results in evolution.

Darwin's book did more than present this theory of the origin of species to the world. It influenced the aims and the method of biological study. Every species of plant and animal, it said, has become what it is by a long process of natural selection. Then why not go back, if possible, and trace the gradual evolution of each species of plant and animal? This is what the biologists now attempted to do. They began to try to learn the different stages through which plants and animals have passed in becoming what they now are. Previous to this they had tried only to enumerate and describe the various species.

Darwin was not long in extending his theory of the survival of the fittest, or natural selection, to man. This he did in 1871, when he published *The Descent of Man*. His theory of the development of life then came into direct opposition to that of special creation enunciated in the *Bible*. He taught that man has risen, very slowly, through long ages, from the lowest and simplest con-

Influence
of the
Theory of
Natural
Selection
upon
Biological
Study

Applica-
tion of the
Theory of
Natural
Selection
to the
History
of Man

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ditions of life to higher and more complex conditions, and that this gradual change has been brought about chiefly by natural selection. This aroused a storm of opposition on the part of theologians. They denounced him in the bitterest terms. What difference did it make to them that no other scientist who ever gave to the world such sweeping generalizations ever based them upon such extensive study, stated them more cautiously, and modified them so candidly when new facts showed modification to be necessary? What did it matter to them that this modest, generous, and utterly truthful man had carried on his researches and reflected upon his data for more than twenty years, testing fact and theory in a very passion for accuracy, before he was able to satisfy himself that his theories were sufficiently well established to be put into print? He had divined a cosmic law to replace their primitive legends, and so they continued to pursue him with venomous invective, and their pursuit has not yet lapsed into the silence of historic calm.

Insufficiency
of the
Theory of
Natural
Selection

It is a mistake to ascribe the whole theory of organic evolution to Darwin. Strictly speaking he is to be credited only with several subordinate theories, the principal one of which is that of change, or differentiation, by natural selection. This theory of natural selection does not satisfy more recent biologists as being in itself sufficient to account for evolution as a whole. The environment rewards useful variations and it punishes hurtful ones. An organism thrives when it develops a variation that puts it into more harmonious relations with its environment; and it suffers when it develops a variation that lessens the harmony with its environment. But how shall we explain the pre-useful and the pre-hurtful stages of evolution of an organism? This question awaits its answer. The matter is still unsettled. And yet so important and inclusive is the theory of natural selection that one additional theory, an answer to the question we have just stated, may suffice to make a complete explanation of the evolution of life.

Influence
of the
Theory of
Evolution

No other theory since the discovery of the law of gravitation has so profoundly influenced human thought as has evolution. Its effect is felt far outside the region of biology. Everywhere today men think and talk in terms of development. In its broadest aspects evolution has become a commonplace of ordinary thought. In every detail, we now realize, the present is built upon the past. And so our study of the past has become far more fruitful and significant than ever it was before. Evolution, however, does not necessarily imply progress. The environment merely compels the plant or the animal to adjust itself to its sur-

roundings. Such an adjustment is in some cases degeneration. Progress in human affairs, however, may be brought about by human minds and hearts. That is the fundamental reason why in this present book emphasis has been placed upon the thought and deeds of men who devoted themselves to the welfare of their fellow-men.

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Almost simultaneous with the publication of the theory of natural selection Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-1862) attempted to interpret history anew from physical conditions in his *History of Civilization*. There was at that time a readiness among intelligent readers to welcome explanation, whether of species or social phenomena, by general laws in the place of special Providence. This is what Buckle tried to do. He held (1) that thus far little had been done towards discovering the principles which govern the character and destiny of nations; (2) that human life is governed by laws as fixed and regular as those which rule in the physical world; and (3) that climate, soil, food, and the aspects of nature are the primary influences that control the life of man. Geography, in other words, is the paramount factor in human life. He denied that there is in man anything of the nature of free will. Man is subject completely to the influence of his physical environment. His actions, however independent or personal they may appear, are the result of absolute laws. Only two volumes, forming little more than an introduction to his contemplated work, were finished. They are filled with a wide variety of information gathered from many sources, and many of their ideas, developed by later writers, have passed into the common literary stock; but they have serious defects. Nowhere has he defined the general terms he uses, such as "civilization," and "law," and "history"; and everywhere there is looseness of statement and rash inference. His generalizations, frequent and imposing, are like castles built of cards. They tumble at the touch of an inquisitive finger. He overlooked the fact that without knowing what a man brought to his environment, and how much he overcame it, or how much he utilized it, we cannot estimate its influence upon man. We must know both the environment and the individual, the scene and the actor. Most, if not all, Buckle's conclusions are fallacious. Yet his book was very suggestive. It opened the door to the new science of anthropo-geography.

Buckle
and His
Theory

Before he was twelve years of age Charles Dickens (1812-1870) worked for two years in a warehouse and slept in an attic while his parents were confined in prison for debt. Those years of hardship, and others that followed, were of supreme importance in shaping his subsequent literary career. In the only

Dickens
Primarily
a Humanitarian

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possible way he had learned the life of the obscure streets of London. He had keen powers of observation, and he was deeply in sympathy with the people of the lower classes among whom he moved and worked. When *Pickwick Papers* appeared in book form his popular reputation was established. He was then able to cease reporting for newspapers and to devote himself to describing and narrating, for the wide public he had gained, the men and things he had seen with his eyes and touched with his imagination. From first to last, in the midst of the artistic and fashionable world into which he had lifted himself, he remained the champion of the poor and oppressed. Everyone read the sketches and novels that flowed from his facile pen, read them and laughed and cried over them, and so he was able to do for "the lower orders" far more than any member of Parliament. Dickens always desired to entertain his readers; but even more than a novelist he was a humanitarian.

Dickens's
Novels

We have seen that in 1834 the old poor law, which gave outdoor relief, was replaced by one that sought, by giving relief to able-bodied persons only within the walls of a workhouse, to avoid encouraging pauperism. The new law was harshly administered, and among those who denounced it was Dickens. In *Oliver Twist*, the story of a parish orphan, one may see much of the misery present almost everywhere in the earlier years of the author's life. In *Nicholas Nickleby* he exposed the shortcomings of private schools; and the rather monotonous story of *Bleak House* has to do with the exasperating delays of the law. Even *The Old Curiosity Shop*, a delightful story, with gentle airs from the fields and the lanes, was intended to be of service in calling attention to some of the needs of the common people; and though *Barnaby Rudge* is primarily a historical novel, dealing with the days of the Gordon riots, it does not fail to describe the barbarous severity of some of the existing laws. It may be said that with *Martin Chuzzlewit* he brought to a close the first period of his literary activity. He had reached the culmination of his imaginative life. From that time on he relied largely upon autobiographic reminiscence in dealing with scenes near at hand, and for stories of another type when he went further afield. Personal recollections supplied the material for the pathetic story of *Great Expectations*, the scene of which is the flat and foggy marshes of the lower Thames. The *Tale of Two Cities* is a highly dramatic narrative of the French Revolution; and here once more he compelled a historical novel to serve a contemporary purpose. Theological fanaticism is denounced in these tragic pages, and so too is social tyranny. The story of his own life is told in *David*

Copperfield, a book full of memorable scenes and attractive characters, perhaps the one of which most of his readers are fondest.

What was the remedy for the evils of the time advocated by Dickens? He was not a democrat. He lent no aid to the contemporary struggle to liberalize government. He was engaged heart and soul in the cause of the oppressed, but for their relief he was content to rely, for the most part, upon private benevolence. "All his wisdom," it has been well said, "is to be read in the Sermon on the Mount." Perhaps it was better so. It may be that he did work that needed to be done as no other man could have done it. "Statesmen, men of science, philanthropists, the acknowledged benefactors of their race, might pass away," said the greatest newspaper of the time, "and yet not leave the void caused by the death of Charles Dickens."

Quite another class of society is portrayed in the novels of William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), one of the few great masters of fiction in the world. The *Book of Snobs* displays a keen power of observation, and is filled with scathing satire of social hypocrisy and servile obsequiousness. When *Vanity Fair*, his first great novel, was completed there was no longer any question of his renown. It is a realistic story of the contemporary life of a rich and sordid generation of merchants and manufacturers lifted into sudden importance in the nation by the Industrial Revolution and the first Reform Act, a narrative of the *nouveaux riches*, an epic of the *bourgeoisie*, whose unheroic protagonist is the scheming and unprincipled Becky Sharp. *Pendennis*, another picture of middle class life and of life among the aristocracy, shows anew the great art of its author as a novelist of manners, discloses in an autobiographic sense much of his own life and character, and, with its blander air, reveals the slowly softening influence of years that bring the philosophic mind.

The noble romance of *Henry Esmond* has been declared to be the author's most successful work. The eighteenth century was always his favorite period. He liked the rational and straightforward tone of its literature, and he admired its habit of keeping close, in life and art, to the realities of the world as we find it. He reproduced with wonderful accuracy and unfailing interest the figures, the manners, and the phrases of that bygone time. The costumes and scenery are perfect; and everywhere the story shows the gathered strength and maturity of the author's literary power. It is in his other novels, however, that we shall most fully find Thackeray.

The Newcomes, which is the largest of all Thackeray's pic-

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The Social
Remedy
Advocated
by Dick-
ens

Thack-
eray's
Early
Novels

"Henry
Esmond"

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eray's
Later
Novels

tures of contemporary life, is filled with figures and incidents. With ease it attains and keeps the epic scale. It is saturated with the atmosphere of the period. Here, if anywhere, one may find a living presentment of middle class society as the nineteenth century moved into its second half in England. And rising above the crowd of more or less mean and selfish figures that fill its pages is the fine, chivalrous, and simple figure of Colonel Newcome.

Thack-
eray's
Point of
View

Thackeray's style, exquisitely simple, idiomatic, and nervous, is almost perfect; and many of his characters are immortal. But he never wrote for the mere pleasure of story-telling. His attention was always engaged by the moral aspect of things. What, then, was his teaching? He was the most caustic critic of the materialization of the aristocracy and middle class of his country in the early years of the Victorian era. He was concerned for the most part with petty meannesses, which he sneered down, with selfishness, which he denounced, and with sham and hypocrisy, which he laughed away. In him the love of truth rose to a passion. He was not interested in abstract thought. He did not concern himself with the intellectual currents and movements of his time. He had no great social faith; his heart was not filled with noble expectations; and he occupied himself too much with transient aspects of life. He never imagined the soul of man, looking far into the future, stirred with the spirit of "divine discontent." Yet he flashed with rage at the shams and selfishness of men and women about him, and trembled with sensitiveness to their friendships and their loves. His novels will live not only because of their almost flawless style, but also because of their warm humanity.

Novels of
Charles
Reade

Charles Reade (1814-1884) made his name as a novelist when he published *Never Too Late to Mend*; a story written with the purpose of reforming abuses in prison discipline and the treatment of criminals. All his novels are filled with an astonishing amount of specific information. His method of work was, at that time, all his own. Carefully he gathered facts, chiefly from the daily newspapers, and arranged them in a systematic manner. The characters he created, and the thread of story he invented, were sometimes inadequate for the fusion of fact and fiction he attempted, yet often they are vivid and dramatic. It is, however, his great historical novel, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, that most insures the continuance of his fame. Seldom have the facts and figures of a vanished age been summoned into such throbbing life. Here, if anywhere, is historical fact touched with emotion. It is an intense and swiftly moving story of the fifteenth

century. It takes us to the sober life of sleepy little towns in Holland, plunges us into the midst of the noisy paganism of Rome, and compels us to put up with the squalor of wayside inns in Germany. The sheer dramatic excitement of the narrative is almost unmatched; and, with the prodigality of genius, scene after scene is showered upon us in Flanders, Burgundy, Germany, and Italy.

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In Anthony Trollope (1815-1882) we find another novelist who dealt realistically with the life of his own day. A visit to Salisbury Cathedral suggested the idea of *The Warden*, which, appearing in 1855, is the first of a series of thirteen ecclesiastical stories. These novels have for the principal scene the town of "Barchester." The place is not to be found on the map. It is not a particular city, but rather the general idea of an episcopal seat. Trollope had a very complete grasp of the usual and commonplace. His novels continued, with less creative power, though with more spontaneous humor, the realistic portraits and social pictures of Thackeray. A series of political novels, of which the best is probably *Phineas Finn*, have an ampler stage and more vigorous themes than the stories of episcopal palaces and archdeaconries. All his stories, however, move within a limited range of life. They depict the social and political activity of the upper middle class of the country as it was in the days of the ascendancy of the Whigs. They picture contemporary life more completely than those of any other writer of the time. Trollope was not a reformer. Nowhere does he suggest change. All he saw he described without question or criticism. Patient and conscientious portrayal of a crowd of clergymen, lawyers, squires, politicians, and magnates, enlivened always with a keen sense of fun and touched sometimes with emotion, is the gift to the world of his true eye, his genial heart, and his honest mind.

Novels of
Anthony
Trollope

In the preface to one of her books Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) tells us that, when she lived in Manchester, she learned to feel deep sympathy with the care-worn men thronging its busy streets, who struggled through their lives in alternations of work and want, embittered against the prosperous, especially against the masters whose fortunes they had helped to build up, believing that the privations and miseries they suffered were the result of the injustice and the hardness of the rich. The pages of *Mary Barton* are teeming with the intimate knowledge she had gained of the grievances and errors of the mill hands. In them she pleaded eloquently for toiling humanity. In her the poor of the "hungry forties" found their true interpreter. The incomparable *Cranford* is a series of vignettes full of the quiet life of a

Novels of
Elizabeth
Gaskell

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sequestered village, of an old-world charm that has lingered into an alien age and is about to vanish forever. In *North and South* she went back to the cruel sights and sinister omens of the manufacturing towns, and the book remains, with her first novel, an unfading picture of the average industrial life of the time. She wrote because her heart was stirred by the suffering about her, and it was her purpose to bring master and man together by means of a better mutual understanding.

Novels
of the
Brontë
Sisters

The life of Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855), like the monotonous and mournful moors that bounded it, was starved and stern. When *Jane Eyre* appeared it made a profound sensation. Its faults, as well as those of its successors, are obvious; but equally plain is the fact that from "the dead silence of a village parsonage, in which the ticking of the clock was heard all day long," had come a book dealing in a deathless manner with a great theme. The narrow range and unhappy circumstances of her life limited her genius, it is true, but they served also to concentrate it. Then Emily Brontë (1818-1848), several of whose poems deserve a high place in literature, published her somber *Wuthering Heights*, a book filled with the tragic desolation of her life and the lonely land in which it was lived. The action of *Shirley*, another novel by Charlotte, takes place in the years of the Luddite riots, tales of which had been told to her by her father and her school teacher. There are perhaps in all the national literature no figures of working men more truly representative of the class than those in this book.

Life of
George
Eliot

George Eliot (1819-1880) was the pen name of Mary Ann Evans. She spent the first twenty-two years of her life amid the green fields and leafy lanes of Warwickshire. Little change had taken place at that time in the customs and ideas of the mass of the people in the midland counties. Among the farmers and clergy, with few newspapers and almost without railways, old beliefs and prejudices survived almost undiminished. She first pictured in the novel the village community as it then was, a little world by itself, and drew from it a series of memorable dramas. Her own life did not remain so simple. She went to live in Coventry. The Industrial Revolution, with its mines and factories and railways, and the new thought it stimulated, found one of its outposts in this capital of the midland counties. A complete change took place in her beliefs; for the rest of her life she was a Rationalist. In London she came to know several of the leading thinkers of the time; and her friendship with George Henry Lewes led to a union which she regarded as marriage and which lasted until his death. To him she owed the discovery of

her talent for writing fiction; but, also owing to him and to other intellectual associates, she filled her pages more and more as time went on with views of science and religion that often turn her stories into propaganda.

Adam Bede, her first long novel, is the most humorous and hopeful of her books, the one in which she told most successfully what she had seen and what she had to say. In *The Mill on the Floss* it is plain that her genius was beginning to be more speculative and less emotional. Her culture, her philosophy, and her moral earnestness were beginning to overlay her art. In *Silas Marner* she achieved a rare triumph in fusing scientific knowledge and philosophic thought with art. It is the story of the people of a quiet village, steeped in a deep and pure humanity. These books are her most perfect and permanently valuable works. They owe their attraction to the tender brooding of the imagination over the quiet and simple country life then beginning to vanish into the irrevocable past, and they owe their greatness to the sympathetic portrayal of passions not confined to any single period. *Romola* is a story of the life and times of Savonarola; but the learning of the book is too obtrusive, the mass of its information has not been fused by a glowing imagination. In *Middlemarch*, ethically her most elaborate romance, she returned to the scenes of the life she knew so well. The book attempts to expose the insufficiency of political reform, and as a keen and sardonic disclosure of the upper and middle class minds of that time it will always have value, but as a story it lags. The old magic was no longer at the command of its author.

George Eliot was always didactic. She never made any pretense of not having a moral. No other novelist of the age had read so deeply, or looked upon life so profoundly, or meditated so sincerely as she. She belonged to the foremost intellectual forces of her time. She was committed to truth, and to truth alone. What, then, was her principal teaching? She held all supernatural power to be a mere human ideal; she declared immortality to be a dream. She taught that the destiny of the human race is in its own keeping. She proclaimed that reverence and duty find their only fit subject and opportunity in the work of amelioration. Upon the need of this work she insisted. "Our civilization is helplessly in peril," she warned us, "without the spiritual police of sentiments or ideal feelings." She saw life with a clear vision, and of its evil she was not unaware; but of its progress towards better things she retained to the end an undiminished confidence. This assurance gave her life its serenity, purpose, and nobility.

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Novels of
George
Eliot

Religious
and
Ethical
Thought
of George
Eliot

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XXVArthur
Hugh
Clough

One of the truest expressions in verse of the intellectual and moral tendencies of this time is to be found in the work of Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861), a man of questioning mind and reverent spirit. The term "agnostic" had not then come into use, but he was one in the true sense. "Until I know, I will wait," he said; "and if I am not born with the power to discover, I will do what I can with what knowledge I have." He was interested in social problems. Keenly he felt the pain of the inequalities and injustices everywhere about him, and he arrived at conclusions at which even to-day writers are barely venturing to hint. In religion he gave voice to the melancholy and perplexity of an age of transition, watching a world crumble behind him and dying before a new one had been born.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

Date	Party	Prime Minister
1852	Conservative.....	Lord Derby (1).
1852-1855.....	Peelites-Whigs.....	Lord Aberdeen.
1855-1858.....	Whig.....	Lord Palmerston (1).
1858-1859.....	Conservative.....	Lord Derby (2).
1859-1865.....	Whigs-Peelites-Liberals.....	Lord Palmerston (2).
1865-1866.....	Liberal.....	Lord Russell.
1866-1868.....	Conservative.....	Lord Derby (3).

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

J. B. Atlay, *Victorian Chancellors*. Ernest Barker, *Political Thought from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day*. James Bryce's *Studies in Contemporary Biography* contains, among other admirable essays, an eminently fair sketch of Disraeli. E. G. Conklin, *The Direction of Human Evolution*. Sir Edward Cook's *Life of Florence Nightingale* is the standard authority on the subject. W. W. Crotch's *Charles Dickens, Social Reformer* contains many quotations, well chosen and thoughtfully discussed, illustrating the work of the novelist as a reformer. Ernst Haeckel, *Evolution in Modern Thought*. R. H. Hutton's *Essays on Some Modern Guides to English Thought in Matters of Faith* is a candid and earnest book written from the orthodox point of view. T. E. Kebbel, *Lord Beaconsfield and Other Tory Memoirs*. Joseph McCabe, *The Story of Evolution*. T. E. May and F. C. Holland, *Constitutional History of England*; the third volume deals with the half-century lying between 1860 and 1911 and is the work of an able and impartial historian. John Morley's *Life of Gladstone* is a mine of information upon all the "burning questions" of the time; it was written with due regard for the living participators in those disputed policies and actions. J. H. Park, *The English Reform Bill of 1867*. Bliss Perry, *Thomas Carlyle*. C. E. Raven's *Christian Socialism* is the best book on the subject. F. W. Roe, *The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin*. Schuster and Shipley, *Britain's Heritage of Science*. In Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* there is a very readable essay on Florence Nightingale.

CHAPTER XXVI

GROWTH OF LIBERALISM

(1867-1893)

THE passage of the Reform Bill in 1867 naturally involved a dissolution of Parliament; before that could be done, however, the act had to be supplemented by similar measures applicable to Scotland and Ireland. Thus for still another year the government remained in the hands of the Conservatives. In the course of that year Lord Derby, finding himself unable to endure the fatigues of another session, yielded the Premiership and the leadership of the party to Disraeli. From that time on, for the next thirteen years, the leaders of the two great parties were to be Gladstone and Disraeli. They were both men who stood out clearly above their followers, and who had entered public life in the midst of the new conditions prevailing after the first extension of the suffrage. The first clash between the two parties under their new leaders took place upon the question of the disestablishment of the State Church in Ireland. Gladstone, with the great body of the middle classes and the working men behind him, declared in the Commons, upon the eve of the election, that Church and State in Ireland should be separated. The election for the new Parliament took place late in 1868, and, though the issue was in part determined by other considerations, the most important subject that engaged the attention of the electors was the disendowment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. By an overwhelming majority the Conservatives were swept from office. The Liberal party, purged of its old Whig element, and strengthened by the newly enfranchised Radical working men, was then more powerful and more confident than it had been since the time of the first Reform Bill. The importance of the Radical element in the party was recognized by giving a place in the Cabinet to John Bright.

It was evident that affairs in the neighboring island would require the immediate and careful attention of the new Parliament. Though some of its wrongs had been redressed and injustices atoned, and though the land was more prosperous than it had

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Victory
of the
Liberals
on the
Question
of Dis-
establish-
ment of
the Church
in Ireland

Agitation
in Ireland

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been for a long time, there was still much to do in the way of removing grievances. To this task the Liberals now addressed themselves. Some of the discontent they might hope in that manner to allay, but not all. No mere redress of grievances would put an end to the agitation carried on by the Fenian Brotherhood. That association, established in the United States by disaffected men who, after a brief uprising in 1848, had escaped from their native isle, sought, by means of a world-wide league of their countrymen, to bring about the complete independence of Ireland. At the close of the American Civil War in 1865 quite a number of Irishmen who had received military training, and some of whom had acquired habits that fitted them ill for peaceful life, crossed the sea and associated themselves with the Fenians in Ireland. Thus did the emigrant ships of the famine return. With these additions to the ranks of the agitators, the outrages that had been going on increased in number and violence. The leaders of the Brotherhood openly avowed their ultimate purpose. It seems safe to say, however, that at this time the great majority of the people did not desire separation, and would have been satisfied, for a long time at least, with a courageous program of economic and social reform.

**Disestablishment
of the
State
Church in
Ireland**

The Liberals soon turned their attention to the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. The overwhelming majority of Irishmen had always been opposed to the maintenance at their expense of what was to them an alien Church. The census of 1861 had shown that out of a total population of 5,798,967 only 693,357 belonged to that Church. A bill for the separation of Church and State in the island, which left the institution in possession of its buildings, made ample provision for the support of the existing clergy, and devoted the remainder of the property to the relief of distress, was approved in the Commons by a large majority and then reluctantly agreed to by the Lords.

**The Land
Situation
in Ireland**

Far more serious and perplexing was the problem of the land in Ireland. The tenure of land, which was of course the creature of a contract between landlord and tenant, was exactly the same there as in England. But the results were not the same in the two islands. In the larger island the main activities of the people were industry and commerce. This enabled the surplus population of the rural districts, at a time when industry and commerce were expanding, to find occupation in the towns. In the lesser island, however, a country of early and prolific marriage, the mass of the people were engaged in agriculture; and agriculture was there far less progressive, and far less remunerative, than in Eng-

land. More than twice the number of persons per acre were employed in the cultivation of the land in the smaller island than in the larger one, and yet the produce was less than one-half. The grain crops, because of the frequent rains and cloudy days, often failed to ripen, and the potato crop, upon which, as we have seen, such great dependence was placed, was often afflicted with rot. Both climate and soil are, in general, better suited to sheep farming and cattle grazing than to grain and root crops. The native population, however, knowing that it requires fewer hands to take care of cattle than to sow, cultivate, and harvest crops, resented any such change with the wrath of fear. Agriculture, however ill-suited to the environment, remained the chief resource of a crowded population. The situation was made still worse by the practice of subdividing and subletting the land. The Irish have always had a passion for occupying and possessing land. The limited industrial and commercial activity of the island left a comparative scarcity of other work, and that, with the prolific character of the population, gave rise to excessive competition for land. Tenants, though their holdings were insufficient to support their own families on anything like a satisfactory level, and often despite contractual agreements with their landlords to the contrary, sublet portions of their little farms, especially to their children who had grown up and married. Under these conditions farmers were often unable to pay their rents. The most prevalent tenure was tenancy, without lease or written contract, at the will of the landlord. For any reason, or for no reason at all, the landlord, after he had given notice six months in advance, could require the tenant to vacate the holding. It was the tenant who, in most cases, made the improvements. All the improvements, at the close of the tenancy, went to the landlord; and often they served as an excuse for an increase of the rent while the tenancy of the man who had made them continued. Such cruel injustice, for which there was no legal preventive or remedy, naturally gave rise to disorder and criminal reprisals.

This matter of compensation for improvements, the benefit of which had not been exhausted at the end of the tenancy of the man who had made them, formed one of the most immediate problems connected with the land. Gladstone explained the policy of the bill he introduced to deal with the matter as being designed "to prevent the landlord from using the terrible weapon of unjust eviction by so framing the handle that it should cut his hands with the sharp edge of pecuniary damage." Every tenant who was evicted without fault of his own was to be given compensation for all the improvements that increased the rental value of

Problem
of Im-
prove-
ments
Made
on the
Farms

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the land. This, it was thought, would put an end to wanton evictions; and it was expected that, because unfair increases of rent had been enforceable chiefly by reason of the uncontrolled power of ejection, this second evil would be greatly diminished, if not brought to an end. It was also provided in the bill that money should be lent to tenants who wished to buy their holdings from their landlords. Public opinion was so strongly in favor of the bill that the only opposition it met in either House was a prolonged criticism of details. The measure, which became a law in 1870, was a well-meaning effort to put an end to discontent in Ireland. It failed, however, to cure the evils for which it was intended. Landlords objected because it interfered with complete freedom of contract in disposing of land. Tenants soon became dissatisfied because it failed to secure fixity of tenure for them, and because it proved to be inadequate as a protection against excessive rents. Agitation for permanency of tenure and fair rents, and indeed for outright ownership of the land, continued.

**The
School
Question**

The school system of the British Isles at this time, if anything so unsystematic may be called a system, was far inferior to that of Switzerland, Prussia, or the United States. Most of the ancient grammar schools were under the control of the Anglican Church, and were patronized principally by members of the upper and middle classes. They charged considerable fees, and were rendered still less available to the members of the lower classes by the fact that they did not provide primary instruction. Instruction in the first years of school life had to be sought at the hands of private tutors or in private schools. Other elementary schools were maintained by members of the different religious denominations. With the gradual advance of civilization, and especially with the general disappearance of apprenticeship as the factory system came to be more widespread, the need for schools for the education of the children of the lower classes increased. Parliament made its first grant of money for the support of elementary schools in 1833, and a few years later a permanent governmental committee on education was created. Elementary education was then supported by government grants, by fees exacted of the parents, and by voluntary contributions. Inspectors were appointed for those schools receiving governmental aid; and the parliamentary grants of money were from time to time increased.

**The Three
Great
Needs of
Elementary
Education**

The school situation at this time was, however, far from satisfactory. Out of about 4,300,000 children who should have been going to school, no less than 2,000,000 were absent; and the instruction given to those who were present was often inferior in

character. The three great needs of education were that it should be made "secular, compulsory, and free." Many persons, however, were opposed to such a program. Some were opposed to free education, and others were unwilling to do away with religious instruction in the schools. The Education Act of 1870 was a compromise. It tried to make use of the existing denominational schools as far as possible. In every locality not properly provided with such schools a school board was to be elected by the ratepayers. These boards were either to build new schools or to assist those already in existence. All the board schools were to be supported partly by fees, partly by local taxes, and partly by parliamentary grants. There was to be no religious instruction in the board schools, and in the church schools that accepted governmental aid such instruction was to be confined to certain fixed hours so as to permit parents who did not wish their children to be submitted to such teaching to withdraw them from it. The age to which school boards might, at their discretion, require attendance was raised to thirteen. Like all compromise measures the act was not entirely satisfactory to any single party or sect, but it made a great advance in that it established the principle that instruction should be provided for all children in the Kingdom. By another act, passed in the following year, students were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge, and made eligible to lay offices within those institutions, without the religious tests which all of them had formerly been required to sign.

We have, upon several occasions, observed the Lords giving their consent only with great reluctance to measures obviously desired by a majority of the voters; and, indeed, we have seen them defeat such measures altogether. In 1871 they rejected a bill to provide for voting by secret ballot, but in the next year they deemed it expedient to give way and pass the bill. The demand for secrecy in voting had first been seriously made in the agitations for parliamentary reform at the beginning of the century, and it had grown steadily despite the sneers of the reactionaries who spoke of "voters in dominos, going to the polls in sedan-chairs with closely drawn curtains." In 1838 it had been made the fourth point of the People's Charter. The act passed in 1872 introduced the ballot in all municipal and parliamentary elections, except parliamentary elections in the Universities. There is no question as to its having greatly lessened intimidation and bribery.

By an act, passed in 1859, permission had been given to workmen to endeavor, in a peaceful and reasonable manner, without threat or intimidation, to persuade others to cease work in order to secure better wages and better conditions of work. This, how-

Adoption
of the
Secret
Ballot

Fuller
Recogni-
tion of
Labor
Unions

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ever, amounted only to a partial recognition of labor unions. It meant only that certain actions of their members were exempt by statute from penal consequences. In the eye of the common law these exemptions had not conferred upon the unions any general character of legality. Two further acts, one passed in 1871 and the other in 1876, construed in the light of an act passed in 1875 that dealt with conspiracy and with the protection of property, served to give an entirely new status to the unions. Every member of a union was then exempted from prosecution for any acts which if committed by him singly would not have been deemed criminal. Conspiracy in restraint of trade was, therefore, no longer forbidden to the unions. They were free to carry on collective bargaining with their employers, they were free to strike, and they were free to try peacefully to persuade others to strike. With a few inconsequential exceptions, and with the more important reservation that contracts between a labor union and any of its members could not be enforced in a court of law, they were now on the same footing as insurance societies, associations of manufacturers, and other similar organizations. Opinion in the middle and upper classes of society then gradually became less antagonistic to the unions, which entered upon an era of marked increase in membership and importance.

**Divisions
Among the
Liberals
and Vic-
tory of the
Conserva-
tives**

A breach had been made in the ranks of the Liberals in the course of the debate on the Educational Bill. The non-conformists, most of whom were Liberals, were opposed to the Cabinet's plan of granting financial aid to schools conducted upon denominational principles. In this they had been defeated by a combination of Liberals and Conservatives. The victory of the Cabinet was, in a political sense, dearly bought. It caused the first division in the ranks of the party. Then, too, the members of trade unions, not yet placated by subsequent acts, were bitterly disappointed with the act of 1871 which fell far short of their demands. The allegiance of a still larger number of supporters was lost by the enactment in 1872 of a bill to license the sale of intoxicating liquors. Those who favored such regulation condemned the bill as being inadequate, while those who were opposed to such control denounced it as being oppressive. Early in 1874 Gladstone publicly admitted that the strength of his party in Parliament had "sunk below the point necessary for the due defense and prosecution of the public interest." Later on he announced a dissolution. The general election resulted in a majority of forty-six members of the Commons for the Conservatives. The Premiership was then assumed by Disraeli, who in 1876 was created Earl of Beaconsfield.

In the first two years of the new government little of importance took place in domestic legislation. Samuel Plimsoll compelled the enactment of a bill that lessened the risk to sailors' lives by providing against over-insurance and excessive and careless loading of ships. An improvement of the status of trade unions, already noticed, was effected; a public health act marked a stage in the battle against disease; and an artisans' dwelling act enabled local authorities to begin to deal with the slums. A few other minor reform measures were passed, but the man who in the forties had written novels filled with the spirit of democracy, and reform had in his old age come to be interested chiefly in foreign policy. Nearly a generation ago Disraeli had put forth in *Tancred* the theory that an Empire in the Far East should be the main overseas ambition of England. To the fulfilment of this dream he now summoned all the resources of his shrewd and supple intellect. The country was surprised in 1875 when it was informed that it had acquired the shares formerly held by the bankrupt Khedive in the stock of the Suez Canal. Swift action had been necessary to prevent their falling into the possession of France. Thus the canal, built by a French company, and formally opened in 1869, was snatched from the impending control of a rival country; and thus England found herself in a new position, with new interests and responsibilities, in Egypt. The Prince of Wales then made a tour of the great eastern dependency, while upon the Queen was formally bestowed by act of Parliament the title of Empress of India. Then attention was suddenly directed once more to the Near East.

The relation of Turkey to her Christian subjects and to her neighbors had long ago created a two-fold problem. Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Rumania had gained their freedom. Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, however, were still left under her rule. In 1875 an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and spread to Bulgaria. In the latter country fearful atrocities were perpetrated, in which more than twelve thousand men, women, and children were put to death. Disraeli spoke of the reports as "coffee-house babble"; but Gladstone, emerging from retirement, aroused the indignation of his countrymen by passionate denunciations. Russia, who regarded herself as the protector of the Slavic peoples in the Balkan Peninsula, declared war upon Turkey. Gladstone pleaded that the Turks should be driven "bag and baggage from the provinces which they have desolated and profaned"; while Disraeli, who knew their ousting to be a thing easier said than done, argued that they should be maintained in Constantinople. The fear of Russian designs upon India

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The New
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gained widespread support for the policy of the Prime Minister. Possibly no one at that time saw that a more powerful and lasting check upon the encroachment of Russia in south-eastern Europe would have been secured by the creation of independent states in the Balkan Peninsula. At the Congress of Berlin, which met in 1878, the victory of Russia was largely undone; while Disraeli, who was there in person, secured for his country possession of the island of Cyprus. Balked in whatever plans of expansion she may have had for territorial acquisition in the Near East, Russia now turned her attention to Asia. She sent a mission to the capital of Afghanistan. This soon led to a war between England and that country, and the struggle was not concluded without serious reverses to the British forces. The new Imperial policy was also responsible for the beginning of a still more serious difficulty in South Africa. Disputes over a strip of land, and the question of the disbandment of the native troops, led to a war with the Zulus, the most formidable of all the native tribes of that part of the continent, under their able chief Cetawayo. A severe reverse was met with in this struggle before the British arms were finally victorious, heavy expenditure was entailed, and on the horizon appeared the gathering clouds of war with the Transvaal. A period of agricultural and industrial depression at home increased the growing discontent with the policy of imperialism, and so when Parliament was dissolved in 1880 the Conservatives were swept from office by the wave of a powerful reaction. The following year was marked by the death of Disraeli. That interesting and remarkable statesman was a sagacious politician, endowed with imagination and indomitable energy, but he was given to policies which, as far as the welfare of the mass of the people is concerned, were temporary rather than permanent in their character.

Revival of
Imperial-
ism

The Liberals found the reversal of the policy of imperialism to be no easy task; and it was one that could be accomplished only gradually. The war with Afghanistan was brought to a successful end, and a better understanding regarding the northern frontier of that country was effected with Russia. But a war, with which we shall deal in a later chapter, broke out with the Boers in South Africa, and another in Egypt, with which we shall also deal later on. We shall for the present confine our attention to domestic affairs. Suffice it to note here that the force of events, of circumstances inherited from the previous administration and of the world problems of a new age, resulted in something of a revival of the imperialism that had caused the downfall of Disraeli. This renewed imperialism perceptibly diminished the

popularity of the new government; and, furthermore, as we shall see, matters did not progress smoothly at home.

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One of the things that helped to bring about a decline in the popularity of the Liberal government was a question as to the admission of a certain member to Parliament. At the general election in 1880 Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891) was chosen as representative of the borough of Northampton. He was well known as a free-thinker. When he presented himself for admission to the Commons he claimed the right to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking the customary oath, which, he frankly confessed, was to him a meaningless form. Such an affirmation, because they conscientiously objected to taking oaths, was permitted to Moravians and Quakers. The Speaker refrained from giving a decision, the matter was referred to a committee, and a report was brought in against the claim. This was the beginning of a long and sensational parliamentary struggle. The scope of the debate became wider. It passed from the discussion of technical procedure to one of political principle. The question was now whether the belief in God should be required for admission to the Commons. Eight times large majorities were cast against the applicant; five times he was ejected from the chamber by force; four times his seat was declared vacant; and four times he was reelected by Northampton. At last, in 1886, the matter was brought quietly to a close by the action of a new Speaker who ruled that neither he nor any other member had the right to prevent a member from taking the oath, no matter what his beliefs might be, if he was willing to take it. Bradlaugh had already declared his willingness to take the oath, though he reminded the public that it would be without binding effect upon his conscience. His parliamentary career was in every way highly successful; and in 1888 he was gratified by the enactment of a general affirmation bill of which he had been the sponsor. Thenceforth theology was in no manner whatsoever to enter into the question of qualification for a seat in the House of Commons.

The Case
of Charles
Bradlaugh

The two extensions of the suffrage had left higher qualifications for voting in the counties than the boroughs. Many men were still not enfranchised. There were three distinct classes connected with the land,—landlords, renters, and laborers; and the last, who were numerous, were entirely excluded from the right to vote. Quite naturally, therefore, the agricultural laborers demanded a voice in the government. As early as 1872 it had been proposed to extend to the counties the household and lodger franchise enjoyed by the boroughs. If that were done, every male

Third
Reform
Act

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adult in the islands at the head of a household, and most of the lodgers, would be empowered to vote. The cause of the laborer was espoused by Gladstone. He introduced a bill for lowering the requirements in the boroughs, and for placing counties and boroughs on the same footing. The Conservatives, who owe much of their numerical strength, and not a little of their financial support, to the landholding class, were opposed to the measure. They were diplomatic enough not to base their opposition so much upon the contention that the agricultural laborer was unfit to vote as upon the fact that the scheme of redistribution of seats that would be necessary by the proposed extension had not yet been disclosed. When, at the end of 1884, such a plan had been agreed upon by the leaders of both parties, the third Reform Bill was enacted into law. Some two million voters were added to the electorate, nearly twice as many as in 1867, and nearly four times as many as in 1832. The Redistribution Bill, passed in the following year, deprived all towns with less than fifteen thousand inhabitants of their members and merged them into their counties; it divided counties into single-member constituencies; it reduced the representation of all towns with a population of less than fifty thousand from two members to one; and it gave additional members, in proportion to their population, to all towns over one hundred thousand inhabitants, and divided them into separate one-member constituencies. There were then six hundred and seventy members of the Commons.

**Reform
of Local
Govern-
ment**

We have seen that in 1835 the municipal franchise was given to the ratepayers, and that thus the corrupt oligarchies that had formerly governed the towns were replaced with something like democratic control. A new act was passed in 1882 extending the right to vote for municipal officers, regardless of the possession of property, to all the adult inhabitants of the towns. In 1888 local government was still further developed by the establishment of county councils to deal with local interests of rural communities; and then, in 1894, parish councils, also elected by universal suffrage, were created to deal with exclusively parochial affairs. These two sets of councils, to which women, whether married or single, are eligible, are representative bodies in their respective areas. The many duties confided to them are varied and important. They have to do with protection against fire, the possession and management of parks and other local property, matters of public health, the care of the poor, public baths and wash-houses, education, and many other local interests, though their power is of course limited by the general laws enacted by Parliament. Thus local government, formerly carried on by many

independent authorities, has been greatly simplified, and to the mass of the people has been confided the control of the many everyday affairs in their own communities.

Despite Gladstone's two attempts at pacification, outrages continued in Ireland; and for their repression it was necessary to have recourse to exceptional measures. What, after the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland and the carrying out of the Land Act, were the remaining causes of discontent? The Land Act of 1870 insured payment to the tenants, whenever their occupancy ended, for all improvements of which the benefit had not been exhausted; and in doing this it had, within certain limits, provided compensation for disturbance. But no such compensation had been guaranteed where the eviction was for failure to pay rent. In good times the act would probably have given more general satisfaction; but throughout the Kingdom, and especially in the smaller island, agriculture was suffering a marked decline. The opening up of new countries across the sea, together with the development of land and ocean transportation, served to bring cheap and abundant supplies of food and raw material to the islands. This, while it was helpful to the towns, was to the country distinctly detrimental. The industrial and commercial activity of the Kingdom rose in 1873 to a level higher than it had ever before attained. At the same time, however, the acreage under grain crops steadily declined. Then, to make matters worse, came a series of bleak springs and rainy summers. There were abundant harvests, however, in America, and so from that land, at prices below the prevailing level, came increased quantities of food. Thus was agriculture in the Kingdom, after being enfeebled by adverse seasons, staggered by the added blow of foreign competition. There was much real distress in the western counties of Ireland. To meet that suffering large sums were raised, chiefly in England.

In August, 1879, the worst of all wet summers, there was formed, after a prolonged agitation for a reduction of rents and a further reform of the land laws, the Irish Land League. Its aim, stripped of all ambiguity, was to abolish landlordism and make the cultivators the owners of the soil. It was proposed that gradually the State should take over the land, give the landlords adequate compensation for it, and then settle the tenants upon it permanently as proprietors. In 1880 Gladstone introduced a bill providing for compensation for disturbance even in cases of eviction for non-payment of rent. The bill passed the Commons, but was summarily rejected by the Lords. In the same year ten thousand persons were evicted in Ireland. The increased agita-

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tion that followed may be said to have amounted to a reign of terror. One of the most effective weapons used to dissuade persons from taking farms from which others had been ejected was the "boycott." The word was taken from the name of Captain Charles Boycott, agent for the estate of the Earl of Erne, to whom the new system was first applied. All persons who took a farm from which the tenant had been evicted for non-payment of rent were to be let severely alone; and all landlords who evicted tenants for the same reason were also to be let alone. No aid of any kind was to be given them. Their crops were to be left un-reaped, and even their letters were to remain in the post-office undelivered.

**Policy of
Parnell**

This agitation was reënforced by a method known as "obstruction" in the House of Commons. When Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891) entered that body for the first time in 1875 he believed that obstruction in Parliament, systematically impeding or stopping the course of proceedings, chiefly by talking against time, would succeed where outrage in the country had thus far failed. He did not discountenance violence. It was he who had invented the boycott, and he continued to encourage the use of that weapon. But he was convinced that outside agitation of all kinds, physical and political, would not be as effective in securing the wishes of Ireland as delaying or preventing the work of the Commons. In 1880 he succeeded in placing himself at the head of the Irish National party in the Commons. He remained independent of each of the two leading parties. It was his plan to throw his support at any time where it would count most for his fundamental policy. What was that policy? He gave what support he could, inside and outside the House, to the movement in his native isle seeking to secure "the land for the people"; but his own aspirations, and those of his followers, went far beyond that. He sought to win for his country nothing less than independence.

**New Land
Act for
Ireland**

So widespread was the prevalence of crime in Ireland that the government found itself obliged to introduce a Coercion Bill in the Commons which virtually suspended the writ of habeas corpus. In the course of the long and bitter debate on the bill, Parnell and thirty-five of his followers were suspended; and then a closure rule, providing for the ending of debate upon any question when the stipulated majority of the members deemed it best to close the discussion and proceed to vote, was adopted so as to defeat wilful obstruction in the future. A new Land Act was passed in 1881 aiming to secure for the Irish tenants "free sale, fixity of tenure, and fair rents." Rents were to be determined no

longer by competition, but by a land commission court. Parnell was not able altogether to ignore this act. He was aware of the advantages it offered. But he was obliged to tell the extremists, who gave him financial and political support, that from the agrarian point of view he regarded it only as a payment on account, and that from the national point of view he did not deem it to be any payment at all.

Agitation did not cease with the putting into operation of the new Land Act. It increased. Murder and cruel mutilations of cattle went on apace. All the measures of alleviation of nearly two centuries had failed to win the allegiance of the Irish. Then came a new move on the part of the government. The extension of the suffrage in 1884 had, of course, necessitated a general election. As a result of the election in the following year the new House of Commons was made up of 334 Liberals, 250 Conservatives, and 86 Irish Nationalists. Plainly the future lay in the hands of Parnell. Such were the circumstances under which Gladstone announced his decision to introduce a bill giving a large measure of self-government to Ireland. Yet it would be a grave injustice to his memory to ascribe it to a desire once more to assume office. The idea had long been ripening in his mind, and he thought the time had come to put it into effect. Unfortunately in coming to this momentous conclusion he had consulted few, if any, of his colleagues. A split in the party at once began, and among those Liberals who declared themselves opponents of Irish Home Rule were John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain. The latter said that Home Rule was not in the program on which the recent election had been fought, that it was brought forward suddenly, and that he could not approve it because it endangered the permanent and active sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland. All the Liberals who opposed the plan declared it had precipitated the issue of union or separation. They called themselves Liberal Unionists, and they associated themselves with the Conservatives. From this time the term "Unionists" began to come into use to signify both the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, and gradually the distinction between these two groups of the same party grew less. It became proper to speak of the party as a whole either as Conservative or as Unionist. Despite the split in the ranks of his party Gladstone persevered in his task. On April 8, 1886, he introduced a bill to give to the smaller island a Parliament of its own and to exclude its representatives from Westminster. Ninety-three Liberals voted against the bill, which was defeated by thirty votes. Gladstone at once appealed from the Commons to the country, and thus two general

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the
Conserv-
atives**

elections were held within a period of seven months. The appeal, made exclusively on the issue of Home Rule, resulted in the return of a majority of more than a hundred members pledged to resist the proposed measure, and the Prime Minister therefore resigned office and made way for Lord Salisbury. The election made irremediable the split in the ranks of the Liberals.

The new ministry lasted six years. To it must be given credit for establishing the councils by which, as we have seen, representative government was introduced in the counties; for the act of 1891 by which free elementary education was placed within the reach of every child; for a Land Purchase Act, also passed in 1891, by which £30,000,000 was set aside to be lent, with interest charges at four per cent, to those tenants whose landlords were willing to sell; for the Railway Act of 1890 which did much to open up the poorer and more distant parts of the west coast of Ireland; and for the Factory Act of 1891 which limited the hours of labor for women to twelve a day and enforced certain sanitary regulations and precautions. In 1887 a significant event took place in the history of the Empire. The first Colonial Conference met in London. Representatives of the mother country and of the self-governing and other colonies met to discuss colonial defense, imperial penny postage, and other matters. All did not go well, however, with the new government. The alliance with those Liberals who had left their own party because of the Home Rule question did not work without friction. The seceders were very insistent in their demands for further economic social reform. The Irish National party, too, experienced trouble. When Parnell, after being made co-respondent in a divorce suit, declined to relinquish the leadership, it was shattered. Thus when in 1892 the time came for a new election the political situation was completely changed. The Conservatives reiterated their opposition to Home Rule and pointed with pardonable pride to their admirable legislative and administrative record in the last two sessions of Parliament; while the Liberals drew up a comprehensive program calculated to appeal to a wide range of interests. Gladstone won a majority of forty members. It was the crowning struggle of his political career.

**Defeat of
the
Second
Home
Rule Bill**

In the following year the veteran statesman, in the face of strong opposition and extreme bitterness, introduced a second Home Rule Bill. It differed from the first in that Irish representatives were not to be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster. Their absence from there, it had been argued, would mean virtual separation. The bill passed the Commons by thirty-four votes, but it was defeated by the Lords. The ministry de-

cided not to appeal to the country, but to proceed with the rest of their program. Gladstone, however, believing that his political work was now done, resigned the leadership of the party into the hands of Lord Rosebery; and in 1898, at the age of eighty-eight, he died.

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Thus passed away a noble figure of history. As a speaker Gladstone rivaled the greatest of all the orators who have swayed modern Parliaments. His rich and resonant voice was finely responsive to his feelings, and his power to sway the multitude was still further insured by the instant and constant interchange of sympathy between him and his audience. As a debater he has seldom been equaled, and no one ever excelled him in the art of explaining a policy. Then he had an unusual gift of practical administration. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he proved himself to be one of the greatest of financiers; and no one knew better than he all the intricacies and complexities of the various Land Acts relating to Ireland. Another characteristic was courage. He did not know what it is to fear a foreign country, the anger of a mob, the opposition in Parliament, or the displeasure of recalcitrant colleagues. A fourth signal quality was his profound social faith, the faith with which he espoused and pursued great causes. He was not a great scholar, nor a great thinker. He lacked an open mind for the momentous disclosures of science. But ardor for liberty, and faith in social progress, were a part of the very fiber of his being, and to them he devoted himself with powers such as few political leaders have rivaled and still fewer have surpassed.

Char-
acteristics
of
Gladstone

The further extension of the suffrage, the continued improvement of economic and social conditions, and the increase and partial secularization of education arrested the attention of men and contributed to a serious and deep interest in the affairs of life. They contributed to a better understanding of the life of the time and a desire for its further improvement. Inevitably this knowledge and desire found expression in literature, for expression is the habit of civilized life. In 1843 John Ruskin (1819-1900) began his literary career with the first volume of *Modern Painters*. In extraordinarily beautiful and impassioned prose he interpreted the landscape painting of his own country and the early art of the Renaissance in Italy. Other volumes of the work appeared from time to time, his influence as a writer upon architecture, sculpture, and painting continually increased, and perhaps no other writer of the century succeeded in kindling in so many readers a genuine enthusiasm for art. "All great art," he declared, "is adoration," and has for its ultimate purpose the uplifting of human life.

Ruskin
as a
Critic of
Painting

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Social
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phlets and
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Aims of
Matthew
Arnold

When he mingled with working men in London, saw the ugliness of modern life, and realized the unjust conditions of the workers, a wholly natural transition took place from criticism of the fine arts to criticism of the prevailing conditions of life.

With the publication of *Unto This Last*, in 1862, Ruskin began definitely to resent the ugliness of his land, its crowded and dreary towns, which in his mind contrasted painfully with the pathetic remains of beauty bequeathed by an age long since departed, and to denounce the economic theories that had permitted such a state of affairs to come about. The question of social reform took possession of him and absorbed his time and thought. He poured forth his ideas in a large number of small books and serial pamphlets. Again in *Munera Pulveris* he protested against a merely mechanical and utilitarian civilization. *Sesame and Lilies*, perhaps the most popular of all his social writings, is filled with an exalted humanitarian and spiritual aspiration. Then came *The Crown of Wild Olive*, one of his most energetic and penetrating utterances; and in a series of twenty-five letters addressed to a workman and gathered in a book called *Time and Tide* he gave a summary of his economic and social program. *Fors Clavigera* explains his ideals of life with noble humanitarian passion; and *Præterita*, a disconnected autobiography, deserves a place side by side with the most famous confessions in literature.

In his refusal to take things upon authority, in his demand for definite and satisfactory proof of their authenticity or reasonableness, Matthew Arnold (1825-1888) was more modern than any of his literary contemporaries. He was specially concerned with promoting the humanities, as distinguished from the merely utilitarian studies. He strove to make education concerned not only with developing the material resources of the country, but also with making the people aware of the larger issues of life. His literary work was done in whatsoever intervals of leisure could be spared from his activity as a government school inspector, and nearly all his poetry was written in his earlier years. The slender volume of *The Strayed Reveller* reveals almost all the qualities that were to characterize his later verse. It has nobility of temper, dignity and grace, refined appreciation of natural beauty, clearness of statement, and melancholy born of the spiritual unrest of the age. His verse sometimes lacks passion, but it is always penetrated with the deepest thought of the time. The most beautiful of all modern elegies is *Thyrsis*, a lament for his friend Arthur Hugh Clough, in which the tones of personal sorrow merge in the sadness of a disillusioned world. But it is not in his narrative or his elegiac poems, but in certain lyrics,

that we shall find his most characteristic mood and thought, and learn the relation in which he stood to the period in which he lived. Truth stirred his imagination. He was quick to perceive the erosive effect of contemporary scientific discoveries upon traditional beliefs. That, however, did not trouble him. It was the fact that in the larger knowledge of the day he failed to find a satisfactory basis for the spiritual aspiration of his heart. He found himself

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

Yet though he could find no warrant in Rationalism for a belief in human immortality he was firmly convinced of the abiding value and necessity of right and generous conduct. It was the stoical philosophy of an earlier day, mellowed by the altruism of a more humane society.

With the two series of *Essays in Criticism*, one published in 1865 and the other in 1888, Matthew Arnold revealed to literary criticism a wider horizon. Its task was now to be "a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world"; and never has this been done with more charm and more distinction. He was not content to praise only his own land and literature. He looked abroad to France, Germany, and Italy. The essays on Heine, Spinoza, and Marcus Aurelius, written with easy grace in limpid prose for ordinary men and women, were read with pleasure and the sense of a widening world. In almost all these essays he dealt with ideas as exemplified or illustrated in some notable personality. Thus he led the way to sympathy with fresh and varied themes, and persuaded many a man to think in a fruitful way for himself.

In *Culture and Anarchy*, published in 1869, Matthew Arnold turned to the larger problems of society. He began a more definite stage of his warfare against "Philistinism." It is a word he made famous. What did he mean by it? "On the side of beauty and taste," he said, Philistinism is "vulgarity; on the side of morality and feeling, coarseness; and on the side of mind and spirit, unintelligence." He set himself definitely to attack it in literature, politics, and religion. It was the middle class upon whom fell the full force of this assault. They cared only for business, only for developing the material resources of their land and increasing their own personal possessions. They understood and valued only the mechanical and external element in modern civilization. What remedy did he advocate? Culture. That was his chief recommendation for the shortcomings of society. Cul-

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First
Books in
Prose of
Matthew
Arnold

Arnold as
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ture he defined as "a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which most concern us, the best which has been known and thought in the world; and, through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we now follow stanchly but mechanically, vainly imagining there is virtue in following them stanchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically." He believed that in this way the people of a modern democracy would become imbued with noble ideals of life; and he knew that it is sheer credulity to believe that democracy can be served, or any of its aims achieved, by men whose ideals are themselves a denial of democracy.

Arnold
and
Theology

With the publication of *Paul and Protestantism* in 1870 Matthew Arnold turned his attention to religious questions of the day. They seemed to call imperatively for a free and frank discussion. New scientific knowledge, and more accurate thought, had produced widespread skepticism as to the miraculous element in the *Bible*. Many men had discarded that book altogether. Many were growing up in ignorance of the beautiful and inspiring elements it contains. In *Literature and Dogma* he tried to restore that book to the mass of his countrymen, to convince them that its educational and moral power does not depend upon the miracles it records, or upon the dogmas that have been deduced from it, but upon its literary quality and the inspiration it has given to upright and generous conduct. His point of view, though still disputed by many, constantly wins an increasing number of supporters. In other books he continued to explain the essence of religion divested of dogma and stripped of its obscuring traditionary sanctions. When he had thus separated the grain from the chaff, he pointed out the beauty of religion, its usefulness in the daily life of men. Everywhere, in all his writings, his aim was distinctly social. He never ceased to urge the need of deep and wide reform.

Main
Purpose
of
William
Morris

The career of William Morris (1834-1896) was characterized by unusual and tireless energy. He read classical and medieval literature and the writings of Tennyson and Ruskin, studied art and architecture, and visited the churches and cathedrals of his native land and of the continent. He became a house and church decorator. His art was a protest against the commercial and conventional conceptions and standards of life and art then prevailing. He strove to bring about a revival of the medieval spirit in design, to return to sincerity, to use only good materials, to employ only sound workmanship, to design rich and imaginative surface decoration, and to rely upon simple constructive

forms. His refined taste, wide knowledge, poetic imagination, and tireless industry found vent in printing books, and in making furniture, tapestries, carpets, and stained glass. He did much to create a popular demand for beauty in the daily life of the world. The need for beauty to work its influence upon the soul of man was the center of all his thought.

It was impossible for William Morris to work as a craftsman without coming to know craftsmen and the conditions of their lives. He was led to believe that the system of production for profit, however inevitable it may be as a stage in economic and social evolution, is detrimental to the true development of art and deleterious in its effect upon those who engage in it. The two tides of passion for beauty and sympathy with humanity met and flowed into one. He took up the cause of socialism. The most important of his writings which this new phase of his life called forth is *A Dream of John Ball*, a book of noble devotion and singular beauty. Again in *News from Nowhere* he described an England in which the principles of socialism had been fulfilled. He did not come to these conclusions by way of economic and social theory. They were forced upon him by his passion for beauty and the love of his fellow-men.

In the poetry of William Morris we see the same desire to escape from the material tendencies of his own day that we saw in his prose. He retold once more the ancient story of the adventure of the fleece of gold; he wrote tales of an imaginary earthly paradise that are curiously like the pictures of medieval tapestry; and he retold some of the noble sagas of the north. But he was not content to live wholly in the past, or in a realm of imagination. Having dreamed of a better and more beautiful world, he tried to make his dream come true. In many a lyric and marching song he pictured a future, flushed with the glory of the past, in which men and women, freed by their own effort from the evils that now beset them, live a life of creative labor, in a spirit of love, amid surroundings of beauty.

Walter Pater (1839-1894) devoted his delicate and subtle appreciation of beauty to the enrichment and refinement of aristocratic individual life. His *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, a collection of essays on certain of the humanists and artists of that period, won for him a small but influential body of admirers; and his *Marius the Epicurean* was hailed by a distinguished set of disciples as a gospel. In this second book, lyrical and subjective, he revealed his ideal of an esthetic life. Pater sought always those periods and persons in whom he could see something of himself; and so his studies are more or less a

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Morris's
Books on
Social
Condi-
tions

Poems of
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Thought
and
Style of
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**Huxley as
an
Opponent
of Un-
question-
ing
Belief**

projection of his own personality, whether they deal with Plato or Botticelli or Pico della Mirandola. At the time of his death he exercised a remarkable influence upon a restricted number of persons who were fitted by temperament and training to understand and approve his theory of a refined Hedonism that seemed gradually to be feeling its way towards Pantheism.

After his biological and medical studies Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) was appointed as surgeon to a governmental ship sent to do surveying work off the north coast of Australia. There he gathered a remarkable harvest from the almost untouched field of the teeming life of the tropical seas; and the articles in which he gave to the world his generalizations from that study won for him a leading place in biological science. His method was no less important, in the general education of the public, than his matter. He declined to take things upon authority. He questioned every premise. The choice between reason and authority, he declared, is offered to everyone at the attainment of intellectual maturity. The choice of authority disqualifies the one who makes it for the service of science. He taught his students to observe, to experiment, and then to draw their own conclusions.

**Huxley
as a
Defender
of Evolution
and
a Pro-
moter of
Intellec-
tual
Honesty**

It required great courage at this time to defend the theory of evolution. Yet when the Bishop of Oxford attempted to ridicule the theory and its author, Huxley, who spoke from the same platform, hesitated not a moment to rebuke him. More and more as time went on he explained and defended the theory, with voice and pen, in a vivid and trenchant manner and with great lucidity. He never avoided these encounters, though he never sought them. From 1880 to the close of his life he was almost continuously engaged in controversy with upholders of traditional beliefs. He was charged with being a materialist, but he declared himself an "agnostic." With regard to things for which he thought there was thus far only inadequate proof, he said that he was not prepared to speak, that he did not know. He pointed out that "the doctrine of evolution does not come into conflict with theism." It does not attempt to account for the origin of life. It tries only to explain the development of life. Huxley had no final theory of the universe. He held that the known is merely a little circle bounded by the unknown; and in the region that lies beyond experience he asserted nothing. Yet though he refused to subscribe to the conventional creeds, and did not hesitate vigorously to attack the biblical miracles, he was in spirit deeply religious. He had learned from *Sartor Resartus* that "a deep sense of religion is compatible with an entire absence of theology." Adherence to fact was the base of his philosophy. The one road to

the improvement of life, he was profoundly convinced, is veracity of thought and action.

Inseparably associated with Huxley in explaining and defending the theory of evolution is John Tyndall (1820-1893), who as a lecturer was famed for his power of lucid exposition, and for the charm and animation of his style; and who as a writer did more, perhaps, than any other person of the time in diffusing the new scientific knowledge. He tried, by using non-technical language, to make known to as many people as possible the dominant scientific ideas of the century. He did not play as prominent a part as Huxley in the warfare between science and theology, but whenever he became involved in a controversy he was quite as outspoken as his colleague. He abated nothing of the claim of science to discuss, freely and fully in all its bearings, everything that lies within the field of human knowledge.

More inclusive than that of any other thinker of the time is the thought of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), who, in his *Synthetic Philosophy*, strove to apply the law of evolution to the entire universe, to describe it as a cosmical process. For many years the progress of human thought had been gradually leading up to the point where, apparently almost of necessity, the next forward step would arrive at an explanation of the universe in terms of a single persistent force. That step was taken by Spencer. He gathered together the scattered evolutionary theories of different thinkers and raised a monumental structure which reveals evolution as a cosmical process, from nebula to man, from atom to society. Thus he placed philosophy upon a new foundation. He believed that all questions that reach into infinity are, to the finite mind, insoluble; but he also held that we are compelled to recognize behind the cognizable phenomena of the universe an inscrutable power which he called the unknowable. Spencer's attempt to construct an all-embracing philosophy upon the basis of evolution was very welcome to most of the upholders of that theory. The time for a synthesis of scientific knowledge, however, had not yet arrived. It was the beginning, not the end, of an important period of scientific discovery. Yet, however defective it may be, his heroic effort was very useful as a source of suggestion, and it exerted no slight influence upon the culture of the age.

Among the more recent of the English historians none was a more complete master of his profession than William Stubbs (1825-1901), who is most widely known by his *Constitutional History of England*. It gave a new direction to the study of English medieval history, for it sent students, more than ever before, to the study of original documents. But that book, notable

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as a
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New
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as it is as a masterpiece of learning and insight, represents only one phase of its author's activity as a historian. As a discoverer of materials, an editor of texts, an interpreter of individuals, institutions, and historical periods, he was equally a master. His *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* is a model of its kind and is prefixed by an introduction packed with illuminating information. Seldom has he been surpassed as the writer of such monographs as the prefaces to several of the volumes he edited for the Rolls Series. Many of his conclusions regarding the history of England before the Norman Conquest have been proved faulty by more recent research, but his thorough-going method of investigation, his calm judgment of evidence, and his strong grasp of the whole problem still exercise a powerful influence for good.

Edward
Freeman

By insisting upon the essential unity of history, upon its being the continuous biography of man, and by teaching the importance and the proper use of the original sources, Edward Freeman (1823-1892) also did much to promote the improvement of the study of history in England. His life was one of unceasing literary activity. He wrote many books and articles for newspapers and periodicals, but his work in stimulating and guiding the studies of others was probably more important than his own writings. His own work was confined to the history of Greece, of Rome, and of the Germanic peoples to the close of the Middle Ages. The great length of his *Norman Conquest* and his *William Rufus*, overloaded as they are with detail, will always make against their becoming popular, but many of his essays may be read with pleasure as well as profit by the general public. Few writers have insisted so ably and so often as he upon the nature of historical evidence. "The kernel of all sound teaching in historical matters," he declared, "is the doctrine that no historical study is of any value that does not take in a knowledge of original authorities." His weakness lies in ignoring everything done in modern times by the Latin peoples, his too exclusive attention to the political side of the life of the peoples whose story he tells, and his exalted opinion of the early English folk and therefore his false perspective of the Norman Conquest.

James
Anthony
Froude

Very different in spirit and method is the work of James Anthony Froude (1818-1894), a great literary artist whose *History of England*, which deals with only a part of the Tudor period, will long be read, as will his briefer works, for the interest of his point of view, his quick insight into certain phases of faith and shades of character, his clear and vivid style, and his graphic power of narration. He wrote with a purpose. In all his works

one finds a strong anti-clerical feeling. He strove always to strip priests, of whatever religious group, of all pretensions to sacramental power, to clear away everything that stands between man and the ultimate force from which his life has come, and to hold up to his fellow-men the ideal of a life of good works and plain everyday morality. This was his avowed design. His work is frequently impaired by incorrect statement and by prejudice. The contemporary tendency to make of history a science did not meet with his approval. He contended that, inasmuch as its function is merely to record human actions, it should, as far as possible, be conceived as a drama. He went to original sources for his information. In the repositories of manuscripts in his own land, and in those of continental countries, especially in the rich Spanish archives at Simancas, he searched for documents relating to the studies in which he was engaged; and, though he has been subjected to relentless criticism for carelessness and even for unscrupulousness in his use of those sources, his errors, though numerous enough, are slighter than his critics would have us believe.

To his fine natural endowments, a retentive memory, taste, energy, eloquence, and a judicial temperament, William Edward Lecky (1838-1903) brought to the writing of history other qualities he had gradually acquired. Patience, industry, truthfulness, self-restraint, lucidity, and penetration were all his. The first of his books that attracted anything like general attention is *The Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, which, published in 1865, revealed him as distinctly the enlightened man. Similar in its plan and purpose is the *History of European Morals*. Both these books are full of deep interest for all who care for the movement of human thought. As we read them we are conscious of intellectual expansion, our interests are widened, and our sympathies quickened. A more voluminous work is his history of *England during the Eighteenth Century*, in which his object was "to disengage from the great mass of facts those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation, or which indicate some of the more enduring features of national life." The eighteenth century was a period well suited to the author's genius. Its enthusiasms were simple and orderly, and its distinctions clear and sharp. In lucid manner, and impartially, he traces the growth of political ideas and the beginning of parties, and tries always not only to organize and describe but also to explain. His *Democracy and Liberty* shows that in political thought he was almost as conservative as in the fields of morals and religion he was progressive. Finally in *The Map of Life* he gave to the

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Writings
of W. E.
H. Lecky

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Richard
Green

world his maturest meditations and most profound convictions. It is an informal philosophy of life, a plea for the practice of enlightened prudence. Everywhere in the books of this singularly clear and explicit mind one finds sanity, lucidity, and system; and always there is the sense of a lifted horizon.

The famous *Short History of the English People*, which first appeared in 1874, insures to John Richard Green (1837-1883) the gratitude of all who since have studied the history of England. It is a democratic history, written from a liberal point of view, imbued with an anti-clerical feeling, concerned with economic and social matters, as well as with political affairs, and made attractive by imaginative insight, by a true poetic sense of the past, and by a picturesque style. Green, as a priest of the Anglican Church, spent what he declared to be the best ten years of his life fighting the battle of civilization and religion amid the teeming multitudes of the East End of London. His advancing liberalism made impossible for him the ranks of orthodoxy; and upon the opportune plea of ill health he withdrew from the priesthood and devoted himself to history. His warmth of heart and his interest in his fellow-men, together with his fervent imagination, enabled him to write the history of his country that is so widely known and so well loved in all English-speaking lands. He was the first to see the life of the people in these terms; his love of liberty caused him to see all history in the same light; and while his well known work still stands as a masterpiece it need not mislead the reader by its warmth and exaggeration.

Historian
of the
Renaissance

John Addington Symonds (1840-1893) has been described as "the best of talkers, singing the praises of the earth and the arts, flowers and jewels, wine and music, in a moonlight, serenading manner, as to the light guitar." From this description we may learn something of the characteristics of this interesting essayist and historian. He was stricken with tuberculosis, and, with the exception of brief intervals, he had to live for many years at Davos in the Alps. There he wrote most of his books. The first of the famous seven volumes of his *Renaissance in Italy* appeared in 1875, and the last eleven years later. Little is said in any of them about the science of that great period of transition, but its literature and its art are described and interpreted with sympathetic appreciation, with marked intellectual power, and an unusually ornate and eloquent style. His translation of the *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, and his interesting preface, throw light not only upon that audacious bravo and clever artist, but also upon the life of the time in the artistic and aristocratic circles of Italy. Two volumes of *Sketches* are filled with charming remi-

niscences of lovely scenes in Greece and Italy, and sound the note of haunting melancholy that is never silent in any of his poetry or his prose. In the biography of *Michelangelo* we have a subtle interpretation of the great artist by one who was very close to him in spiritual kinship. Symonds had a deep passion for poetry and for Italy, and so it was a kindly fate that decreed he should die at Rome and be buried close to the heart of Shelley.

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In 1885 Mandell Creighton (1843-1901) began his work as a professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge, but his career as teacher and writer of history was cut short by his translation to the episcopacy of the Anglican Church. His principal work is the *History of the Papacy*, which deals with that mighty ecclesiastical monarchy from the Great Schism to the close of the Council of Trent, and displays his quick intelligence, liberal views, and power to divine the true causes of events. His *Age of Elizabeth*, a charming survey of the period, is the most popular of his books.

Historian
of the
Papacy

Last of the historians needing mention is Frederic William Maitland (1850-1906) who turned from the practice of law to that of teaching and writing the history of law. For the Selden Society, established in 1887 for promoting the study of the history of law, he edited several volumes, such as *Selections from Manorial Rolls of the Thirteenth Century*, the introduction to which put the history of the manorial courts in a new light. In finding, editing, and publishing such documents he was assembling the material with which was to be composed his *History of English Law before the time of Edward I.* This admirable work, which virtually reshaped our knowledge of English law as it was in the medieval period, was written in conjunction with Sir Frederic Pollock, but it was substantially carried out by Maitland. *Domesday Book and Beyond* is a notable contribution to the study of the origins and foundations of English society. It deals with sharply disputed questions with the patient industry, wide learning, keen insight, judicial temper, sparkling humor, and gift of brilliant exposition that characterize all his writings.

Maitland

In 1856 George Meredith (1828-1909), a masterly but eccentric writer, published his first novel, *The Shaving of Shagpat*. It is a gorgeous and fantastic arabesque of humor and romance. Three years later *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* revealed more definitely his "criticism of life." It is the story of an opinionated father who prescribed for his son a system of education that took no account of the natural appetites and passions of men. Faith in nature is the first article of Meredith's creed; and next to that is his belief in the validity and power of human thought. Instinctive feeling, guided by intelligence and animated by genuine passion,

George
Meredith's
Novels

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will lead men to their highest destinies. Among his other novels are *Evan Harrington*, a fine comedy, *Sandra Belloni* and *Vittoria*, two novels that deal with Italy's struggle for independence and unity, *Beauchamp's Career*, in which are many alluring French vistas, and then, what is perhaps his most characteristic work in prose, *The Egoist*. In all his novels and poems he gave voice to his belief that in the beating of nature's heart one may detect the spiritual pulse of the universe; and he pleaded for a return from materialism and selfishness to spirit through nature. He was lacking in art as a story-teller, and his style is often trying, but he will live as one who intimately revealed the deepest thought of an age of transition.

Thomas
Hardy's
Philosophy

More somber is the genius of Thomas Hardy. In his novels and poems he has chosen to remain local, to be the interpreter to the present and to the future of a rich and lovely province scarcely touched by the chief features of the modern industrial régime, the region which he calls "Wessex." But there he contemplates the vast aspect of the universe; and the men and women of his stories, peasants of the heath and the woodland, of the furrow and the fold, lead lives greater, nobler, more tragic, more fraught with great issues, than many who live in the populous towns. What is his thought? He believes that, as far as we can determine, it is a material universe, a universe in which things happen mechanically, in which all is blind chance. Nowhere else, perhaps, has he stated this conclusion more plainly and more powerfully than in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, the book by which he is most widely known. Chance, accident, blind fate,—that is his continual theme. Men are the playthings of the gods, mere "thistle-globes in heaven's high gales."

Robert
Louis
Stevenson

Far more general was the appeal of Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), an essayist and novelist filled with the spirit of romance. When he described things he had seen on his travels the result was enchanting. But when he attempted to breathe life into men and women, to reveal and interpret their passions and joys and sorrows, we feel, at least in his earlier works, a lack of insight and inspiration. He was more of a stage-manager than a creator of men and women. When we compare him with the great novelists we find him to be somewhat light and thin, less rich in human experience, in personal contact with life, than any of the acknowledged masters. Yet he became a popular novelist, and with his versatility and charm, and his devotion to the romantic ideal, he set back the flow of the tide that had been running in the direction of realism.

We left Tennyson enjoying a popularity so wide as to be un-

equaled in the entire history of English poetry. *Lucretius*, one of the noblest monograms in blank verse, showed his poetic power to be undiminished. Then he turned to the drama, but all his seven plays, with the exception of *Becket*, are more fitted for the study than the stage. *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After* contains many of those matchless songs that are his real gift, but the confident optimism of *Locksley Hall* as to social progress had given place to distrust and dread. Tennyson was always in sympathy with the ruling class of his country. He was fundamentally conservative. Once or twice, especially in *Maud*, he ventured to denounce social injustice and to plead for a larger degree of democracy, but as the years crept upon him he grew more and more complacent with the existing state of affairs. In religious thought, however, he was bolder. Without hesitancy he accepted the scientific discoveries of his day. Yet he did not swing from orthodoxy to materialism. He retained his faith in a creative spiritual power, from which all life has come, and in personal immortality.

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Tenny-
son's
Later
Poems

A turning point in Robert Browning's literary career was reached in 1869 with the publication of *The Ring and the Book*. This poem of epic length was inspired by a book, yellow with age, which he found one day while wandering among the little shops and booths in the Piazza di San Lorenzo, Florence. It was an account of a murder and trial that had taken place at the end of the seventeenth century in Rome. In each of the twelve books of the poem the story is told by a different person, by the husband, the wife, the priest, or by someone else who was involved in the drama; and, of course, each account is given from a different point of view. The poem shows great intellectual power and deep interest in psychological analysis, but as a work of art it is not a triumphant success. Browning's other books are very various in character, but all of them display an increasing engrossment in psychology, or a more insistent expression of their author's views of human life and destiny. The human intellect, he believed, is inadequate to answer the far-reaching questions of life. Faith reaches beyond the line where knowledge fails, and so it may furnish us with an objective basis for morality and religion. In *Rabbi ben Ezra*, perhaps, we find the best expression of his thought about life. Browning had little to say about the political and social questions of his time, but always there is present in his work a spiritual view of life which, if it became widely prevalent, would act as a solvent of the materialism of the modern world.

Brown-
ing's Later
Poems

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) won the ear of a wide public in 1844 with her *Poems* while as yet the poet who was to

Elizabeth
Barrett
Browning

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be her husband was little known. After their marriage they went to live in Italy, mainly at Florence in the Casa Guidi. Mrs. Browning's emotional temperament found its best expression in such pieces as *The Rhyme of the Duchess May*, in those called forth by her quick sympathy with human suffering, such as *The Cry of the Children*, and in those born of her passionate attachment to the cause of Italian freedom and unity. She lived in the days of great causes, of great awakenings, in the days of the struggles for national freedom on the continent and for social justice in England.

Dante
Gabriel
Rossetti

Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) was the son of a poet and liberal who, after many hardships and narrow escapes endured in the cause of liberty, settled in London and there married the daughter of another Italian exile. He never visited his ancestral land, but he learned its language and became steeped in the spirit of its painting and its poetry. He was himself both a poet and a painter, but it is only as the former that we can here take notice of him. He became interested in the poets who preceded and accompanied Dante. Italy in those days was filled with mystics, and it is largely as a mystic that we must consider Rossetti. To him all nature was a veil behind which dwells the eternal spirit and through which that spirit expresses itself. With him the love of the body and the love of the soul are but two complementary aspects of the same ideal passion. He desired the spirit through his desire of the body, and as time went on he became unable to distinguish the one desire from the other. His poetry is not that of the common light of day. It is that of a land of moonlight, and filled with the heavy perfume of musk and incense.

Christina
Rossetti

Concentrated and cloistral are the poems of Christina Rossetti (1830-1894), the nun of English literature. At first, with the fantastic *Goblin Market*, she tried to revive the literature of a forgotten past, but afterwards she confined her poetry more and more to religious moods and themes. Renunciation of earthly interests, despite her delicate appreciation of physical beauty, was the central fact of her life, and the chief inspiration of her poetry. The pathos of her melancholy reverie is, indeed, strangely intensified by her appreciation of earthly beauty and pleasure.

Swinburne

The early dramas of Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) received only slight attention; but his brilliant lyrical tragedy of *Atalanta in Calydon*, published in 1865, rich in imagery, in melody, and in the power of its diction, commanded a large audience. Then with his *Poems and Ballads*, in which the revolutionary character of his muse, and the original and orchestral

nature of his musical endowment, became plainly evident, he exerted an attraction that widened into something like the vogue enjoyed by Byron. Some half-dozen of the poems are touched with morbid sensualism. They were at once singled out for exploitation by sensational critics. But they are the least characteristic of all the writings of this poet who exalts spirit above sense and transports his readers to the uplands of thought. The wave-like flow of his lines, their inebriating sweetness, their vivid imagination, their intense passion, and not least their bold rationalistic thought will always appeal to lovers of poetry. In his later poems we find the two master passions of his life, love of the sea and love of liberty. The full inspiration of the passion for liberty came from Italy. In *Songs before Sunrise* he gave voice to the impulse of an entire era in a torrent of love and scorn, a stream of exalted idealism, and with a varied and impetuous lyric power that only he has been able to command.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Prime Minister</i>
1866-1868.....	Conservative.....	Lord Derby (3).
1868	Conservative.....	Disraeli (1).
1868-1874.....	Liberal.....	Gladstone (1).
1874-1880.....	Conservative.....	Disraeli (2).
1880-1885.....	Liberal.....	Gladstone (2).
1885-1886.....	Conservative.....	Lord Salisbury (1).
1886	Liberal.....	Gladstone (3).
1886-1892.....	Conservative-Liberal Unionist.....	Lord Salisbury (2).
1892-1894.....	Liberal.....	Gladstone (4).

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

For the general history of this period see: R. H. Gretton's *Modern History of the English People*, the work of a journalist who aims to be impartial, who possesses sound judgment, and whose two volumes are readable to the last page. G. M. Trevelyan's *British History in the Nineteenth Century* is one of the most interesting and fairest books dealing with the period; its twenty-fifth chapter will be found especially helpful in studying the last two decades of the century. E. S. P. Haynes, *Decline of Liberty in England*. J. H. Rose, *Rise and Growth of Democracy in England*.

Important biographies are: Winston Churchill's *Lord Randolph Churchill*, a vivid and dignified biography, written from the Unionist point of view. A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir William Harcourt* is a fine portrait of an important political leader and an interesting and enlightening record of the political life of his time. J. A. Hobson, *John Ruskin: Social Reformer*. Leonard Huxley (editor), *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*. John Morley's *Life of Gladstone* is one of the outstanding biographies in English. R. B. O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*. Lord Rosebery's *Lord Randolph Churchill* is well written and

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full of interest. W. H. R. Stephens, *Life and Letters of Edward Freeman*. Leslie Stephen, *Letters of John Richard Green*. A. L. Thorold's *Life of Henry Labouchere* is the biography of a man who sat in the Commons for twenty-five years and who touched life at many points. J. A. Spender, *Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*. H. D. Traill, *Marquis of Salisbury*.

The development of the constitution and governmental institutions may be studied in: A. V. Dicey's *Law and Public Opinion*; and in A. L. Lowell's *Government of England*, the most complete and scholarly book on the subject.

For Home Rule and affairs in Ireland see: Arthur J. Balfour's *Aspects of Home Rule*, a selection of speeches written by an opponent of that policy. Ellis Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*. Erskine Childers, *The Framework of Home Rule*. Robert Dunlop's *Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, one of the best and most recent histories of that troubled land. Lord Eversley, *Gladstone and Ireland*. Francis Hackett, *Story of the Irish Nation*. E. J. Riordan, *Modern Irish Trade and Industry*. E. R. Turner, *Ireland and England; in the Past and at Present*.

Religious history is treated in F. W. Cornish's *History of the English Church*, which is the last volume in a series that forms the best survey of the subject.

For the historians, essayists, novelists, and poets see: Oliver Elton, *Survey of English Literature; 1780-1880*. George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. F. W. Roe, *Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin*.

CHAPTER XXVII

PROGRESS IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM

(1893-1914)

WHEN Gladstone retired from office in 1894 he was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, a many-sided and somewhat elusive character, who fulfilled only imperfectly the hopes of his followers. The new Prime Minister had thus far been a consistent adherent of his party, though he was not a convinced supporter of Home Rule. An admirer of Disraeli's novels, particularly of *Sybil*, and much influenced by the writings of Sir John Seeley, he was a moderate Imperialist, and as such he was opposed by the Radicals. Being a member of the Lords he could not sit in the House of Commons. The leadership of the party in the Lower House developed upon Sir William Harcourt (1827-1904) whose ideas of Liberalism were not in harmony with those of the Prime Minister, and whose ambition for leadership helped to increase the dissensions and divisions in the party.

Lord Rosebery realized that before Home Rule could be offered to Ireland it was necessary to convince a majority of the voters in Great Britain of the expediency of the measure, and also to change the make-up of the House of Lords or destroy its power to veto any measure clearly demanded by a majority of the Commons. The curtailment of the veto power of the Upper Chamber was an item in the program of the "new radicalism" that was destined to grow rapidly in power now that the Radicals were no longer subject to the restraining influence of Gladstone. The question was not so much the relative merits of unicameral and bicameral parliaments, as the fitness as a second chamber of the existing House of Lords. It was generally conceded that the hereditary principle ought to be abolished, but as to what should take its place there was the widest disagreement. The increasing power of the Radicals in the Liberal party was demonstrated in the budget of 1894 that put an end to some of the privileges which owners of real estate and life tenants of settled property had enjoyed, and which introduced the principle of graduation in the income tax. The new leader, however, soon disclosed his inca-

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Rose-
bery and
Sir Wil-
liam
Harcourt

Proposals
of the
Liberals

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capacity to hold together the discordant elements of which his party was composed. He was not progressive and aggressive enough to suit the Radicals, and his apparent disposition to relegate Home Rule to the rear was naturally displeasing to the Irish. When Parliament was opened in 1895 no mention was made of Home Rule; but it was proposed to disestablish the Anglican Church in Wales, to bring about a more effective control of the liquor traffic, to abolish plural voting, to provide for the payment by the State of the expenses of elections, and to arrange some mode of reinstating evicted tenants in Ireland. What was the system of plural voting to which so many objections were raised? At that time if a man possessed the amount of property required for voting in each of any number of electoral districts he had the right to vote in each of those districts. Whether he was able actually to vote in all the districts in which he had the right to cast a ballot depended upon certain circumstances, such as the distance of the districts from each other, the facilities for traveling from one district to another, and whether the elections in those districts were held on the same day or not.

Defeat
of the
Liberals

Several of these proposals, it was quite evident, would at once arouse the opposition of powerful interests. The liquor interest and the Church of England, which saw behind the proposal to disestablish its sister institution in Wales a movement looking to the cessation of its own support by government taxation, immediately ranged themselves against the Liberals. In June, of the same year, the government was unexpectedly defeated by a vote in the Commons upon a minor matter connected with the supply of ammunition for the army and it therefore resigned. Lord Salisbury then, for the third time, became Prime Minister. Parliament was dissolved, the Unionists obtained a majority of one hundred and fifty-two in the elections, and, with a few changes in the Cabinet, the new government remained in power for ten years.

Salis-
bury's
Direction
of Foreign
Affairs

The new ministry assumed control of the government with a flourish of trumpets, especially about foreign affairs; yet almost immediately there occurred a humiliating fiasco relating to Armenia. Salisbury stood idly by while terrible massacres in that country were being perpetrated by the Turks. It was for his reluctance to act that he was characterized by Bismarck as "a wooden lath painted to look like iron." Yet in a critical moment his cautious and conservative temper served England well. In the latter part of 1895 a belligerent attitude was assumed by President Cleveland regarding the territorial claims of England in the dispute with Venezuela. Lord Salisbury, who also acted

as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, steered calmly through the storm, and eventually the dispute, in the settlement of which nearly all his country's claims were sustained, led to a better feeling between Great Britain and the United States than had existed since the American Revolution.

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In home affairs the Conservatives soon failed in two important undertakings. They introduced an Educational Bill that, had it passed, would have helped the sectarian schools and injured all the others; and they brought forward an Irish Land Bill which, had it become law, would have effected some improvements, but would at the same time have rendered possible, as it had once been in the past, the confiscation of improvements made by the tenants. Each bill was an attempt to enact class legislation. The first, which met with vigorous opposition and was therefore diplomatically withdrawn, was designed to meet the views of the bishops; and the second, which also was dropped, was intended to comply with the demands of the landlords. One of the reforms promised by the Conservatives in the election of 1895 was old age pensions. But a committee appointed to consider the subject found all the plans submitted to it to be impracticable, and furthermore declared that the principle upon which all such plans must inevitably rest is pernicious and incompatible with the existing constitution of society. This report aroused much resentment among the working people and their friends; and about the middle of 1899 the Trades Union Congress not only put itself on record as being in favor of old age pensions, but declared that no scheme of pensions would be acceptable to the country which disregarded "the inability of a large proportion of the industrious and deserving poor to make provision for the future." Clouds that boded no good to the party were beginning to appear on the horizon.

Internal
Policy of
the Con-
servatives

It was Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) who had been loudest in making campaign promises of old age pensions. That bold statesman, with so great a store of vivid and resolute energy, had made a name for himself as the leader of municipal development in Birmingham. At the outset of his public career that great industrial center was by no means in the vanguard of municipal progress. Gas and water were still private monopolies; and the central part of the town, with its narrow streets and squalid courts, was nothing less than a congeries of slums. All this he changed; and for a generation the city was the municipal model of the world. When the Conservatives won the election of 1895 he entered the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary. Never in any way had he been associated with colonies; whereas,

Joseph
Chamber-
lain
and the
Proposal
to Adopt
a Protec-
tive Tariff

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on the other hand, he had clearly identified himself with the work of social amelioration, with the relief of the poor, the old, and the suffering. He now paid less attention to the poor, though he remained faithful to the local interests of his home town and was largely influential in the establishment of its admirable municipal University, and announced that he looked upon the colonies as "undeveloped estates" that he purposed to improve. What was to be the first step in this undertaking? The world was not kept waiting long for an answer. In March, 1896, he made his first tentative but direct reference to the possibility of a commercial union of the Empire. Seven years later, with his vehement confidence both in the merit and eventual victory of the cause, he had succeeded in making "Tariff Reform" the chief item in the program of his party. In America when we speak of tariff reform we mean lowering tariff duties, or abolishing them; but in Great Britain, where almost complete free trade prevailed, the phrase was employed to mean imposing them. Chamberlain's proposal, in brief, was to levy tariff duties upon imports that would favor the colonies as opposed to foreign countries. "If by adherence to economic pedantry, to old shibboleths," he said, "we are to lose those opportunities of closer union which are offered us by our colonies, if we are to put aside occasions now within our grasp, if we do not take every chance in our power to keep British trade in British hands, I am certain that we shall deserve the disasters which will infallibly come upon us." It was inevitable that a sharp clash should come between the two leading parties upon the principle and the practice of protection when at last the war then going on in South Africa should be ended.

Balfour as
Prime
Minister

The Conservatives were again victorious in the election of 1900, though their majority was eighteen less than it had been five years previously. Lord Salisbury resigned his position in 1902 and died in the following year. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, who, ever since the Conservatives had returned to power in 1895, had been the leader of the party in the House of Commons. There was no question of the grace and magnanimity of the new Prime Minister's manner; but it seemed doubtful whether at this critical moment it would be best to confide the country's interests to one whose keen and skeptical mind was well known to be analytical rather than synthetic, and whose characteristic policy towards many of the grave problems of the time had hitherto been one of delay. Not everyone was inclined to believe that perhaps his hesitations may have been due to a power of seeing further into

the heart of questions than many of his followers and opponents.

The first important bill introduced in the Commons under Bal-four's leadership was the Education Bill of 1902, the passage of which, after an acute and prolonged debate, was undoubtedly a personal triumph. The bill, which aroused violent passions, was summoned into existence by the agitation carried on in the pre-ceding decade by adherents of the Anglican and Catholic Churches for equality of financial support out of the government funds as between sectarian and board schools. It did not seem expedient to demand that public money be given to private schools without making provision for some measure of public control of those schools. But how was such control to be established without endangering the special religious character of the de-nominational schools? It was a difficult question. And there were many who objected to giving any public money whatsoever to sectarian schools, even though such schools were in a degree put under the supervision of the government. Provision for such aid, however, was retained in the bill. A more important constructive feature of the bill was the abolition of the school boards and the confiding of the control of all elementary and secondary education to the county councils. The act was by no means perfect. It provided for the use of public money for denominational instruction, and it failed to put the State in com-plete control of elementary schools.

On January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died. A woman of average intellect, and very human in her weaknesses, her merit as a ruler consisted in the faithful performance of what she held to be her royal obligations. She had regained for the monarchy the respect of the nation not by what she did so much as by what she refrained from doing, and still more by what she was. She expressed her views to her advisers, sometimes in an emphatic manner, but she did not insist upon having her own way contrary to the opinion of the Cabinet. Throughout her reign, but especially in its last half, she expressed in a sincere manner the joys and sorrows of her people and became the symbol to the outside world of what is most powerful and lasting in their life.

Victoria was succeeded by her eldest son, already over sixty years of age, who assumed the name of Edward VII (1901-1910), and who seems to have played no small part in the do-mestic and international politics of his reign. More than once he interfered decisively in domestic politics; but it was in the sphere of foreign affairs, where through the gift of an engaging and sympathetic personality he won friends for his country,

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Education
Act of
1902

Death of
Victoria

Accession
of Edward
VII

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Agitation
for
"Tariff
Reform"

that he made his influence most immediately and permanently felt.

Meanwhile the issue of tariff duties had been forced to the front by the resolute will and persistent energy of their chief advocate. Joseph Chamberlain had wrecked one party upon the question of Home Rule for Ireland; he was now about to wreck another upon that of the abandonment of free trade. He had, first of all, to win a majority of the Conservatives over to his policy. For two years, with great tactical dexterity, a position of non-commitment was held by the Prime Minister; but eventually he was forced into something like a definite statement in favor of the scheme. One of the main arguments against preferential tariff duties in favor of the colonies was that to "prefer" the colonies is, in itself, to discriminate against other countries; and that the trade of the latter is worth more than that of the former could possibly be. Moreover to tax food and raw materials, either directly or indirectly, would greatly handicap English manufacturers competing in a world-market. In answer to the most plausible argument in favor of the plan, namely, that it would make possible a closer union between the mother country and her colonies, it was pointed out that there was at least as much reason for fearing that it would operate as an agency of discord and dissension and thus lead to perilous estrangement. Finally, its opponents declared it would bring into Parliament those malign forces, those selfish seekers of special interests, that have been brought into the legislature of every country committed to protection.

Hostility
of the
Working
Classes to
"Tariff
Reform"

That Chamberlain was making no progress with the working people was shown by a hostile resolution passed early in the autumn of 1904 by the Trades Union Congress to the effect that "protective duties, by increasing the cost of the people's necessities, are unjust in incidence and economically unsound, subsidizing capital at the expense of labor; and that a system of preference or retaliation, by creating cause for dispute with other countries, would be a hindrance to international peace and progress." For three years the by-elections continued to show the rapidly diminishing strength of the Conservatives; and all the signs pointed to a crushing defeat of the protectionist policy. Then late in 1905, while Parliament was in recess, the Prime Minister and his colleagues abruptly resigned.

Victory
of the
Liberals

Balfour was succeeded by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908), the head of the Liberal party; and at once preparations were begun for a general election. The new Prime Minister had earned the leadership of his party by his pluck and persis-

tence through the dark days of recent years rather than by any commanding qualities. He was sympathetic, genial, courteous, a man of intelligent plainness of thought, and, above all things else, a straightforward and direct politician. The Conservatives at once raised the boggy of the separation of Ireland from the Empire, should the Liberals win in the forthcoming election; but Campbell-Bannerman's explicit statement that granting Home Rule would never mean the independence of Ireland quietly put the separatist skeleton into the closet, and the general election was then fought on the immediate issue of protection and free trade. The election, as will be seen by the following table, resulted in a great victory for the Liberals and their allies, the Labor party, which had now become a powerful force in politics, and the party that championed the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. The defeat of the Conservatives was an utter rout. It

Liberals	379
Labor party	51
Irish Nationalists	83
Conservatives or Unionists	157

Total..... 670

was not one of those accidents from which a parliamentary group recovers in a few months. It marks a decisive development in the political evolution of the nation. For the first time since 1868 all the democratic forces were ranged under the Liberal banner. A new chapter in the history of the country was about to be opened.

The Liberals came into power supported by many ardent hopes, and pledged to an explicit program of reform. More and more, attracted by the promise of tariff duties that would serve to increase their profits, the manufacturers had joined the landed aristocracy in support of the Conservatives; and to that party the great distillers, brewers, and licensed sellers of liquor had come to look for defense against the attacks of temperance associations. Finally, it was to the Conservatives that the Established Church looked for the perpetuation of its special privileges. The Liberals, on the other hand, were free from any such powerful interests that might paralyze their reforming activity. They were far freer to continue the course of their social development. So outspoken and determined had become the new generation of parliamentary leaders in their desire to secure for the people a wider diffusion of physical comfort, and thus a higher level of national life, that it seems justifiable now to speak of a "New Liberalism." This new liberalism reiterated

Ideals and
Policies
of the
Liberal
Party

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the principle upon which all leaders of western thought, no matter how diverse their systems, have agreed, that it is the duty of every man to lead and help others to lead the best life possible as far as in him lies; and, since human society cannot have a different aim from that pursued by the majority of its members, it must aid them to live a life worth living. If such be the duty of society, it is equally the duty of the State, for the State is merely society organized for collective action. The new liberalism, then, assumed the duty of assuring to each citizen, as far as can be, the best possible chance of leading the best life. Thus do we see the working of the intellectual and social evolution which, under the influence of men like Carlyle and Ruskin, Maurice and Kingsley, Dickens and George Eliot, had detached the nation from the ideal of *laissez-faire* and had revealed to the eyes of men a new society.

**Proposed
Reform of
Education
and its
Defeat by
the House
of Lords**

The new ministry introduced a bill to redeem the elementary schools from sectarian control. Under the act of 1902 some twelve thousand schools, previously supported by private subscription, had been put upon the public funds. This led to wholesale refusal, principally on the part of non-conformists, to pay the school taxes. The new bill proposed to put an end to the subsidizing of sectarian schools. Wherever it seemed necessary or desirable, the buildings of any such school that were offered for sale were to be purchased by the government; no religious instruction was to be given in the course of the regular school hours; outside of those hours, however, it might be given in the schools, provided it were supported entirely by private funds; no school teacher was to be permitted to give any such instruction; and no religious test was to be applied in the selection of teachers. It was quite evident that should the bill be enacted into law it would greatly hasten the complete secularization of the schools. It was, therefore, assailed by all the special interests it seemed to threaten; and in order to lessen the opposition it was amended by authorizing sectarian teaching to be given in the schools at public expense when requested by four-fifths of the parents of the pupils. Thus amended, the bill passed the Commons by a large majority and went to the Lords, where a section of it was defeated. That hostile vote was the beginning of the struggle between the Liberals and the Lords. Ominous was the description of the Upper Chamber by David Lloyd George as "old iron that ought to be scrapped."

Then the Liberals turned their attention to land reform. The grievances were many. For a long time a steady depopulation of the rural districts had been going on; the small farmer was at a

disadvantage in the uncertainty of his tenure; there was bad housing; and there was unfair taxation. The last complaint was obviously well founded. A good deal of land, held simply to gratify the sporting tastes of its owners, was assessed only a few shillings an acre, while farm lands, directly adjoining, paid six or eight times as much in taxes. Agitation on the subject had sought to secure small holdings of land for laborers and farmers, to obtain a greater security of tenure for those who rent land, and especially to bring about a readjustment of the often grossly inequitable taxation of land. The Liberals brought forward a bill, known as the Agricultural Holdings Bill, that was reluctantly passed by the Lords. The act made a modest beginning of reforming the conditions that had given rise to complaint. It provided a way in which the government may acquire, either by amicable purchase or by expropriation, land suitable for small holdings; and the lands thus acquired are to be leased in lots of five to fifty acres for not less than fourteen years, with the privilege of renewal, and from the rent there are to be paid the interest and, eventually, the capital of the purchase price.

When we turn our attention in the next chapter to colonial affairs we shall see that a generous measure of self-government was granted to the two erstwhile republics in South Africa. More than to anyone else this wise act was due to Campbell-Bannerman. A Liberal government, with its diverse and ardent elements, is always more difficult to hold together than are the more homogeneous elements of a Conservative ministry. Campbell-Bannerman, however, succeeded in this trying task to an unusual degree. All his colleagues had confidence in him, and so when, in a meeting of the Cabinet, he appealed to them for "oblivion of the past, peace in the present, and hope for the future" the members voted unanimously to grant the most complete self-government compatible with inclusion in the Empire to the recently defeated countries in South Africa. The Prime Minister then began to get ready to deal in the same way with Ireland, when illness overtook him and he was obliged to resign the leadership of the party. He died in 1908, widely lamented as a leader who had always kept before himself a high and exacting ideal of public life and its responsibilities, an ideal into which there had entered no thought of self-advancement.

Herbert Asquith, who then became Prime Minister, was a man given to self-repression; and, in consequence of this, he never succeeded in winning the affections of his party in as large a degree as did his predecessor. But he proved to be a leader of greater personal ability. He was a man of clear and

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**Reform
of the
Conditions
of Acquir-
ing and
Holding
Land**

**Granting
of Self-
Govern-
ment to
the Boers
and Death
of Camp-
bell-Ban-
nerman**

**Herbert
Asquith**

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powerful mind, unrivaled in his gift of concise and lucid explanation, and was inspired by a warm and tolerant humanity. As Home Secretary under Gladstone he had proved himself to be an able administrator; and he had stretched all the powers and prerogatives of office in the cause of social reform. His party had long arrears to make up in its political and social program. The moment for the fulfilment of its promises had arrived. The supremacy of the party in the Commons was unquestioned. The new leader, therefore, at once took up the task of continuing to improve the welfare of the people.

**Old Age
Pensions**

Turning to the great humanitarian movements of the day the Liberals took up the matter of old-age pensions. The Labor party had made such a measure one of its cardinal demands. A bill was introduced in the Commons seeking to begin a slender and experimental plan that should not require contributions on the part of those who receive pensions. With a few slight amendments it passed both Houses and became law. The act provided that five shillings a week is to be given to all worthy poor whose income is not more than ten shillings a week, who have reached sixty-five years of age, and who do not belong to the delinquent, defective, or criminal classes. Smaller pensions were given to those with larger incomes.

**Defeat of
a Bill to
Regulate
the Sale
of Liquor**

The ministry then took up the liquor question. The law regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, which had been growing for a long time by change and accretion, was very complicated. There were differences between the main divisions of the islands, between the various kinds of liquor, between consumption of liquor on and off the premises on which it was sold, and between new licenses and old ones. The subject was made still further perplexing by a large body of case-made law. In April, 1908, the new government introduced a Licensing Bill in the Commons that aroused bitter and determined opposition on the part of the brewers and sellers and all others who had any financial interest in the liquor trade. The inhabitants of the islands were spending more than £160,000,000 a year on drink; and more than £300,000,000 was invested in the trade. Most of the public houses in which liquor was sold were owned by the brewing or distilling companies; and those companies were able, therefore, directly and powerfully to exert their influence in almost every village and town in the land. A large army of shareholders was interested in maintaining the existing licenses to sell liquor. They regarded a license not as an annual tenure, to be renewed only at the discretion of the authorities, but as a permanent privilege and possession. The two chief objects of the very intricate and

technical bill were to bring about an immediate and compulsory reduction of the number of licenses, and gradually to recover for the State the control of the liquor traffic with which it had injudiciously parted. On November 27 the Lords defeated the bill, only seven days after its passage in the Commons, and thus once more arrayed themselves against the representatives of the majority of the people.

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The Liberals also introduced in the Commons an educational bill seeking to establish more complete control of the sectarian elementary schools that received public money and to do away with religious tests for teachers. The bill passed the Commons, but when the intention of the Lords to defeat it became apparent the government withdrew it. In December, 1908, Asquith contrasted the attitude of the Lords, the great majority of whom were Conservatives, towards measures put forward by the Liberals with their attitude towards measures advocated by the Conservatives. The existing system, he pointed out, permitted the defeated party to decide, by means of the Upper House, what laws should be passed and what should be rejected. Fifteen years previously he had described the futile efforts of a Liberal ministry in the face of a hostile House of Lords as "plowing the sands."

Withdrawal of a Bill for Educational Reform

Quite naturally the question of the reform, or abolition, of the House of Lords was now agitated anew. It would not do, however, too hastily to challenge the Lords. General elections are expensive, and to precipitate one midway in the natural life of a Parliament without imperative need might prove disastrous. There was much, too, that the Liberals could accomplish despite the control of the Upper House by their opponents. Their budgets, so they believed, were safe from the meddling of the Lords, and in them could be incorporated a good deal of their social policy. Their foreign policy was progressing satisfactorily. They had strengthened friendships with several of the leading powers of the continent, and they had given self-government to the two erstwhile republics with which their country had recently been at war. To endanger all they might still accomplish in the remaining years of the existing Parliament by appealing to the country without a tangible grievance, one that could be appreciated by even an illiterate voter, would surely be impolitic. At last, however, the long impending struggle between the two Houses began.

Agitation for Reform of the House of Lords

On April 29, 1909, a remarkable budget, which at once aroused widespread and determined antagonism among the propertied classes, was presented to the Commons by the Chancellor of the

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Famous
Budget
in the
History
of the
Islands

Exchequer, David Lloyd George. "Owing to various causes, including the new provision which was made last year for old age, and an increase in the cost of my navy," the King had said in the speech with which the Parliament was opened, "the expenditure of the year will be considerably in excess of that of the past twelve months. In these circumstances the provision necessary for the services of the State in the ensuing year will require very serious consideration." It was, indeed, a grave situation. There was a widespread belief that the recent great increases in the German navy necessitated still greater additions to the naval power of Great Britain. And then, too, more money was required for carrying out some of the social reforms urgently needed for the welfare of the people. The Chancellor found himself under the necessity of obtaining more than £16,000,000 by additional taxation. The chief items of the budget, as revised in the course of its discussion in the Commons, for raising the additional amount of money required, were as follows:

Withdrawal from the debt reduction fund.....	£ 3,500,000
Increased duty on spirits.....	800,000
Increased duty on tobacco.....	1,900,000
Increase in the income taxes.....	3,200,000
Increase in the inheritance taxes.....	4,150,000
Increased price of liquor licenses.....	2,100,000
Four new taxes on land.....	600,000
Increased stamp duty.....	900,000
Total.....	<u>£17,150,000</u>

It was not difficult to see that by the increase of the price of liquor licenses much would be accomplished that had been intended by the Licensing Bill which in the preceding year had been rejected by the Lords. The Lords were, therefore, opposed to this item; but the provision that most aroused their animosity was the one seeking to tax the unearned increment of land.

The Tax
on the
Value of
Land

What is this tax that met with the uncompromising opposition of the peers? When the market value of land increases without effort or expenditure on the part of the owner, declared the Liberals, he should be made to compensate in some measure, through the medium of taxation, the society whose progress has brought him gain. In order to put into operation any thorough-going tax on the unearned increment of land it would be necessary to value, as if it were stripped of everything that had been done to it by human agency within some definite period of time, every separate plot of land in the islands. The budget contained provision for such a valuation; but, quite obviously, it was a

difficult task, and it would require a long time for anything like satisfactory accomplishment. The tax was therefore made very light. Yet it was the thin end of a wedge. This its opponents at once perceived. When a reliable valuation of the land of the country should have been made, the amount of the tax could be increased at the will of the majority of the voters. Taken all together the new taxes of the budget did not promise to be very burdensome in themselves, though of course others of them, as well as the one upon the unearned increment of land, might in the future be greatly extended. That is what the members of the wealthy classes feared. And quite evidently the budget had been framed with the deliberate purpose not only of providing sufficient funds to meet the expenses of the government for twelve months, but also of modifying fundamentally the political and social conditions of life in the islands. David Lloyd George concluded his introductory speech by describing the measure as a "war budget," as being intended to provide funds for carrying on a war against poverty, which he hoped would become "as remote to the people of this country as the wolves that once infested its forests." And the Prime Minister described the bill as consisting chiefly of "taxes upon the accumulations of the rich and the luxuries of the less well-to-do, and a moderate toll on monopoly values which the community itself has, either actively or passively, created." The taxes raised by the budget, he declared, were to be devoted to the preservation of the national safety, "and to those great schemes of social reform on which the mind and the heart of the Liberal party are bent." The budget was violently denounced as being "socialistic" and "confiscatory" by the Conservatives. On the other hand, however, a Labor candidate in a by-election described it as "the most democratic and beneficial to the general community ever put forward." And on July 24 a great demonstration in its support was held by working men in London. Such incidents as these latter indicated what would happen should the bill be thrown out by the Lords. A close alliance, if not an actual union, would apparently be at once brought about between the Labor party and the Liberals.

The budget passed the Commons on November 5, 1909; but on the last day of the same month, by a vote of 350 to 75, it was rejected by the Lords. The rejection of a money bill was an act beyond the competence of the Upper House. It was the violation of a precedent. More than two centuries previously the Lords had ceased to exercise the right to amend money bills; and the fact that for the same period of time they had re-

Rejection
of the
Budget
by the
House
of Lords

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frained from rejecting such a bill seemed to be at least a tacit acknowledgment on their part that they recognized the will of the people to limit the control of money matters exclusively to the Commons. The Lords said they would not accept so revolutionary a budget until it should have been passed upon by the people. In the motion with which they rejected the budget they declared "That this House is not justified in giving its consent to the bill until it has been submitted to the country." Thus the aristocratic House sought to appear to be more democratic than the Commons. This semblance of deference to the wishes of the people, however, was a sham. The Lords were actuated by their dislike of the new taxes and the purposes to which they were to be applied. But for neither of these reasons were they entitled to reject a money bill. If the Upper Chamber possessed the right to reject taxes of which they did not approve, and the right to go behind the form of a budget in order to inquire into its motives and purposes, or if it could reject the bill on the ground that there was grave reason for believing that the majority of the voters were opposed to it, the constitutional principle that the power of the purse resides exclusively in the Commons would have meant nothing, for it could have been evaded at pleasure by the Upper Chamber. Two days after the rejection of the budget, therefore, the Commons, by a vote of 349 to 134, carried a resolution to the effect "That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons." Without delay the Liberals appealed to the country. On December 3, 1909, Parliament was prorogued; and January 8, 1910, was fixed as the date of its dissolution.

**Reform
Measures
Enacted
by Par-
liament**

Not all the bills introduced in the Commons by the Liberals were defeated by the Lords. Some of the reform measures of the ministry had been enacted. The time that coal miners were permitted to work underground was limited to eight hours a day; an inclusive measure looking to the welfare of children was passed; and charters were granted for a non-sectarian University at Dublin and another at Belfast. In the next year, too, similar measures were to be passed. Trade boards, consisting of employers and employees, were established for the purpose of putting an end to the sweating system by deciding the question of minimum wages and of regulating payment for piece work. Labor exchanges were created in order to increase the mobility of labor and facilitate the finding of employment. Measures were passed looking to the improvement of working men's dwell-

lings and furthering such undertakings as afforestation, the reclamation of land, agricultural development, and river and harbor improvements. An important bill was passed, supplementing that of 1903, to assist the purchase of land by the tenantry in Ireland. It provided that a maximum sum of £100,000,000 might be used in lending money to tenants to purchase land where the holders were willing to sell, it required a low rate of interest, and it allowed nearly seventy years for repayment of the capital. Finally, in April, 1910, after the impending election had been decided in favor of the Liberals, the bitterly disputed budget was sullenly adopted by the Lords. But it remained true that, under existing conditions, the Liberals, no matter how large a majority in the Commons any future election might give them, could not hope, in face of the opposition of the Lords, to enact such a major piece of legislation as, for instance, that of granting Home Rule to Ireland.

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A fast and furious electoral campaign began immediately after the prorogation of Parliament. It was not only the budget that the Liberals asked the people to support. Asquith declared that at that moment the supreme task of his party was to vindicate and establish upon an unshakable foundation the principle of representative government. The first duty of the Liberals was to make impossible the recurrence of such a situation as the rejection of a budget, or of any other important bill advocated by the party which the people had placed in power, by the Upper House. They asked the country, therefore, for authority to abolish, by act of Parliament, the absolute veto then possessed by the Lords. They asked the specific sanction of the voters for a bill that would limit the veto power of the Lords, that would insure that the will of the people, as deliberately expressed by their elected representatives in the Commons, would be made effective within the lifetime of a single Parliament. It was proposed that if a bill passed the Commons in three sessions within two years, and should be rejected by the Lords, it should nevertheless receive the assent of the Crown. This proposal to limit the veto power of the Lords at once became the main issue of the campaign. The Conservatives declared it would mean government by a single chamber. Their opponents replied that, inasmuch as the Conservatives were always in the majority in the Upper House, that was the kind of government which, to a large extent, already existed. When the Conservatives were in power in the Commons, all their legislation slipped easily through the Lords. Where, in the last two hundred years, is there to be found a single instance of the Lords serving as a check upon the

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at Issue
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Conservatives? But when the Liberals had a majority in the Lower House, no matter how large, the Conservatives, through their permanent control of the Upper House, could defeat successfully, as we have seen, all the important measures of the ministry. Thus any Liberal government had been able to legislate only on the sufferance of the Lords. It was necessary for the Conservatives to propose an alternative measure to the budget to raise the needed additional income. So once more they brought forward the plan of "Tariff Reform." Then, too, the Liberals explicitly announced their intention, if they were returned to office, of granting Home Rule to Ireland.

Circum-
stances
and Out-
come
of the
Election

The struggle was one of great interest and intense bitterness because of the important issues and momentous consequences involved. It was no ordinary political battle, but a distinct struggle against hereditary privilege and for far-reaching political and social changes. The final returns of the election were as follows:

Liberals	275
Labor party	40
Irish Nationalists	82
Conservatives or Unionists	273
Total	670

Thus the preponderance of the Liberals and their allies over the Conservatives was reduced from 356 to 124; but when we remember the diverse issues of the campaign, and the undemocratic circumstances of the election, the full significance of the Liberal victory will be seen. The property qualification for suffrage, though it amounted to only £10 a year as rent for householders, occupiers, and lodgers, undoubtedly did much to help the party to which the privileged classes chiefly lent their support. The system of registration, it must be kept in mind, required a continuous residence of eighteen months in one place, and this served to disfranchise a large number of workers who belonged to the more migratory occupations. Then, too, the well-to-do classes, especially the landowners, were favored by the system of plural voting.

Circum-
stances
leading
to a
Second
Election

On April 14, 1910, by a vote of 351 to 246, three resolutions were passed by the Commons. It was resolved, first, that the Lords have no power to amend or reject money bills; second, that when any bill has been passed in three successive sessions of the Commons, and has three times been rejected by the Lords, it shall become a law, two years after the date of its introduction, without the consent of the Upper Chamber; and, third, that the duration of Parliament shall be reduced from seven to five years.

The Prime Minister then definitely announced that if the Lords rejected a bill in which these resolutions were embodied he would advise the Crown to take measures to secure its adoption by the Upper Chamber. There were then, as there are now, persons who objected to the phrase "veto power of the House of Lords." It was said that for many years no right to veto bills passed by the Lower House had been claimed by, or on behalf of, the Lords. The most they had claimed, it was contended, was to make sure that a bill presented to them by the Lower House represented the will of the people. When they believed that a bill sent to them from the Commons did not represent the will of the people, or that the matter was one of grave doubt, they declined to take the responsibility of assenting to its becoming law until the will of the people was ascertained by a general election. Most people, however, did not believe in the sincerity of this statement; and to them the issue was plainly one of representative government. The death of Edward VII, on May 6, 1910, brought about a lull in the political hostilities. Conferences were held between representatives of the two leading parties for the purpose of finding a satisfactory compromise; but no agreement was reached. Then the Prime Minister, declaring it was hopeless to expect the Lords to pass a bill embodying the three resolutions of the Commons, decided to make another appeal to the country. Accordingly, on November 28, 1910, after a session of only ten months, Parliament was dissolved. In the campaign the Conservatives asserted their readiness to reform the House of Lords, though the scheme that apparently met with favor was very nebulous; and they denounced the resolutions of the Liberals and their associates as virtually setting up single-chamber government. To the latter charge the Liberals replied, as they had done before, that the existing system was in reality single-chamber government, and that under it the political and social reforms demanded by a majority of the voters could not be enacted into law. The questions of "Tariff Reform" and Home Rule for Ireland were also issues in the campaign. The result of the elections was as follows:

Liberals	272
Labor party	42
Irish Nationalists	84
Conservatives or Unionists	272
Total	670

The Parliament Bill was introduced in the Commons on February 21, 1911; and a few days later the ministry announced that

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of the
Veto of
the House
of Lords

immediately after the bill they would proceed to deal with the question of Home Rule for Ireland. In May, by a vote of 362 to 241, the bill restricting the power of the Lords passed its third reading in the Commons. On July 20 the Lords passed the bill with amendments, but the Prime Minister declined to accept the changes, and announced that the King had agreed to create a sufficient number of new peers to secure the enactment of the bill in its original form, should the Upper Chamber persist in demanding its amendment. When, on July 24, the Prime Minister rose to address the Commons in justification of this course a disgraceful scene of disorder took place, and he was finally compelled to resume his seat without having fulfilled his purpose. The shameful tumult was created by the "last-ditchers," who refused to acknowledge the sanctions of majority government or to observe the proprieties of parliamentary conduct. The Conservatives then introduced a vote of censure against the ministry for their action in advising the creation of new peers; but, by a majority of 119, it was defeated. Eventually, on August 10, 1911, the Lords, by the slender majority of seventeen, decided to accept the Parliament Bill without amendment; and a week later the bill received the royal assent. Thus took place a constitutional change more important than any other that has occurred since 1832, and in its nature more deep-seated than that brought about by the great Reform Bill of that year. The preamble of the act contained a promise to follow up this curtailment of the veto of the Lords with a measure reconstituting the Upper Chamber; but thus far no bill to effect that purpose had been introduced.

Reforms
Contem-
plated
by the
Liberals

Limitation of the veto power of the Lords was not an end in itself. It was only a means. The end was the enactment of legislation which the Liberal party had at heart, and to which it was pledged. The logic of the position, then, was that, the obstruction having been removed from the path, the Liberals should put forward bills for working men's insurance, for payment of members of the Commons, for the abolition of plural voting, for the further reform of public education, for disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and for granting Home Rule to Ireland. In the latter part of October the ministry announced that in the following year a plan for Home Rule would be presented to Parliament that would provide for a representative bicameral legislature, with an executive responsible to it, that would have control of affairs relating exclusively to Ireland. Agitation against the proposed measure was at once begun by the Conservatives, under the direction of Andrew Bonar Law, who had succeeded Balfour

as leader in the House, and by the Protestants in Ulster, under the guidance of Sir Edward Carson.

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We must now retrace our steps in order to learn something of the history of the organization of labor in the preceding generation, and the growth of the direct representation of labor in the Commons. In 1874 the first two Labor members were elected. With this modest victory there began a new period in the history of the working classes. Six years later a third one was sent there, and then the number of Labor members slowly increased. At the same time the working people began to make themselves felt in the government of the municipalities. Thus far, however, the Labor party had no doctrine or independent tactics of its own. At times its members voted for Gladstone; and then, when they saw his hostility to a revision of the trade union law and to the further regulation of woman's labor, they turned to the "Tory democracy" of Disraeli. They had as yet neither flag nor method of their own. All this, however, was soon to change. From about 1875 the chief industries of the islands, cloth and iron, throughout a period of some twenty years, suffered an almost regular decline in their foreign orders. Unemployment increased; the revenues of the trade unions diminished; and violent manifestations took place in the streets. Under the influence of these social miseries, and of a broadening ideal, the trade unions underwent a notable change. They ceased to be a privilege of specialized workers. They opened their ranks to unskilled laborers. Thus, while they lost some of their autocratic dignity, they received an influx of fresh blood, and a crop of new ideas gave new life to their program. The year 1893 saw the birth of the Independent Labor party. Its success was at first more noticeable in the municipalities than in Parliament. In the first ten years of its existence it contested two thousand municipal elections and secured the election of eight hundred of its candidates.

Expansion
of Trade
Unions
and
Growth
of the
Labor
Party

The activity of the trade unions in securing direct representation of the working class in the Commons was greatly stimulated by the decision in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Company. The railway company had a difference with some of its employees. The employees were members of a union. The dispute led to a strike. The company professed willingness to discuss the dispute with its employees, but it declined to confer with outsiders,—with officials of the union who were not in its employ. While the strike was going on the company applied for an injunction against certain such officers of the union to restrain them from "watching or besetting" the railway station at Cardiff. The union opposed

The Taff
Vale
Decision

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the granting of the writ upon the ground that the society, being neither an individual, nor a corporation, nor a partnership between a number of individuals, could not be sued in a corporate or other capacity. Judgment in the case was finally given on July 22, 1901, by the House of Lords. The Lords, acting in their judicial capacity, held that a trade union, though it is neither an individual, nor a corporation, nor a partnership, is a corporate body, that as such it is qualified to sue and be sued, and that the funds in its possession can be attached in payment of damages for illegal acts committed by its officials. A trade union possesses no personality? No matter. "If the legislature has created an entity which can hold property, employ servants, and cause damage," said the Lord Chancellor, "it has implicitly rendered that entity liable to the eventuality of prosecution."

**Consequences
of the
Taff Vale
Decision**

This decision was one of the most crushing blows ever delivered against the trade unions. It made every union responsible for every illegal act of its officers when committed within the scope of their authority; and it increased the number of acts deemed to be illegal. It established as a rule of law, binding upon every court in the islands, that while a strike is in itself a legal method for obtaining higher wages or shorter hours, a combination between strikers and outsiders may become an illegal conspiracy under the common law. The labor union, in the case we have just considered, was ordered by the courts to pay an indemnity of £23,000 to the railway company. Thus far the working men of the nation had found the strike to be the most effective weapon for the correction of their grievances. It was the instrument by means of which improvements in their position had been brought about. This new decision, however, changed the strike from a weapon of strength into a grave potential source of danger. All the officers of a union not in the employ of the company against which the strike was directed might be excluded from any participation whatever in the struggle, and all the funds of the union might be swept away because of a single thoughtless act of one of its officers. Later another decision forbade a union to distribute strike pay. After that, what remained of the right of working men to combine?

**Need for
the In-
crease of
Labor
Repre-
sentatives
in Parlia-
ment**

The moment chosen to attack associations of workers was singularly inopportune. One of the most violent industrial crises of the century had followed the close of the war in South Africa. Wages had fallen and unemployment had increased. The revelations made by the Radical press as to the origin of the war, as to the sinister influence of the shareholders in the gold and diamond mines, and, later, as to the officially regulated immigration

of Chinese coolies into a colony drenched with British blood and promised to the unemployed workers, created a widespread feeling of intense bitterness. And the hostility of the House of Lords to even the most legitimate requirements of the progressive municipalities (its refusal, for instance, to permit the municipally owned and operated street cars to cross one of the bridges over the Thames) did not tend to alleviate this feeling. It required just such an accumulation of suffering and indignation to overcome the resignation and instinctive conservatism of the British workman. If the law had passed over to the support of their enemies, the only remedy left them was to change the law. Such a change can be effected only by Parliament. Through the medium of a Liberal member they secured the introduction of a resolution in the Commons, in March, 1902, looking to a complete recasting of the laws relating to trade unions, and to an unequivocal definition of their responsibilities, obligations, and rights. The resolution was defeated. From that moment it was evident that not only the law but the membership of Parliament must be changed before reform could be secured. Measures were therefore taken to marshal all the labor forces in the next general election.

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In the general election of 1906 there was an increase from two to twenty-nine in the number of Labor members. Thus did the Labor party spring suddenly into prominence. Yet this increase in its members was not altogether unexpected, even by those who did not welcome it. Nor was it an isolated or partial phenomenon. It was merely one of the many expressions of the social forces that for a long time had been working in a single direction. It was another herald of the advent of democracy. "Democracy is here," Carlyle had said long before; "the tramp of its feet is on all streets and thoroughfares, the sound of its bewildered thousand-fold voice is in all writings and speakings, in all thinkings and modes and activities of men."

Increase
of Labor
Members
in the
Commons

One must not think of these Labor members as forming a homogeneous and disciplined party, with a systematic program to which they were all pledged. Two distinct tendencies soon manifested themselves among them. The one, more idealistic and less characteristic of the nation, was devoted to the formulas of socialism; while the other, more practical and more illustrative of the national character, was faithful to the special purposes of trade unionism, to the immediate needs of the workers. But even those who represented the first of these two tendencies were by no means as doctrinaire as the avowed socialists of the continental countries. They, too, illustrated the mixture of concrete

Tenden-
cies of the
Labor
Members

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Legal Con-
dition of
Industry**

undertakings and abstract idealism which is a fundamental quality of the British.

The unions were not long in securing a remedy of sweeping character for the elimination of the disadvantages entailed by the Taff Vale decision. Let us note the general legal aspect of industry as a result of this and other contemporaneous decisions of the courts. Employers were free to enter into agreement with each other to take concerted action against competing firms and against their own employees. They were free, for instance, to publish black-lists of their business rivals and of their own workmen and to act, even by means of the boycott, against the persons so listed. No such action, however, was permitted the unions. What was deemed to be only "fair competition" on the part of the employers was adjudged to be "malicious conspiracy" on the part of the employees. Workmen saw their own leaders black-listed and boycotted, and found themselves forbidden by law to retaliate in kind.

**The
Trades-
Union
Act of
1906**

The unions set themselves to secure a remedy for the injustices of the legal condition of industry, and in this they were supported by the Liberals. The Trades-Union Act of 1906 gave to labor the same "freedom of contract" that for so long had been enjoyed by capital. It permits trade unions to commit any act that is lawful for an individual to commit. It permits, for instance, peaceful picketing, or "watching and besetting." It also revokes the Taff Vale decision by exempting the funds of the unions from damages for illegal acts of their agents. Any agent guilty of a misdemeanor may, of course, be prosecuted as an individual; but the funds of the union are no longer in jeopardy because of an illegal act of a single member.

**Trade
Union
Funds
and
Payment
of Mem-
bers of
the Com-
mons**

There were now fifty-four Labor members in the Commons. But how were they to be supported while away from their work and attending to their parliamentary duties? A levy was made upon members of the unions. This plan met with objection. One Osborne, a member of a union of railway workers, asked an injunction to prevent the application of union funds to such a purpose. On December 21, 1909, the court of final appeal, which, it will be remembered, is made up of members of the House of Lords, declared such a levy to be illegal. The decision resulted in nothing less than the abolition of all the financial resources, not of the unions, but of the Labor party. How was the party to free itself from this disadvantage? The most obvious, and apparently the most feasible, remedy was the enactment of a law providing for payment of salaries to members of the Commons. Such a development of democracy was inevitable,

and could not much longer be delayed. On May 12, 1909, a resolution to that effect was carried in the Commons, but delay then seemed advisable. Two years later, however, a bill was passed for the payment of £400 a year to each member of the Lower House. It was a natural and a necessary result of the election of working men to Parliament. And then, in 1913, a bill was passed permitting trade unions to spend their funds for election expenses, for payment of members of Parliament, and for carrying on political propaganda, provided the majority of the members of any union concerned approve such expenditure and that the political funds of the unions be kept separate from those devoted to benevolence.

The great Insurance Bill enacted into law in 1911 is perhaps the most daring scheme of social reform ever advanced and carried in a single Parliament in any country. Its enactment was in several ways a personal triumph for David Lloyd George. In the summer of 1908 he had gone to see how the great system of state insurance against sickness, invalidity, accidents, and old age, was working in Germany. He, more than anyone else, carried on the preliminary consultations with the friendly societies that the government had resolved to make use of as far as possible as agencies in distributing payments under the new plan. The term "Friendly Society" was originally the name of a particular fire-insurance company. It is now applied to many associations, the members of which pay fixed contributions to insure financial aid in sickness or old age, and provision for their families in the event of death. It was Lloyd George, too, who chiefly assumed the arduous task of explaining and defending the scheme throughout the country and in Parliament. The underlying principle of the bill was generally lauded, but many of the details were bitterly denounced. Foremost among the critics were the physicians, who objected to the terms and conditions under which they were to be required to give their services. During the course of the discussion the bill was greatly modified in many minor details, and some of its important provisions were altered.

The first part of the act makes it obligatory for nearly all "employed" persons between sixteen and sixty-five years of age whose income is less than £160 a year to become insured against sickness and invalidity. This, it was estimated, would bring within the scheme some fourteen million men and women. Those persons working on their own account, and thus not "employed" within the meaning of the act, are permitted voluntarily to profit by its benefits, provided they are willing themselves to

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Enactment
of the
Insurance
Bill

Insurance
Against
Sickness
and In-
validity

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pay the weekly contribution which, in the case of employed persons, is paid by the employer. It was thought that this provision would add another million to the total number of beneficiaries of the act. In nine cases out of ten the contribution is twopence a week from the State, fourpence a week from the employee if a man, and threepence if a woman, and threepence a week from the employer. In return for these payments the following benefits are conferred: (1) free medical treatment and free medicines are given, when needed, throughout life; (2) payments of ten shillings a week for men, and seven shillings and sixpence for women, are made during illness for a period, if necessary, of twenty-six weeks; and after that, if the illness continues, a disablement allowance of five shillings a week is made; (3) free treatment for the injured person in a sanatorium, and also (if the insurance committee so decides) for his wife and children, when suffering from tuberculosis; and (4) a maternity benefit.

**Insurance
Against
Unemploy-
ment**

The second part of the act is devoted to insurance against unemployment; and, because of the lack of actuarial data, it is limited, for the present, to those trades in which the most serious fluctuations in employment occur,—the building trade, engineering, and ship-building. Whoever is to blame for the great cyclical, seasonal, or other fluctuations of trade, the workman is the least, for he does not guide or gear the machinery of commerce or industry. The direction and speed of industry are almost entirely in the control of others. It was estimated that at the outset some two and a half million people would be brought within the provision of this part of the scheme. The contributions are twopence halfpenny a week by the workman, twopence halfpenny by the employer, and twopence by the state. The payment to any unemployed person is limited to seven shillings a week, and it is made for not more than fifteen weeks in any one year.

**Machinery
of the
Insurance
Act**

The machinery for the collection of the payments under the act is quite simple. A card is given to every employee. At the end of every week the employer affixes to it stamps in payment of his own contribution and that of the employee, and he reimburses himself for the latter by deducting the amount from the wages or salary of the workman. When the card is filled it is sent to the central post-office, where it is placed to the credit of the beneficiary. Those who are not regularly employed by others pay their contributions, if they are not members of a friendly society, directly to the local post-office. The distribution of the benefit payments is equally simple. The friendly societies, which for many years had given relief to millions of working people

and had done much to draw them into thrift and sobriety, are entrusted with the payments, under the first part of the scheme, to their members; and those contributors who are not members of such a society receive their payments through the post-office. The payments under the second part of the act are made by the labor exchanges and the trade unions.

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Three fundamental reforms now remain to be effected,—the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, the further extension of the franchise, and disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The first of these measures was an undertaking of profound importance, having for its object the removal of the festering sore of disaffection in Ireland and the transforming of that country into a happy and contented member of the Empire. On April 11, 1912, a new Home Rule Bill was introduced in the Commons. It was a sort of compromise of the bills of 1886 and 1893. It took some provisions from one and some from the other, and it added provisions and made modifications suggested by the long discussion of the subject. Only purely insular affairs, and not all of those, were to be committed to the proposed government of Ireland. Imperial control of all Imperial affairs was to remain in the hands of the Parliament at Westminster. There were three great difficulties to be met and overcome in drafting the bill. Provision had to be made for safeguarding the Protestant minority in the north-east of the island, for an equitable settlement of the financial relations between the two islands, and for retaining or excluding Irish members of the House of Commons. The bill protected in a variety of ways the rights of the minority in Ulster. It recognized that the smaller island had long been overtaxed as compared with the larger one, and so it made provision for the gradual payment of £200,000,000 to Ireland; and it reduced the number of Irish members in the Commons. A new generation had come upon the scene since the rancor of the first controversy over the question. There had been a great extension of self-government in some of the Dominions over the sea, a fact especially significant and encouraging in the case of South Africa. It was no longer possible to assert so confidently that dire evils would follow the granting of self-government to Ireland.

New Home
Rule Bill

The bill was opposed by the Protestants in Ulster; and here it is well to note that in six of the seven counties of that province the majority of the people are Catholics. In the entire province there are seven Catholics to every nine Protestants. This opposition was led by Sir Edward Carson, who did not hesitate to threaten civil war should the bill be enacted into law. In this he was supported by the Conservatives. Scenes of unpre-

Opposition
to Home
Rule

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cedented heat took place in the Commons in November. Extensive preparations to resist the operation of Home Rule were begun in Ulster. Some fifty thousand "volunteers," eventually increased to more than twice that number, were enlisted and publicly drilled, and arms and ammunition were smuggled into Ireland. The Home Rulers were not slow to imitate these proceedings, and bade soon to raise an army considerably larger than that of their rivals. The bill was passed three times by the Commons, received the King's signature, and thus became law without the approval of the Lords, but its operation was suspended because of the outbreak of the Great War.

**Proposed
Electoral
Reforms**

In June, 1912, a bill was brought into the Commons that contemplated far-reaching changes in the franchise. It provided for the abolition of plural voting, for removal of the property qualification, and for reform of the rules of registration. It was estimated that the measure would eliminate half a million plural votes, and that, by reducing the registration period from a year to six months, it would add some two million voters to the electorate. No such bill, however, was passed until 1918, when to a bill with provisions similar to those we have just described was added one that gave the suffrage to women.

**Question
of the
State
Church
in Wales**

On April 23, 1912, a bill was introduced in the Commons for disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The measure, three times rejected by the Lords, was in response to an old and crying demand that the inhabitants of the principality be given religious equality under the law, that they be no longer required to contribute to the support of the Church of a minority. It became a law in due time, without the approval of the Upper House, but, like the Home Rule Act, it was suspended at the outbreak of the World War.

**William
Ernest
Henley**

The growth of sentiment in favor of the further expansion and consolidation of the territorial possessions of the Empire, of which in the course of the present chapter we have taken account, quite naturally found its expression in literature. In prose and verse William Ernest Henley (1849-1903) gave robust utterance to the growing Imperialism of the day. He was thrilled with triumphant emotion by the war in South Africa. In *The Song of the Sword* his exuberant militarism rings like the cry of the raven of the viking invaders of old beating its wings for battle; but, genuine poet that he was, he will be remembered longest for a few beautiful lyrics, and for having transferred to literature the strange and somber splendor of the great city in which he lived.

**Rudyard
Kipling**

A far greater poet of Imperial destiny and duty came upon the scene in the person of Rudyard Kipling. He revealed him-

self suddenly out of the East; and he came at the moment when the reception of his ideas, given to the world with virile and brilliant talent, had been prepared for by a remarkable series of circumstances. With his *Departmental Ditties*, published in 1886 when he was only twenty-one years of age, and still more in his *Plain Tales from the Hills* and *Soldiers Three*, two books of short stories that followed soon after, he rapidly won for himself the most general vogue of the time; and then his *Barrack-Room Ballads* and *The Seven Seas* caused him to be acclaimed as the Laureate of the Empire. It was quickly seen that, in prose and verse alike, he is a born story-teller, with a seemingly inexhaustible wallet of untold stories. They are stories readily "understood by the people"; they carry the reader out of the beaten track into a world that is new, yet manifestly real; they are told in a manner rapid, direct, and concentrated; they are diversified with swiftly sketched descriptions of great vividness; and finally, they proclaim, with singular passion and power, the duty of conquering distant lands, of hewing paths through the wilderness and plowing the pathless sea for the good of all concerned and the glory of the British Empire. His stories in prose may be divided into three classes: (1) tales of Anglo-Indian society, clever social dramas that are frequently unpleasant, full of debts, and drink, and adultery; (2) tales of the barrack-room, masterly stories in which the real soldier has been painted with his coarse animalism and his devil-may-care candor, redeemed by a stolid fortitude, and softened by occasional touches of tenderness and by a deep feeling of comradeship with his brothers in arms; and (3) tales of child life, of which a masterpiece was achieved in *The Story of Muhammed Din*. Kipling's imperialism is seen at its best in his verse, where, with something even of religious fervor, he celebrates "dominion over palm and pine" in many a ringing chorus and march tune, and where, too, one may find his insistence upon the presence of romance in the modern work-a-day world.

In direct opposition to the policy of Imperialism, and particularly to the war in South Africa, stood William Watson, a true poet whose warm heart and wide sweep of thought has sublimated his patriotism into a large and inclusive humanity. He is fundamentally a meditative poet, finding his fittest sphere of song in the brief philosophical poem, the elegy, and the ode. Always with sincerity, frequently with notable felicity of phrase, and often with deep feeling, he gives voice to his faith and to his absence of faith, to the impassioned convictions upon which his soul rests. It is not true that he is lacking in emotional glow.

William
Watson

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In every one of his beautiful poems about poets, and in many of the briefer poems in which he deals with spiritual problems or shows his interest in the social welfare of his fellow-men, there is feeling which appeals to the refined and sensitive spirit.

Francis
Thompson

We enter a cathedral, dimly lighted with richly colored windows, when we open the books of Francis Thompson (1860-1907), for the like of whose religious thought and solemnly rapturous music we must thread our way back through more than two centuries to the time of Richard Crashaw. There are defects in his poems, faulty execution, uncouth words, awkward inversions, and wanton ellipses; but almost on every page one comes upon lines of religious ecstasy, upon expressions of human love highly spiritualized, and upon a passionate perception of the beauty of the world, its flowers, its sky, its sunsets, uttered with a haunting lyric quality. Yet seldom is it the world of our own daily life we find described, but a distant one, shrouded with the veil of mysticism, in which there is "a feel of incense everywhere."

William
Butler
Yeats

Remote, too, from the world of ordinary humanity is the poetry of William Butler Yeats, who has done much to awaken enthusiasm for the legends and the old life of Ireland; but whose concern, after all, is chiefly with the ardors and the hungers of the soul. To him, more than to anyone else, is due the beginning of a new literary movement in Ireland. In his plays we find his most original thought, but he is essentially a lyric poet, and it is by his briefer poems, full of a delicate and dream-like loveliness, that his name will live.

John
Synge

John Synge (1871-1909) led a more or less vagrant life in several continental countries and then went to live in the Aran Islands. He lived with the peasants on those bleak rocks off the coast of Galway and then put them into his plays. Yet, despite a keen power of observation and a deep sympathy with the wild fisher folk, it was the mood of his own soul that dominated all he wrote, the mood of profound disillusionment, the mood born of the realization that life is brief, and of the belief that it ends in the grave. His most successful work is probably his *Riders to the Sea*, a deeply pathetic little play that moves directly and swiftly to a truly dramatic close.

Alfred
Edward
Housman

The brevity of life, the greater brevity of love, and compassion for one's fellow-men who perish in the stream of change, are the chief themes and the prevailing mood of the little book of lyrics called *A Shropshire Lad*, which, together with a second slender volume entitled *Last Poems*, is all we may expect from the pen of Alfred Edward Housman. This poetry is the work of one who,

though his youth was spent by the clear streams and in the leafy lanes of the western county whose name the first volume bears, lives a life devoted to learning in the college halls of Cambridge. It is the work of a man of culture, keenly sensitive to beauty, and strong enough to look sorrow in the face. He is master of a direct, simple, and terse style. All his poems are brief, and all are grave, sincere, and sad.

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The untimely death of Rupert Brooke (1887-1915) is one of the lamentable results of the Great War. He sang of the beauty of the world, of the fleetingness of love, and of the end of life, if not in the grave, at least in the eternal ocean of being. Whatever his faith may have been it is his rapturous delight in life, his joy in the "scented store of song and flower and sky and face," and his keen sense of its transiency, a subtle blending of sensuous delight and grave reflection, that gives to his poetry its characteristic note.

Rupert
Brooke

John Masefield's poetry deals boldly with the adventure of common life. It deals with the lives of the multitude, men of the plow, the mine, the railway, and the ship. His faults have aroused a storm of criticism, and they are not to be denied. Here and there is inexcusable coarseness, irrelevant blasphemies, and regrettable ribaldries; but his power of dealing with the grim facts of life, his gift of sympathy with the poor and lowly, and his sensitiveness to the beauty of fields and sea are to be felt and seen in all he has written. With all his faults, he is serving his generation well, for he has widened the range of song, given it vigor, homeliness, and passion, and made it a mouthpiece of the living and burning spirit of humanity.

John
Masefield

In the middle of the nineteenth century the condition of the stage was not very promising in England. For a time people had flocked to see the "cup-and-saucer comedies" of Thomas Robertson (1829-1871), in which certain phases of life in the world of wealth and fashion were depicted with realistic detail; but the impulse thus given to the theater seems to have ended with that playwright's death, and modern comedy and drama were then represented almost entirely by adaptations from the French.

Thomas
Robertson

A new period in English play-writing may be said to have begun with the production of the first important plays by Arthur Wing Pinero, who, as an actor, had acquired an unusual knowledge of the theater and its requirements. With the production of *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, in 1893, he succeeded in placing the contemporary drama of his native land in the same rank as that of the leading countries of the continent. "The life around us," he declared, "teems with problems of conduct and char-

Arthur
Wing
Pinero

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acter which may be said almost to cry aloud for dramatic treatment." With this conception of his task, and with his unrivaled technic, much was expected of him; but though several of his later plays have revealed deep sympathy with women, and power to deal brilliantly with the externals of intellectual society, the promise has not been fulfilled.

**George
Bernard
Shaw**

George Bernard Shaw is more important as a thinker than a playwright. The interest his plays have aroused lies far more in the ideas they present than in any skill in construction or literary charm. The more important of these ideas relate to poverty, war, and love. Poverty, he tells us, keeps men down in the dust, and stands in the way of progress; and only by the combined and wisely directed effort of society can it be abolished. He sought to lessen the incentive to war by cynically exposing the hollowness of the romance so long associated with the soldier's calling. Shaw has fired many a telling shot at social errors, injustices, and shams; but as a constructive thinker he is far less worthy of praise.

**John
Gals-
worthy**

John Galsworthy has told us that ours is an "age of a developing social conscience"; and every one of his plays and novels is an illustration of this fundamental fact. He is interested in the effects of our developing social conscience upon our standards of conduct; and he possesses, to a notable degree, the power to embody an idea in some person or some group of persons. In his plays he has given us a study of the uncultivated and grasping wealthy middle class, a class steeped in self-satisfaction. He has given us a poignant dramatization of the sufferings of the poor and ignorant in the clutches of the law. He has given us a drama of the struggle between capital and labor; and, in *The Pigeon*, the most philosophical and subtle of all his plays, he has dealt with the difficult subject of universal tolerance. In his novels, too, he is the champion of the liberal and forward-looking classes against the conservative and backward-looking elements. Each of them deals with a struggle between the conservative temperament that seeks safety and the progressive temperament that is not afraid of danger. He is first of all, however, an artist, not a reformer. His chief desire is not to bring about any particular social improvement, but to reveal to the people of his time their own souls and the actual conditions of the world in which they live. He raises questions boldly and clearly, but he leaves the answers to be found by his readers.

**Eden
Phillpotts**

All the novels of Eden Phillpotts, until he deliberately turned his back upon that region, dealt with life on the uplifted moorland, in the central part of Devonshire, known as Dartmoor. It

is a region of somewhat bleak austerity; and yet in the valleys that run down to the lowlands there are places of rare beauty, and scattered all round the base of the plateau are patches of forest. There are many fine landscapes in his books; but what interests us most are his people. It is always as a humanist that he views life. He is interested in the spectacle of man living on a lonely tableland, to which much of the radical thought of the modern world has penetrated, but where men and women are as primitive in their natures and as wayward and wilful in their passions as were their ancestors of a thousand years ago. It is with their thought, their beliefs, their doubts, and their denials, that he is concerned; but still more is he concerned with their primitive passions and propensities. The significance of his novels lies in their revelation of the deepest forces that animate men.

Over and over again the theme set forth in his novels by George Gissing (1857-1903), with endless variations, is that of poverty as it affects character and conduct; and the conclusion is always the same. Poverty is the root of evil. By nature Gissing was made for a life of tranquillity and meditation, for cultured leisure and repose, for the enjoyment of nature and of art. He was not a democrat. His social enthusiasm, which has led some writers to declare him to be democratic, was purely literary, emotional, artistic. He was, as he confesses, an "egoist in grain." "The zeal on behalf of the suffering of the masses," he tells us in one of his novels, "was nothing more nor less than disguised zeal on behalf of my own starved passions." His knowledge of the world, though in part it was true and though it grew with his years, remained always distinctly limited. The secret of the life of this shy and fastidious man is that he had an ill-balanced nature, that he was lacking in will power and in capacity for managing the ordinary affairs of life. But he wrote in a pure and simple and noble style; he was filled with a passionate love of all things beautiful; and he lavished the resources of a subtle irony upon the narrowness and the sordidness of contemporary life.

George
Gissing

"My task which I am trying to achieve is by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel; it is above all else to make you see," says Joseph Conrad. "If I succeed, you shall find there, according to your deserts, encouragement, consolation, fear, charm—all you demand; perhaps also that glimpse of truth for which you have forgotten to ask." Most of his stories have to do with the seas and islands that lie between Asia and Australia; and the strange magic of those lands and waters

Joseph
Conrad

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is revealed in his richly colored pages. But what is that "glimpse of truth" of which he has spoken and with which he is undoubtedly most concerned? It is the loneliness of the individual, the separation of every man from his fellow-men by the deep, unplumbed, estranging sea of life, and the pathetic aspiration of all mankind for brotherhood. He is concerned most deeply with "the indestructible loneliness that surrounds, envelops, clothes every human soul from the cradle to the grave, and, perhaps, beyond."

Arnold
Bennett

Arnold Bennett has written many novels, but only those dealing with life in the potteries of Staffordshire, as it was in the Victorian era, have a good claim upon our attention. His central motive in these few books is the collective life of the middle class people in the Five Towns. Whether they remain in one or another of the orthodox Protestant folds, or whether they have accepted the agnosticism of modern science, they are all guided and controlled by consciences distinctly Puritan. It is always life itself, rather than a story, in which he is chiefly interested. In his best novel, *The Old Wives' Tale*, we may see the progress of two girls through the years of their youth, their noon, and their evening time. It is a pageant of life, almost from the cradle to the grave, with an amazing multiplication of detail. The drama of his stories is usually furnished by the revolt of youth against age, and by the astonishment and resentment of the rebels, when they in their turn are aging, before the assault of the next generation. And the keynote of these stories of life in the Potteries is disillusionment. Love is a passion, our author would have us believe, that always ends in disappointment; and therefore the part of wisdom is never to let it stand in the way of material advantage.

Herbert
George
Wells

Long and earnestly has Herbert George Wells, novelist and historian, considered the question of a better organization of the world. He has made many journeys to Utopia. Of the value of his thoughts and his ideas there is much difference of opinion, but as to the abundance of them there is no question. At times he has given us a novel dealing with the general question of ideal society; and again he has devoted himself to the consideration of some particular of the immediate future. His controlling ideas, stated here and there throughout his books, go to make a fairly harmonious system. Implied almost everywhere is the idea of a new temper, a new disposition, in mankind. Further outward development will be a delusion should there be no corresponding spiritual development. This thought haunts his books. There must be a deeper and more widespread sense of

the brotherhood of man. Such a thought, however, is very abstract. In order to make it vivid and effective for the mass of men it must be reduced to the concrete, clothed with character, filled with humanity; and this is the task which, as a novelist, he has set himself to perform. In his stories we see that this thought, simple as it is in its abstract form, is by no means easy to carry out in the affairs of daily life. It meets with the opposition of temperament, of stupidity, of passion, and of narrow self-interest; it has to make its way against the difficult barrier of tradition; and it has to fight against a host of half-truths and errors that have long been in possession of the ground and that are used by the vested interests. All of this goes to show that the first and most fundamental task of social reform is the proper education and civilization of the great mass of men. Upon this fundamental idea rest all his interesting plans and prophecies. He is a courageous thinker; and his optimism is highly contagious.

LIST OF MINISTRIES

Date	Party	Prime Minister
1894-1895.....	Liberal.....	Lord Rosebery.
1895-1902.....	Conservative.....	Lord Salisbury (3).
1902-1905.....	Conservative.....	Arthur Balfour.
1905-1908.....	Liberal.....	Campbell-Bannerman.
1908-1915.....	Liberal.....	Herbert Asquith.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING

The general history of the time may be studied in: George P. Gooch, *History of Our Own Time*; and also his *History of Modern Europe*. John R. Raynes, *The Pageant of England*. A. S. Turberville and F. A. Howe, *Great Britain in the Latest Age*. H. E. Egerton, *British Foreign Policy in Europe*. For recent events in this and in the succeeding chapters of our book see the volumes of the *Annual Register*, the *New International Year Book*, the *British Labor Year Book*, *Hazell's Annual*, and the supplementary volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Carleton Hayes's *British Social Politics* is a collection of original source material with helpful introductions. Other primary source material will be found in: Joseph Chamberlain's *Speeches*. A. M. Milner, *Nation and Empire*, a collection of speeches by a leading conservative statesman and administrator.

Among the biographies that may be recommended are: Herbert Asquith's *Occasional Addresses*, which contains chapters on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and King Edward VII. James Bryce, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*. Lady Gwendolin Cecil, *Lord Salisbury*. A. G. Gardiner's two books, *Pillars of Society* and *Prophets, Priests, and Kings*, contain many brief biographical sketches of political and social leaders written from the Liberal point of view; and his *Life of Sir William Harcourt* contains many quotations from letters of leading statesmen and other

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public men of the time. Sidney Lee's *Life of Edward VII* is based upon the archives of Windsor Castle and the correspondence of the King with leading statesmen. A. Mackintosh, *Joseph Chamberlain*. The interesting pages of John Morley's *Recollections* contain many fine portraits of politicians and statesmen, those of Gladstone, Parnell, and Chamberlain being especially notable. E. T. Raymond's four books, *All and Sundry*, *David Lloyd George*, *Life of Arthur James Balfour*, and *Uncensored Celebrities*, were written for popular consumption but will be found helpful by the serious student. G. W. E. Russell's *Prime Ministers and Some Others*, and also his *Politics and Personalities*.

For the struggle between the Commons and the Lords see: Herbert Asquith's *The Commons Are Supreme* and *The People and the Peers*, which are reprints of speeches concerning the limitation of the veto power of the Lords. H. L. Morris, *Parliamentary Franchise Reform in England*.

Economic and social conditions are described and discussed in: Percy Alden's *Democratic England*, a book that deals in a popular manner with the leading economic and social questions of this period. W. H. Beveridge's *Unemployment* contains an abundance of facts and a number of cautious conclusions. Sydney J. Chapman, *Work and Wages*. C. D. H. Cole, *Labor in the Commonwealth*. J. B. Cross, *Essentials of Socialism*. R. C. K. Ensor, *Modern Socialism*. H. O. A. Foster, *English Socialism of Today*. G. A. Greenwood, *England Today*. J. A. Hobson, *Problems of a New World*. A. W. Humphrey, *History of Labor Representation*. Herman Levy's *Economic Liberalism* is a brief book dealing thoughtfully with the development of the political theory originated by industrial changes. Conrad Noel, *The Labor Party*. F. A. Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe*. Samuel P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe*. D. F. Schloss, *Insurance against Unemployment*.

The controversy over "Tariff Reform" is dealt with in: William Cunningham's *The Case against Free Trade*, which advocates the proposed changes, and J. A. Hobson's *The New Protectionism*, which argues against it.

For rural conditions see: F. E. Green, *History of the English Agricultural Laborer*. R. H. Haggard, *Rural England*. F. G. Heath, *British Rural Life and Labor*. Herman Levy, *Large and Small Holdings*.

Useful in the study of this and other periods is Edward Jenks's *Short History of the English Law*.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(1550-1925)

THE expansion of a people which, from small beginnings, has spread itself all over the planet, establishing its language and its institutions in every continent, conferring peace and orderly government upon the oldest countries in the world, and making paths for civilization through the forests and across the plains of newly discovered lands, forms a page of history interesting and significant. This expansion has been accomplished by a people, and not by a government. The vast Empire is the result of a gradual growth that has gone on for more than three centuries, though the larger self-governing Dominions that now go to make it up have all been settled by people from the mother islands since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The acquisition of colonies by various European States is one of the most important results of that great change. The relations of supply and demand became inverted. Under the domestic system of manufacture the problem was to supply consumers with commodities; but with the increased output made possible by machinery and steam-power the problem became one of supplying commodities with consumers. This accounts for no small part of the increase of the Empire in the nineteenth century. But the very imperfections and inconsistencies of the Empire, as well as its history, reveal the fact that its component parts and its character have been determined sometimes by accident and sometimes by deliberate action. No consistent aim has underlain its growth. In the long roll of the statesmen who have had to deal with the question of overseas possessions there are only a few who have had a vision of imperial destiny and who have made the realization of that vision an important part of their policy. Sovereignty has been acquired, and protectorates have been declared, when commercial contact created legal and social difficulties that seemingly could best be solved by the assumption of political power. Such an Empire could not have been established and maintained previous to the nineteenth century. Only

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Causes
and
Method
of the
Overseas
Expansion
of the
British
People

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of the
Empire

the lessening of time and space by steamship, telegraph, and railway has made possible its existence.

All this vast territory whose inhabitants, living under various forms of government, are subject, in greater or less degree, to the ultimate control of the Crown and the Parliament at Westminster is commonly known as the British Empire. It consists of almost fifteen and a half million square miles, or more than a quarter of all the land of the planet; and something less than five hundred million people are included within its boundaries, or about one-third of all the earth's inhabitants. By far the greater part of this Empire lies within the temperate zones, and is therefore suitable for white settlement. It is divided almost equally between the southern and northern hemispheres, and thus one half of it enjoys summer while the other half is in winter. Of its population more than one-eighth belongs to the white races. About a hundred groups of colonies and dependencies go to make up the Empire, of which the more important are Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, the Bermudas, British Guiana, Canada, Ceylon, Cyprus, East Africa, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Malta, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Nigeria, South Africa, and the Straits Settlements. Outlying possessions give rise to strategic and commercial needs. The great distances between the larger and more important of these groups, and between them and the mother country, have necessitated the acquisition of intervening coaling and naval stations, and many of the units of the Empire, such as Malta and Gibraltar, are, therefore, no more than islets, or the tips of promontories, along the trade routes. Its units differ from each other very greatly in situation, in geographical character, in population, and in natural resources.

Main
Divisions
of the
Empire

For the purposes of political administration the Empire falls into three divisions: (1) Great Britain, with the dependencies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; (2) British India and the feudatory native states; and (3) all the other colonies and dependencies. The third of these divisions contains more than fifty separate governments. It is divided into three classes: (a) crown colonies, such as Ceylon and Jamaica, in which the public officers are under the control of the home government; (b) colonies, such as the Bahamas and Barbados, which possess representative institutions, but which do not possess responsible government, in which the Crown has only a veto upon legislation, but in which the home government retains control of the public officers; and (c) colonies, such as Canada and Australia, which possess representative institutions and responsible government,

in which the Crown theoretically retains a veto upon legislation, and in which the only public officer of whom the home government retains control is the governor.

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For some fifty years after the loss of the colonies in America there were few signs of a more liberal policy. The idea of a self-contained Empire, in which the mother country produced the manufactures and the colonies furnished the raw materials, continued to be generally upheld. The wrong conclusion made from the loss of the thirteen colonies was that when such possessions were sufficiently developed they were certain to break away, as ripe fruit drops from the tree. All the remaining colonies were then in a pioneer condition, even Canada, South Africa, and Australia; and so it seemed best to govern them with the old policy of mercantile subordination as long as they would endure it, and then, at the proper time, to consent to their independence. None of the colonies, however, was then ready for responsible government. All were in a rudimentary political condition. The withholding of a more democratic form of government was not a serious error in British colonial policy in the first half-century after the American Revolution. The chief mistakes were to be found in the details of administration, in sending out governors who were poorly qualified for their work, and in the corrupt and ill-advised disposal of public land, and in failure to assist the emigration of the better sort of laborers and artisans of the surplus population at home. England was drawn into the whirlpool of the wars against Napoleon, and so for twenty years her statesmen gave little thought to colonies. At the end of that struggle she found herself, almost unconsciously, the possessor of a vast and varied Empire whose potentialities are not yet fully revealed. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century the improvement of colonial administration and the inauguration of a policy of responsible government was vigorously advocated by a small group of Radicals, one of whom was Lord Durham. Such reform was surely necessary. By 1836 colonial discontent was so widespread and pronounced as seriously to threaten the stability of the Empire. It would be impossible to overestimate the value of the services of these young, intelligent, informed, and enthusiastic statesmen. They pleaded for a reasonable distribution of land, for the investment of capital in the colonies, for selected and assisted emigration, and for giving the colonies the right to manage their own affairs. The basic and vital principle of colonial autonomy has been the chief factor in holding together the heterogeneous parts of the British Empire.

Governmental
Attitude
Towards
the Colonies

Of the self-governing parts of the Empire beyond the seas,

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History of
Canada

the most important is Canada. It is the earliest one that was established, and has the largest element of white population. In 1763 all the French possessions in North America were ceded to Great Britain. At that time there were in the territory some sixty thousand French inhabitants. When, thirteen years later, the American colonies separated themselves from the mother country some forty thousand Loyalists fled as penniless exiles across the northern border. In due time the territory was divided. In Lower Canada the French were predominant, while in Upper Canada the great majority of the people were British. In 1838, as a result of two unsuccessful revolts, Lord Durham (1792-1840) was sent out as governor; and, though he stayed only five months in the colony, his masterly *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, one of the greatest state papers in the language, was so illuminating that it became of fundamental importance in the subsequent guidance, not only of the colony with which it was immediately concerned, but also of the Empire. He belonged to the Radical wing of the Whigs; but he had a belief in democratic institutions, which was then not common among the Whigs, and he had faith in the future of the Empire, which was then rare among the Radicals. The chief recommendations of his report were that the provinces should be reunited, and that responsible government should be established. This last principle has proved to be the cement binding the Empire together. With the acceptance of the *Report* may be dated the death of the old colonial system. The time was not yet ripe for the complete union which Lord Durham desired of the colonies; but in 1841 the two provinces were brought together under a single Parliament. The arrangement did not work very well, and so in 1867 an act providing for the federation of the four provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and for the subsequent admission of others, brought into existence the Dominion of Canada. Soon afterwards the government secured by purchase nearly all the vast lands of the Hudson's Bay Company. Since then five other provinces have been added,—Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. There are also the unorganized Yukon Territory and, in the almost unoccupied lands of the far north, the Northwest Territories which in the future may be elevated to the rank of provinces. It was in Canada that the problems of internal government and of relations to the mother country, as far as they have been solved, were first worked out.

Resources
of Canada

Canada has witnessed a great expansion from the little group of settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence, northward to

the Arctic Circle and westward to the Pacific Ocean. In 1885 reality to the federation of all these provinces was given by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Canada has great mineral wealth, both in the east and in the west of her wide-stretching territory; but her paramount interests are agricultural. So well adapted is her soil to the production of wheat that she has become one of the world's great granaries. Of her total population of about eight and a half million people, more than one-half are directly engaged in practical agriculture; while many more are at work in industries that arise out of agriculture.

The chief difference between the government of Canada and that of the United States is that the constitution of the former gives to the national government all powers not definitely granted to the provinces, while that of the latter reserves to the states all powers not expressly or impliedly given to the national government. The government of the Dominion follows the British Cabinet system, and not the system of electing the chief executive independently of the legislature employed in the United States. In these two respects the government of Canada has served as a model for those of Australia and South Africa, though in the former the states rather than the federal government are favored by the constitution. The history of Canada furnishes more than one illustration of the progress of the colonies toward independent national life. In 1878 the voters sanctioned the adoption of a protective tariff in place of a tariff for revenue only. This, it is generally believed, resulted in an improvement of industrial conditions, and it brought about an increase in the revenue. Duties for the protection of industry have been maintained from that day to this as a "national policy." In 1911 the people decided emphatically against a proposed reciprocity agreement, aiming at a freer interchange of products, with the United States. Full liberty to control her fiscal policy is not only claimed but exercised by the Dominion. Another example of the tendency to acquire a larger power in making international agreements is the sending, in 1907, of a Canadian Cabinet minister to Japan to settle difficulties between the two countries. And, finally, Canada has a seat in the League of Nations.

Several attempts, all of them in vain, have been made to induce Newfoundland to join the Dominion of Canada. The large migratory population engaged in the fisheries and the complicated treaty obligations of the island to foreign countries have not furthered the cause of union. This independent colony, whose jurisdiction includes a neighboring strip of the mainland known as Labrador, is an island lying directly across the en-

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trance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence,—the sentinel of the new world. Its total area is something more than forty thousand square miles; and it has about 260,000 inhabitants. Its rocky coasts are broken at frequent intervals by deep fiords and large bays; while in the interior are many lakes and rivers. It is rich in minerals, particularly iron ores; and the manufacture of wood pulp and paper has recently been undertaken in earnest; but its chief source of wealth is found in the near-by waters, which abound with life. Its fisheries, the most productive in the world, may still be described in the words of Francis Bacon as being "richer far than all the gold mines of Peru."

**Early
History of
Australia**

Australia is the smallest and most isolated of the continents, and the only one entirely in the southern hemisphere. Its first settlement was made in 1788 when a penal station for criminals from the mother country was established at Port Jackson. The transportation of malefactors, many of them exiled for petty or political offenses, continued for more than fifty years; but, long before that period had gone by, free settlers arrived to take part in the work of colonization, and it is with the coming of these "squatters" that the real history of the colony began. The discovery of gold in 1851 greatly increased immigration, and for several years the ordinary industrial and social life of the new land was seriously disturbed; but after the excitement wore off the development of the country resumed a normal course.

**Physical
Character
of Aus-
tralia**

A vast area in the center of Australia is a desert. Skirting this arid interior, which as yet is largely unexplored, is a semi-arid territory which, with irrigation, will yield great agricultural wealth; and then there is the coastal fringe, with its rich soil and unrivaled climate, that has already become one of the most profitable pastoral and agricultural lands in the world. The total area of the continent, with the adjacent island of Tasmania, is nearly three million square miles; but its population as yet is not quite five and a half millions. Thus after nearly a century and a half of occupation by white men it is still the home of only a handful of people; and of its scanty population altogether too large a proportion is urban in character. Two million people live in the five leading cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth.

**Resources
of Aus-
tralia**

Australia, though it is one of the great gold producing countries of the world, and though it is well supplied with other minerals and with coal, is essentially a pastoral land. Large quantities of wool of the highest quality are produced. Horse-breeding is a constantly growing industry; and because of the improvement of refrigeration in trans-oceanic ships the produc-

tion of butter, as well as of beef and mutton, has been greatly stimulated. Agriculture is the second most important activity. Wheat and flour are shipped in considerable quantities to Europe.

The two things of outstanding importance in the later history of Australia, aside from the development of industry, are the rise to power of the Labor party and the federation of the provinces. Federation was considered when a constitution was granted to the original province of New South Wales; and it was prepared for by the building of railways. Not until 1900, however, was it finally accomplished. Even then, perhaps, one of the chief factors in bringing it about was the menace of national danger on the horizon in the direction of Asia. The Commonwealth consists of the provinces of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania, together with the dependency called the Northern Territory. The union of the provinces is less close than that of Canada. The rise of the Labor party began in the early days of settlement. The movement was common to all the separate colonies; it became greatly stimulated in the last decade of the nineteenth century; and when the Commonwealth was finally established it at once organized a party in the federal legislature and has ever since held the balance of power. The party is avowedly socialistic in its program; and its aim is "to prevent the formation of a vast and squalid proletariat, such as exists in too many countries of the old world." It has made itself felt in municipal affairs, though not as yet, because of a property qualification for voting, to any great extent; it has been a vigilant third party in every provincial Parliament; but it has displayed its greatest strength in the federal government. To it belongs, in no small part, credit for the fact that this Dominion has done more towards solving the problems of the proper management of public utilities and the adequate conservation of natural resources than has the United States. Another result of the control of the government by the working class has been the enactment of laws against the immigration of peoples with a lower standard of life who might have submitted the white peoples to an undesirable competition. This legislation has been criticized, however, as producing an undesirable scarcity of labor. The question is whether it is better "to care more about the distribution and less about the accumulation of wealth, more about the average quality of the citizen and very little about the increase of population." Signs of the times seem to point to an increase of immigration to Australia, and the nation may yet become the leading power of the southern hemisphere.

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Zealand

New Zealand, which was not formally included in the Empire until 1840, consists of two principal islands and some outlying groups of small islands. It has about one hundred and fifty thousand square miles; and its population is about one million three hundred thousand. With its mountains, fiords, forests, lakes, and grassy plains it is a land of varied beauty. It has a pleasant and equable climate, more like that of the mother country than any other of the Dominions, and its abundant pasturage makes it unusually well suited to sheep-farming. Wool is still the chief export, but it is rapidly being overtaken by frozen mutton and beef. The export of butter and cheese, too, is steadily increasing. New Zealand has an even more remarkable record of humane and successful industrial and social legislation than Australia. There, too, we find a policy of state socialism deliberately conceived and consistently carried out. Government railways, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, hotels, life insurance, accident insurance, fire insurance, public trusteeship, old age pensions, savings-banks, and eight-hour law, and other such enterprises and conditions have all been successively established and maintained. The chief lesson of these two distant democracies to other lands is that such ameliorative measures as these are practical, that they impair neither individuality nor patriotism, and that whenever such people set themselves to carry out efficiently similar undertakings for the welfare of the great majority, rather than the enrichment of the few, it is not unreasonable to expect success.

Physical
Features
of South
Africa

A marked uniformity in physical features characterizes all that part of the continent of Africa lying south of the Zambesi River. The coast line is little indented and contains only a few sheltered natural harbors of any size. Beyond the fringe of low-lying coast land, which is from fifty to two hundred and fifty miles wide, the hills rise to a vast tableland, austere and secluded, with an average elevation of four thousand feet. Coarse grasses are the characteristic vegetation of this plateau where the rainfall is sufficient, and one therefore finds in these districts great ranches devoted to the raising of sheep, cattle, and horses; but in many places where the rainfall is inadequate the plain is covered with bush and remains "the still unravished bride of quietness." The aborigines, some five and a half million in number, are Bushmen, Hottentots, and Kaffirs; while the white people, of whom there are about one million three hundred thousand, are mainly Dutch and British. The territory contains the richest gold mines and diamond mines in the world; deposits of copper have been discovered, and coal is widely distributed; but, when-

ever the great possibilities of artificial irrigation shall have been realized, the leading activities will undoubtedly be pastoral and agricultural.

The first European settlement at Table Bay was made in 1652 by the Dutch. Other immigrants from the same homeland followed from time to time; and nearly forty years later they were joined by some three hundred Huguenots whose influence may easily be traced in the history, and is still seen in the character, of the people. The colonists lived for one hundred and forty-three years under the despotic administration of the Dutch East India Company. That mercantile organization, a body of private adventurers, sought only pecuniary profit, and frequent treks to distant parts of the territory were made by the settlers in order to escape its illiberal control. In 1814, at the close of the wars against Napoleon, the colony came definitely into the possession of Great Britain. Twenty years later all slaves were freed throughout the Empire. It was an admirable thing to do; but the money voted by Parliament in compensation to the colonists was only half the estimated value of the slaves; and as it was made payable only in London many of the former slave-holders received very little, and others nothing at all. This, together with the many indiscreet doings of the over-zealous and sometimes misinformed missionaries in advancing the cause of the black folk, greatly angered the colonists, and so, in the years 1836 to 1840, there took place the Great Trek. More than seven thousand Boers, in their long-spanned ox wagons, moved across the river Vaal out into the vast spaces of the veldt to live in the solitudes the life they deemed best. Among them was a boy named Paul Kruger. In 1852 the British government recognized the independence of the emigrants, and thus came into existence the Free State of the Transvaal. Two years later in the same way there came into being the Orange Free State. Thus was delayed, if not prevented, the peaceful amalgamation in one community of Dutch and British. It was not only injustice and oppression, however, that drove these settlers still further into the wilderness. Many of them were lazy, shiftless, dirty, and ignorant. They lived on the barest plane of existence, they were at heart slavers, they were without the inclination to welcome the encroachments of civilization, and they were none too submissive, even to their own governments. In addition to these independent states there were then three British colonies in the southern part of the continent,—Cape Colony, Natal, and British Kaffraria.

In a world rapidly being linked up by steamship and railway it was impossible for the Boers to live alone. Many a boat

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brought new British settlers to the Cape. Differences as to the natives, native territory, and the newly discovered diamond mines arose between the Boers and the British, each of whom in the conflict of character and ideals had proved very tenacious of their type, and finally, in 1877, a Commissioner, who had been sent out from London for the purpose of considering a federation of the Boer and British states, proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal. War broke out at the end of 1880, a number of engagements took place in which the Boers were usually successful, and in March of the following year peace was signed. The independence of the Transvaal was once more acknowledged, but all treaties concluded by that country with any power other than the Orange Free State were subject to the veto of Great Britain.

**British
Immigra-
tion into
the Trans-
vaal**

Soon after this extensive discoveries of gold began to attract many British miners and merchants, together with a few other Europeans and some Americans, into the Transvaal. The Boers, with their passionate desire for independence, viewed this influx with alarm, for they feared it would swamp them, and also they desired to reap themselves the chief financial profits of the mines. They could not repel the new immigration, nor could they well deny the right of the newcomers to carry on mining operations; but they went as far as they could to accomplish their ends. They changed their franchise laws so as to give the "Uitlanders" as slight a chance as possible of becoming citizens of the republic; and they adopted a system of oppressive trade monopolies.

**Ambitions
of Cecil
Rhodes**

The fears of the Boers were by no means groundless. Chiefly under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902), a man devoted to the spread of British power and ideals, there had developed an imperialistic party bent upon extending the British territorial possessions as far as possible into the center of the continent and of building a railway from the Cape to Cairo. In 1890 Rhodes became the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and throughout the six years he held that office he strove to carry out his vague and mighty plans for the creation of a self-governing federation under the British flag that should embrace all the territory from the Cape to the Zambesi and perhaps even farther into the untamable heart of the continent. Among the means by which his plans were to be carried out were the formation of the British South Africa Company, the development of the railways, and the acquisition of the territory afterwards known as Rhodesia. All his measures for consolidation and expansion met with persistent opposition on the part of the Transvaal; and in that state the agitation of the newcomers for reform met only with denial. Thus arose a situation of extreme tension.

It will be remembered that the years between 1895 and 1900, in which Joseph Chamberlain was the Colonial Secretary, were characterized by a new colonial policy. That vigorous statesman called into existence a new spirit of imperialism. There was much to encourage those who were bent upon the expansion of British possessions in South Africa. On December 29, 1895, Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, acting upon previous encouragement given by Rhodes, with an armed force of about six hundred men belonging to the Chartered Company, an organization that mingled high politics with stock exchange speculation, invaded the Transvaal. It is clear there was treason at Johannesburg, the capital of the mining district in the Transvaal, that arms and ammunition had been smuggled into the Republic, and that an attack upon the Republic had been approved at Cape Town. It is alleged on the other hand, however, that the government of the Transvaal was plotting to overthrow British control in South Africa, and that matters would have hastened to a crisis had there been no raid. The raid was premature. Preparations for revolt had not been completed by the Uitlanders. The intruders were quickly compelled to surrender, their lives were spared, and their leaders were handed over for punishment to Great Britain. The chief actors in this drama, after being turned over to their own countrymen, were tried, found guilty, and then, after short terms of imprisonment, set free. The raid greatly embittered the feeling between the Dutch and the British throughout all South Africa and the temperature rapidly rose to the danger point. On October 9, 1899, an ultimatum was given to the British agent at Pretoria. It demanded (1) that the differences between the two governments should be settled by arbitration; (2) that the British troops on the borders of the Transvaal should be immediately withdrawn; (3) that all troops recently landed in South Africa should be withdrawn within a reasonable time; and (4) that no troops then on the high seas should be landed in South Africa. The reply, which was demanded within forty-eight hours, began a state of war. One of the things that made a considerable part of the British public look favorably upon the raid and welcome the declaration of war was a telegram from the Emperor of Germany expressing his sympathy with President Kruger.

The war, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, at first went in favor of the Boers; a series of stinging defeats was inflicted upon the British; but eventually the tide turned and the struggle ended with the defeat and annexation of the two republics. The fighting of Canadians, New Zealanders, and Australians under the imperial flag was a fact of great importance in colonial history.

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Jameson's
Raid

The Boer
War

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South
Africa**

It sent a thrill of self-consciousness through the self-governing dominions and testified to the feeling of unity with the mother country. The work of reconstruction was begun without delay. The people were replaced on the land, food, shelter, stock, and farming implements were supplied to them, the railways were bought by the new government, compensation for damages was paid, provision was made for education, and much else was done to restore prosperity and happiness to the country. This material reconstruction was carried out by the Conservatives. When, at the end of 1905, the Liberals came into power under the Premiership of Campbell-Bannerman, it was decided to give self-government to the Transvaal immediately. This was done, and in 1907 self-government was conferred upon the Orange Free State. The unmistakable improvement in the general feeling, despite the gloomy prophecies of a few opponents of the plan, soon justified the daring confidence of the Liberal leader.

Economic differences between the four separate states (Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal), divergent interests and opinions regarding immigration, the status of the natives, mining, agriculture, railway rates, and tariff duties, then began to create friction in place of the subsiding race antagonism in South Africa. The obvious remedy was federation. A number of the more prominent statesmen accordingly set themselves to bring about the desired end, and fortunately the temper of reason and the constructive spirit prevailed. In 1909 all the states adopted the Act of Union, and in the following year the federal government was formally established. Economic unity had already been greatly furthered by the construction of railways. The constitution of the new Union, which binds the component colonies even closer than the federal union of Canada, does not deal generously with the black folk, and it leaves the English language as a merely coördinate tongue with the Dutch; but it marks a great advance beyond the former condition of things, and its defects, whatever they may be, may safely be left to the general tendencies of civilization. A good deal of suspicion and ill feeling remains between the Dutch and English, and it has made itself manifest particularly over the question of education. A strong body of opinion favors complete separation from the Empire. The separatists are known as the Nationalist party, while the extreme imperialists are known as the Unionists. A middle group, which seems to include the majority of the white population, is known as the South African party. Since the Great War the Union has conducted the government of the conquered province of German South West Africa.

By far the greater part of modern Egypt is desert. But the narrow strip of land through which the Nile flows, and the delta of that river, have a soil of inexhaustible fertility and enjoy an equable and grateful climate. The chief industry is agriculture. Cotton, sugar, rice, maize, wheat, and dates are among the chief products. The population numbers about twelve million; and, if only the fertile districts be considered, it will be found to be exceedingly dense. The geographical position of the country at the meeting of Asia and Africa, and at the side of the canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, makes it an important factor in world affairs, especially in the affairs of the British Empire.

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Features
of Egypt

Egypt has been under an almost continuous series of foreign rulers ever since the days of the Pharaohs. It has been subject in turn to Romans, Byzantines, Saracens, Turks, and modern Europeans. The date of its first definite connection with western Europe may be given as 1798, when Napoleon led an expedition to it as a stepping stone to India. Neither France nor Great Britain was able to capture and retain the country; and so it fell into the control of a succession of Pashas who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. When the digging of the Suez Canal was undertaken by a French engineer with the aid of English money, both England and France acquired a new interest in Egypt. The wild extravagances of Ismail Pasha induced the two countries to compel the ruler to accept the services of two Controllers-General of finance, one from each country, and to carry on his government with the aid of responsible ministers. All went well for a time, and then the Pasha began to intrigue against the new government. The two powers, therefore, persuaded his overlord, the Sultan, to depose him and, in his place, to install his son as Khedive. Then, in 1882, under the leadership of Ahmed Arabi, a revolt broke out against the government, which had continued to be corrupt and inefficient, and gradually it assumed something of the character of a crusade against all Europeans. This imperiled the interests of British creditors and threatened the line of communication between England and India by way of the Suez Canal. Great Britain determined to interfere, and in doing so she invited the coöperation of France and then of Italy. In each case, however, she met with refusal. The revolt was suppressed, the Khedive restored to his capital, and then plans were developed for the improvement of the country. Lord Cromer (1841-1917), then known as Sir Evelyn Baring, one of the great constructive statesmen of modern times, was appointed Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent, with

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the duty of giving advice to the Egyptian government, and with the support of a British army of occupation. British officials were given places in all the administrative departments, an energetic attempt was made to avoid the threatened bankruptcy, irrigation was greatly extended and improved, the military service was reformed, and genuine efforts were made to teach competent self-government to the Egyptians. Despite jealous hindrances of the French, most of these efforts were successful. The country made great progress and enjoyed prosperity; and then the reforming activity was extended to the administration of justice, to prisons, to public health, and to education.

Recovery
of the
Sudan

The improved state of affairs now made possible an effort to recover the Sudan, which some years previously, under the leadership of a religious fanatic, had revolted against the rule of Egypt. There is an ancient tradition in that part of the world that tells of a series of divine incarnations, of the succession of twelve holy Imans. In the hour of need there would appear again the guide, the Mahdi. It was at this moment that Mahommed Ahmed, son of an insignificant priest in Dongola, proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi. The tradition is accepted by the desert Arabs, but not by the Egyptians or the Turks. All the lawless and warlike inhabitants of that wild land of desert, swamp, and tropical forest flocked to the banner of the Mahdi and drove the accursed Egyptian back to the lower valley of the Nile. England's position in Egypt compelled her to attempt the reconquest of the Sudan. The undertaking was successful; but in carrying it out a conflict with France, who now regretted her decision not to coöperate in the settlement of the country, was narrowly averted. A small force, which in 1897 had been sent from the French Congo for the purpose of seizing the valley of the upper Nile and thus uniting the French possessions in West Africa with those at the entrance to the Red Sea, had, in the following year, reached Fashoda, in the Sudan. Fortunately the two countries came to an agreement. France retired from the basin of the Nile. When the fanatical Mahdist hordes were annihilated with magazine-rifle and machine-gun at Omdurman the Sudan came into the complete possession of Great Britain. In coöperation with the inhabitants she began a work of reform similar to that begun in Egypt, and by suppressing the revived slave trade conferred a benefit upon all the interior of Africa.

Agitation
for inde-
pendence
in Egypt

The temporary character of the occupation of Egypt was repeatedly affirmed by Great Britain. The occupation did not alter the status of the country, which throughout the previous half-century had been autonomous, governed by its Khedive and

his ministers under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. A new situation arose when, in the course of the World War, Turkey joined the ranks of the Empire's enemies. Egypt was then placed under the "protection" of Great Britain. The precise meaning of "protectorate" seems never to have been defined in international law, but inevitably it means at least the control of foreign relations by the protecting power, and in this respect it was a diminution of the autonomy of Egypt. Ever since the country began to recover from the oppression of its former government a desire for national independence had gradually been developing. This, in itself, was a favorable sign; but unfortunately the spirit of national consciousness has been adroitly and unscrupulously incited by foreign opponents of British occupation. Moreover, not all this discontent on the part of the Egyptians is born of patriotism. Many of the sons of the erstwhile privileged classes have been educated in the public schools provided by the British. They form a discontented intelligentsia; and, while they carry on an agitation for political independence, their discontent is fundamentally economic. They bear an unrelenting hatred towards those who put an end to their exploitation of the peasants. Then, too, mistakes made by the government in the course of the Great War have served to increase the friction between Egyptians and British. Some discontent also arises from the fact that, because of the incapacity of the natives for carrying on the higher forms of industry, trade, and finance, many foreigners have taken root in the land and take large toll of the natural wealth. In the course of her efforts to pacify the natives Great Britain, on March 15, 1922, proclaimed Egypt to be an independent and sovereign state. The relations that are to exist between the two countries are not yet settled. It seems likely that England will insist upon (1) the security of the Suez Canal, (2) the defense of the country against foreign aggression, (3) the protection of foreign interests and foreign minorities, and (4) control of the Sudan. The future status of the country will probably resemble that of Cuba, which is independent in all domestic affairs, but which is controlled in foreign affairs by the United States. In the meantime the finest illustration in history of the government of an "inferior race" by foreigners for the benefit of the governed is beyond all question Egypt.

It will be remembered that in 1858, after the great mutiny, the government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. In the years that have gone by since that event great changes have taken place in the vast dependency. Internal warfare has ceased. The chief material troubles

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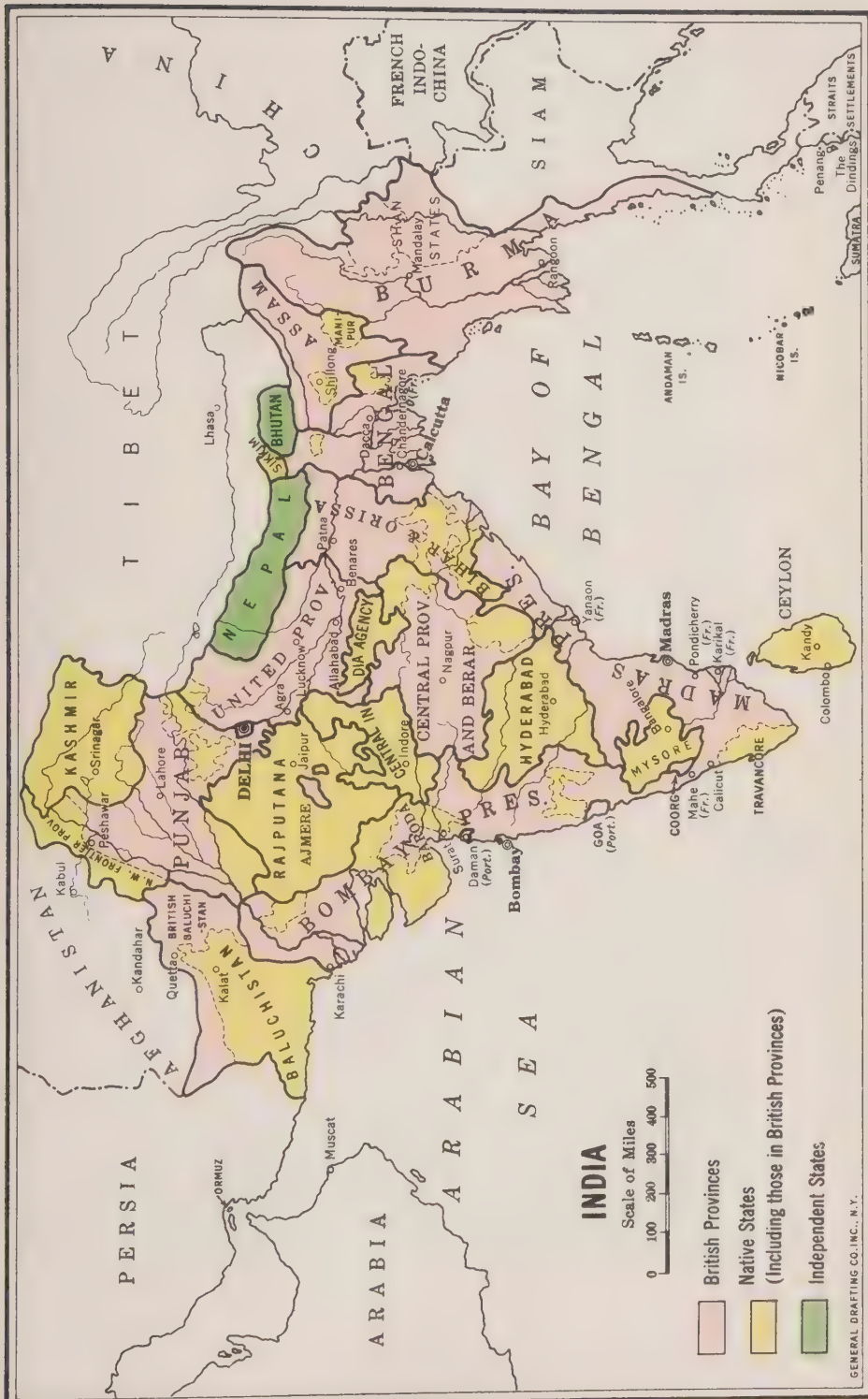
of the country have been famine and plague. There have been large increases of territory. The political frontier has been extended from the border of Afghanistan to the heart of Indo-China. The dependency, which is an empire in itself, now has an area of more than 1,766,000 square miles; and it contains more than 294,000,000 inhabitants. Its people are a congeries of at least seven distinct racial types that differ from each other far more widely than do the Spaniard and the Russian, that speak upwards of fifty different languages, and that profess religions ranging all the way from the lowest animism to the most exalted mysticism. The chief religions, given in the order of the number of their followers, are the Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Christian, Parsi, and Animist. Of the total area about 1,087,000 square miles, with a population of some 232,000,000, consists of territory held and governed directly by Great Britain. The remainder consists of some four hundred and fifty native states, varying greatly in size, all of which, while acknowledging the suzerainty of the paramount power, are directly administered by their own rulers, usually with the help of a political officer, appointed by Great Britain, who resides at the native court.

Agriculture in India

The industrial activity of India is almost exclusively agricultural. The principal crops are wheat, rice, millet, pulse, oil-seeds, spices, sugar, tea, coffee, jute, silk, and cotton. More than eighty per cent of the people live by the direct cultivation of the soil.

Work of Great Britain in India

Great Britain acquired India by conquest,—not, however, from the peasants and tillers of the soil, but from their masters; and for the tyranny and oppression of those former rulers, for the frequent wars and devastating anarchy, she has substituted a government that has been just and kindly, that has sought to mitigate the horrors of famine, to fight the plague, to educate, and to raise the standard of living. She has given to them roads, bridges, railways, a postal system, telegraphs, canals, works of irrigation, water works and sewage systems for towns, schools, colleges, and hospitals. She has suppressed evil customs, controlled and assuaged the deadly enmity between the various races and religions, and drawn the scattered provinces and states into a union that is gradually becoming real and harmonious. Her rule has not been without its shortcomings, but its beneficial effects have far excelled the detrimental. In all this, however, she has met with many subtle hindrances that make her task very difficult and uncertain of success. It is not a wild and savage people she has to deal with. Behind these teeming and somber millions is a vast and shadowy background of ancient literature, a rich poetry from the distant past, deeply influencing



the life of the present. The conservative instincts that have to be overcome are very powerful. And today there is a new trouble, euphemistically called "unrest," that, in the fulfilment of her task, has to be encountered by Great Britain. Plague and famine, despite all the precautions taken to prevent them, still visit the land from time to time, and always there is poverty. A great deal of discontent naturally arises from these afflictions and this material need. The hunger of many members of the educated classes, however, is not for bread, but for place and power. It is unrest that has been greatly augmented by western education; but it seems to be due still more to the slow but sure increase of resentment against western civilization and western rule throughout all Asia. Much of it is unreasonable and unreasoning. The policy of the devolution of governmental power upon the natives, proclaimed upon the assumption of control by the Crown, is set about with many difficulties and dangers, and every dictate of wisdom and prudence requires that "make haste slowly" should be the guiding principle of its establishment. In the face of this growing demand for a greater share of self-direction, the task of government, though at present it grows more difficult every year, remains the same. It is to make plain that the alien authority is to be increasingly modified in favor of the natives; to continue to knit with closer bonds the many races, castes, and creeds; to admit natives to participation in political power as fast as their capacity and the welfare of the dependency permit, as rapidly as the prevention of anarchy within and invasion from without will allow; and eventually to make the country a self-governing unit of the Empire.

The history of the overseas expansion of European countries has very largely been one of cruelty, rapacity, corruption, and oppression; but from the time of the Reform Act of 1832 the aim of England, not however without some lapses into the older view, has been that of general improvement rather than of exploitation for selfish purposes. Today the ideal that underlies the government of the great collection of States now called the British Commonwealth of Nations (which is not an Empire in any sense in which that word has previously been used in history, for only between the mother island and the lands chiefly occupied by colored races does a real imperial relationship exist) is the triple one of self-government, self-support, and self-defense. It is an ideal that while, for all practical purposes, it has been fully carried out in the self-governing dominions, is as yet only partially applied to many of the more backward units; and yet, nevertheless, it is the basis upon which the entire Imperial structure rests.

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of the
Govern-
ment of
the Em-
pire

It is a flexible system, both as to place and as to time. It varies from one unit of the Empire to another, and it changes in the same unit as the evolution of the people permits.

The greatest problem of the Empire at present arises from the necessity of giving the self-governing Dominions a share in the Imperial government. It is clear that in the future the overseas Dominions will demand a voice in the making of either war or peace, and in the control of other matters of policy in which the destiny of all of them is alike involved. The establishment of a federation that shall give to every component part of the Empire a formal and fitting voice in imperial affairs, together with a definite and just share in the cost of maintaining the Empire, is a difficult problem that now presses for solution. "Our recognition of this war as ours," said the Canadian Minister of Justice, "our participation in it, spontaneous and voluntary as it is, determines once for all that we have passed from the status of the protected colony to that of the participating nation. The protected colony was rightly voiceless; the participating nation cannot continue so. The hand that wields the sword of the Empire justly holds the scepter of the Empire; while the mother country alone wielded the one, to her alone belonged the other. When as today the nations of the Empire join in wielding that sword, then must they jointly sway that scepter." The problem is actual and concrete, and it has to be faced now. But when one descends from the general principle of federation to details, one is soon confronted by the most difficult obstacles. What has to be found is some method of reconciling the autonomy of the self-governing Dominions in their home affairs with their fitting participation in imperial affairs. Every care must be taken to preserve in its most complete form the independence of the free units of the Empire while giving them a voice in imperial affairs which at present they do not possess. Such an Empire would not be a nation composed of many states, but a State composed of many nations; and, as such, it would be a great experiment in the organization of international government, the greatest single step that has yet been taken towards the ultimate federation of mankind.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE GREAT WAR

(1914-1918)

WE have seen that Bismarck crushed Austria, added several states to the territorial possessions of Prussia, and formed a Confederation of all the states north of the Main, of which he was made Chancellor. He continued his preparations for founding the German Empire. He began careful preparations for an attack upon France. At this time the throne of Spain became vacant. It was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, and the offer was approved by the King of Prussia. This alarmed France. Prussia would threaten her on two sides should a member of its reigning family be made King of Spain. So she demanded the withdrawal of the Hohenzollern candidate. King William wrote a telegram to Bismarck firmly but politely refusing to comply with the demand. But Bismarck, who was convinced that the moment for war had come, "edited" the telegram so as to make it offensive to its recipients, sent it to the newspapers, and so to Paris. Thus he flung a torch into the powder room. War broke out in the middle of 1870, and resulted in the downfall of the French Empire and the creation of the German Empire. Only three Germanic states remained outside the new Empire, Luxemburg, Liechtenstein, and Austria; and in the Empire the paramount power was Prussia. And incorporated in the new Empire were the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Cruel and short-sighted means were employed by Prussia to make the people of these provinces forget their former ties, but without avail. France was filled with a burning sense of humiliation and wrong because of the seizure of her provinces, and inspired with a passionate hope of their recovery.

In the Near East there was a problem arising out of Austria's desire for expansion in that direction. But in order to understand the situation there we must briefly recount the history of the Balkan Peninsula. The Slavonic peoples who live in the peninsula are less advanced in civilization than are the Teutons and the Latins. For centuries they had been ruled by the Turks. Even-

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tually, however, the tide began to turn. In 1796 Montenegro formally proclaimed her independence, and there were signs of a similar intention on the part of others of the oppressed peoples of the peninsula. In 1820 an insurrection, supported by volunteers and money from many parts of the continent, marked the definite beginning of a struggle, which ended successfully in 1832, for the independence of Greece. These events, however, served only to increase the intolerance and the tyranny of the Turks. The cries of the Christian peoples who still remained beneath their yoke filled the ears of Europe. No help came to them from any of the powers, so they took their fate into their own hands. They met with a considerable degree of success. In 1830 a constitution conferring autonomy was formally granted by the Sultan to Serbia. In 1859 the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were united to form the Kingdom of Rumania. Later on the slumbering national spirit awoke in Bulgaria, but there the revolt was suppressed with fearful massacres. It was largely these atrocities that, as we have seen in a previous chapter, brought on war between Russia and Turkey. The peace, signed in a little village on the Sea of Marmora named San Stefano, was not a perfect settlement of the situation; no attention was paid to the claims of Greece or to those of the Albanians, and a flagrant wrong was done to Rumania, even though she was given the district of the Dobrudja, when Bessarabia was taken from her and given to Russia; but it was better than the arrangement brought about in 1878 by the Treaty of Berlin. Austria was opposed to the settlement of San Stefano because she had decided upon a policy of expansion towards the east, and Serbia, as it was then constituted, would have blocked her way to a port on the Ægean Sea; and the English were afraid of a large Bulgaria because they thought that Kingdom would be an obedient vassal of Russia. Austria did not fail to improve the opportunity afforded by the Congress at Berlin. She obtained permission to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, pledging herself never to annex those provinces, and promising to maintain roads and keep garrisons in the Sandjak of Novibazar. Thus she secured a long corridor that would enable her later on to advance upon Salonica.

**Formation
of the
Triple
Alliance**

One of the most important diplomatic results of the Treaty of Berlin was the rupture of friendly relations between Russia and Germany. Bismarck then sought closer relations with Austria, and so in 1879 there came into existence the Dual Alliance. Then he turned to Italy. How was it possible to induce that country to enter into a triple alliance of which one of the members

was her old enemy Austria? She wanted Tunis, the nearest point of which is less than a hundred miles across the inland sea from Sicily, and which is a land well suited for colonization by her surplus population; but in 1881 France, which had already taken Algeria, anticipated her by proclaiming a protectorate over Tunis. This act, encouraged by Bismarck, who desired to create a permanent ill-feeling between the two countries, aroused bitter resentment on the part of Italy. In the following year she threw herself into the arms of Germany and Austria and thus formed the Triple Alliance.

At this time there began a period of eager rivalry for the possession, or at least the control, of those regions of the world still unoccupied by any of the powers of Europe. The largest unoccupied region, and one that lay invitingly near the homelands, was the continent of Africa. To the partition of that great territory the leading powers accordingly addressed themselves. France had taken Algeria in 1830; in 1881, as we have seen, she occupied Tunis; she began the "peaceful penetration" of Morocco; she occupied the Gold Coast, Dahomey, and Madagascar; and, in 1898, she precipitated a serious crisis in her relations with England by sending a military mission to Fashoda in the Sudan. Italy, too, experienced a notable inclination towards colonial expansion. She acquired the little territory of Assab, on the Red Sea; and this led eventually to the inclusion within her "sphere of influence" of the ancient Kingdom of Abyssinia and the northern part of Somaliland. We have already dealt with most of England's acquisitions in Africa. In addition to those we have named she took Bechuanaland and Nigeria. Bismarck, realizing the need of internal development in the new Empire, discouraged colonial activity on the part of Germany. The fever of expansion, however, was too strong even for him. In 1884 Germany annexed a large region in South-west Africa, Togoland, the Cameroons, and a region in East Africa. She also took many islands in the Pacific Ocean; and finally, in 1897, she acquired virtual possession of Kiao-chau in China.

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed a decline of this fever of colonial expansion. It also witnessed the accentuation of two problems affecting all Europe. In every land there was a stirring of democracy, an agitation for an extension of the right to vote and for further limitation of the power of the monarch. We have already noted the principal details of the progress of democracy in the British Isles. In no other leading European country was any such progress achieved; and yet everywhere the leaven was at work, and where, as in Germany,

**Colonial
Expansion
of
European
Powers**

**Stirrings
of Democ-
racy and
National-
ity**

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autocracy barred the way, danger loomed on the horizon. The tranquillity of the time was also threatened by the sentiment of nationality. Several nations that had won their freedom still longed for lands, inhabited principally by their people, that were held by foreigners. Among those countries were Italy, Greece, Serbia, and Rumania; and there were nations not yet free, such as Ireland, Bohemia, and Poland.

Foreign
Policies of
William
III of
Germany

We have noted the events that led, in 1883, to the formation of the Triple Alliance. Peace was then, as it had been for a decade, the leading policy of Bismarck. But a profound change came in 1888 with the accession to the throne of William II. It soon became apparent that so self-confident and determined a ruler would tolerate no such powerful Chancellor as Bismarck; and so early in 1890 that statesman was dismissed. The Emperor was then able to embark upon his policies of gaining mastery of the countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, of acquiring further colonial possessions, and of making his power felt everywhere in the world.

Forma-
tion of
the
Triple
Entente

It was now impossible for dissension to continue between those countries whose interests were apparently threatened by Germany; and so, in 1895, official confirmation was given to the Dual Alliance between France and Russia. There were British statesmen who realized that the antagonisms long existing between their country and France, and between their country and Russia, were based largely upon causes that had disappeared, whereas the frankly and frequently expressed hostility of Germany to their country, based upon the desire of the new Empire for colonial acquisition, commercial aggrandizement, naval expansion, and world-dominion, was a continually increasing force. The policy of isolation was therefore abandoned, and, in 1904, a definite agreement, usually known as the Entente Cordiale, was reached between England and France. Three years later this was superseded by the inclusion of Russia in the Triple Entente. It has been said that the originator of the foreign policy culminating in this triple understanding was Edward VII. The truth, however, seems to be that the policy was begun by members of the Cabinet, and that then the King, in his travels abroad, inspired the two other governments and peoples with the good intentions and the loyalty of the people and government of England. He was merely an agent, but an agent of amiability, tact, and diplomatic competence. A new balance of power had now been effected. Each country involved in the new groupings was intent upon increasing its military and naval power, and the rivalry between Germany and England in building battleships was unprecedentedly costly and

determined. Then the curtain rose upon the preliminary scenes of the World War.

In 1908 a revolution broke out in Turkey that seemed to promise reform and rejuvenation of the power of the Ottoman Empire. It was necessary for those who wished to profit by the weakness of that Empire to act at once. Accordingly Bulgaria announced her complete independence, Austria definitely annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and an assembly of the islanders proclaimed the union of Crete and Greece. Serbia and Montenegro at once protested against Austria's unscrupulous seizure of the neighboring provinces, calling the attention of the continent to the fact that it was a violation of the Treaty of Berlin. Russia also protested against the annexation of the provinces, and, in support of the claims of Serbia, began to move troops towards the eastern frontier of Austria; but Germany at once ranged herself, in "shining armor," at the side of her ally, and when France and England announced that they were not prepared to go to war to maintain the integrity of the violated treaty, Russia in deep humiliation was obliged to withdraw her support of the South-eastern Slavs.

This was not the only occasion upon which war threatened to break out between members of the two great opposing camps. France wished to improve her position in Morocco. She desired to continue the work of "pacific penetration" and to acquire a prerogative right to guide, both internally and externally, the policies of the Shereefian Empire. But the defeat of Russia in the Far East by Japan had temporarily weakened the position of France. Perhaps William II was not unaware of this when, on March 31, 1905, he made a melodramatic visit to the port of Tangier. Then he demanded that a conference be held to consider the affairs of Morocco. Germany succeeded to a certain extent in securing internationalization for Morocco at the conference held in the Spanish town of Algeciras; but the predominant position in the country was given to France. Still another war-cloud appeared on the African horizon. There had been disturbances in Morocco, and France had despatched troops to the capital. Suddenly, on July 3, 1911, a German gunboat arrived at Agadir, a port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. News of this aggressive action at once caused grave anxiety throughout Europe, a feeling that was not allayed by the official note issued by Germany. What was the meaning of this second bolt from the blue? Whatever may have been the chief motive in sending the corvette to Agadir, the long discussions between France and Germany resulted in the recognition of the predom-

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**Austria's
Seizure of
Bosnia
and Her-
zegovina**

**Rivalries
in Mo-
rocco**

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Italy's
Seizure
of Tripoli

inate interests of France in Morocco, in equal economic opportunities in that country for the other powers, and in the cession by France to Germany of certain strips of territory in other parts of Africa.

Suddenly a new and more perilous crisis was imposed upon Europe. Italy determined to have her share of territory in northern Africa. She announced that she would at once occupy Tripoli, and the ensuing war resulted in the acquisition of that country. The first international consequence of the gaining of that colony was a weakening of the Triple Alliance. Italy, owing to the superiority of the fleets of the Triple Entente, was naturally more reluctant to engage in any armed conflict between the two great combinations of European powers. Less than ever before could she antagonize the countries controlling the Mediterranean.

Clouds
on the
Horizon

In many parts of the continent there had come into existence at the beginning of the year 1912 a condition of restlessness, and even of revolution, that threatened to lead no one knew where. The most important election since the formation of the Empire revealed an enormous gain on the part of the socialists in Germany. A grave ministerial crisis had been precipitated in France. There were serious internal troubles in Turkey, where the revolutionists were rapidly losing ground with their fellow-subjects. Agitated discussions on the part of all the various peoples in the peninsula contributed to a rising temperature in the Balkans. Would the Southern Slavs, the Greeks, and the Albanians miss the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations should another revolution break out in Turkey? Would they not, indeed, put aside their indecisions and dissensions and avail themselves of the existing weakness of that country?

First and
Second
Balkan
Wars

The question was answered when, on October 8, 1912, Montenegro, which previously had entered into a combination with Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, declared war upon Turkey. The reason given was the recent massacres in Macedonia. Nine days later Turkey declared war against Bulgaria and Serbia, because of the mobilization of the military forces of those countries, and on the same day Greece declared war upon Turkey. In six weeks the four allies succeeded in driving the Turks from Europe, with the exception of a strip of territory running along the shores of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, and a few fortified places in the rear, such as Scutari, Janina, and Adrianople. Then, though the fighting had not yet ceased, came the question of the distribution of the territory freed from the Turks. The great powers, acting upon the instigation of Austria,

stipulated the independence of Albania. This defeated the long-standing hope of Serbia to secure a port on the Adriatic. She then looked elsewhere for access to the sea. In order that she might have an outlet on the Ægean she asked Bulgaria to modify the partition of Macedonia. This was refused by King Ferdinand. A new imbroglio was thus created in the Balkans. Events moved rapidly, and in June, 1913, without a word of warning, Bulgaria launched an attack upon Serbia and Greece. In this she had been encouraged by Austria, who had whispered of the hegemony of the Balkans. It was a lamentable decision, and never was hope more bitterly disappointed. The Serbians and Greeks were victorious. Rumania, which demanded the cession of certain territory and a deciding voice in the final partition of the Balkans, marched a large and well equipped army towards Sofia, while Greek and Serbian forces advanced from the other direction, and the Turks immediately reëntered Adrianople. The result of the rash venture was the Treaty of Bucharest. That agreement, signed on August 10, 1913, gave to Rumania the territory she had demanded, and secured to Serbia all the disputed portion of Macedonia.

In almost every direction in which one could look there was unrest. A grave problem was created by the ill-feeling between the former allies in the Balkans. Then, too, the diminution of the Turkish power in Europe had caused dissatisfaction throughout the world of Islam. Internal troubles and external ambitions afflicted Austria. In that heterogeneous Empire there were some nine millions each of Magyars and Germans, and almost twenty-six million Slavs. Yet the latter were virtually invisible in all the affairs of government. The enlargement of Serbia at the expense of Turkey had put a formidable obstacle in the way of Austria's contemplated progress to the Ægean Sea. Most sinister of all these indications of war, however, was the fact that the strongest of all the continental States was building a fleet powerful enough to sweep her enemies from the seas. More busily at work than ever before were the tendencies leading to a general conflagration in Europe.

The pretext, but not the cause, of the Great War was the assassination, on June 28, 1914, of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand (1863-1914), heir-presumptive to the thrones of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by youths who were natives of the province. The murder seems to have been a cruel and a mistaken expression of the natural resentment of the Southern Slavs against their unjust treatment by Austria; but the conspirators were assisted by Serbian societies, including

The Sky
Darkens

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of the
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army officers at Belgrade and on the frontier, who for some time had intrigued against the imperial house. On July 24 Austria presented an ultimatum, demanding a reply within forty-eight hours. She charged Serbian officers, if not the government itself, with complicity in the crime, and required, among other things, permission for the activity in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda of her own officials within the confines of Serbia. This last clause of the ultimatum would have authorized Austria to send police and military forces into Serbia and thus to have annulled the sovereignty of that State. Beyond all question the note had been drafted so as to make compliance with its demands impossible. Serbia at once appealed for support to Russia. And in the meantime she agreed to all the demands that did not threaten her independence, and offered to submit the remaining points to the decision of the Hague Tribunal. England, France, and Italy made certain efforts to avoid war, but each momentous day brought only an increase of anxiety, of darkness and distress. Germany, upon whose attitude everything depended, attempted to intimidate Russia, seeking thus to secure a free hand for Austria in dealing with Serbia. Austria promptly rejected the reply of her southern neighbor, and on July 28 formally declared war upon her. England as quickly as possible proposed an international conference for settling the dispute; but the offer, and several others she made, were not accepted by the Central Powers. Germany then demanded that Russia, who was making preparations to go to the assistance of Serbia, should, within twelve hours, cease all mobilization of her forces; and on August 1, no answer having been received, she declared war upon Russia. At the same time she was making demands upon Russia to cease preparation for war, Germany asked France what she would do in case war broke out between herself and Russia; and to this France replied that she "would do that which her interests dictated." In her desire to do all she could to prevent war, France then drew her forces back some seven miles from the frontier; but, on August 3, falsely charging that the French had already attacked her forces, Germany declared war upon France. The declaration of war was greeted with extraordinary rejoicing by all classes of the German people. Germany then, by sending her soldiers through Belgium, violated the neutrality of that country, a neutrality that Great Britain was pledged to maintain, that was essential to her safety, and the violation of which left her no alternative but to declare war. Accordingly, at midnight, August 4-5, Great Britain proclaimed war against Germany. It was one of the most momentous acts in the history of the British people.

"We shall never sheathe the sword, which we have not lightly drawn," said Premier Asquith in stating the war aims of his country, "until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nations of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military abomination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." The immediate cause of the war is still a matter of dispute; but it seems certain that the responsibility must be widely distributed. The sole guilt cannot be laid to the charge of any one country. And in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war every leading power had been guilty of a more or less shameless imperialism; every one of them had intrigued for opportunities for territorial aggrandizement and economic exploitation in the backward parts of the earth; and the chief successes gained in Morocco, Tripoli, Persia, Manchuria, and Korea, had been gained by France, England, Italy, and Japan.

War began at once on the frontiers of Serbia, France, and Russia. The Serbians and Montenegrins, profiting by the geographical conditions of the country and by their recent experience in war, inflicted severe losses upon the invading Austrians, and captured large quantities of guns and ammunition. But the fate of a terrible invasion was in store for them after a respite of some months from the attack of their enemies. In the west the Germans, whose mobilization was remarkably prompt and complete, advanced in great numbers through Belgium into France, inflicting terrible collective punishments upon the populations of towns and villages, and their progress was arrested only by the series of actions known as the battle of the Marne. Strategically these engagements, though no great loss was suffered in them by the Germans, marked the turn in the tide of defeat for the allied armies of France, Belgium, and Great Britain. The Germans then retreated and quickly established themselves in entrenchments, favorably located on the ridges along the river Aisne, and carefully prepared for defense, and the long war of the trenches, which most of the time was a deadlock, began when they were attacked by the Allies. Paris had not been captured; the French army had not been destroyed; and there had been no stoppage of the communication between France and England. To this last object Germany now began to devote her greatest skill and daring. In the east several great battles fought in the lake region of Masuria, in East Prussia, resulted in defeat of the Russians and an advance of the Germans that threatened the capture of Warsaw. The Russians were more successful on

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the frontiers of Austria, being able after several battles at Lemberg to reach the passes of the Carpathians and thus to threaten Hungary. Very quickly Great Britain swept German commerce from the seas, kept the German battleships in their ports, and made possible the bringing of men and supplies from all quarters of the globe for the Allies. The British Empire steadily increased the number of its men and women occupied in the making of guns and ammunition, and of its men engaged in fighting in the various theaters of war, and in the navy. Before the close of the war the number of the King's subjects so engaged was probably about seven millions.

**New Participants
in the
War**

At first the countries allied in war against Germany and Austria were France, Great Britain, Russia, Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. Other countries joined their ranks. Japan demanded that Germany withdraw all her warships from the waters of the Far East, and turn over to her the territory of Kiao-chau "with a view to the eventual restoration of that region to China"; and, on August 23, 1914, when the demand had been rejected, she declared war upon Germany. Japan succeeded in taking the disputed territory, and in many ways her participation in the struggle was an effective aid to the Allies. The Central Powers, too, received additions to their forces. Turkey, under pressure of two German battleships that had escaped from the Mediterranean into the Sea of Marmora, was obviously preparing to assist the Central Powers; and so, in November, 1914, war was declared upon her by Russia. The entrance of the Ottoman Empire greatly changed the character of the conflict and created several new fields of military activity. The British were successful in Mesopotamia and Syria; but they met with disaster in their assault upon the Dardanelles. On May 24, 1915, Italy, having apparently come to the conclusion that the Central Powers would eventually be defeated, and having exacted strictly secret concessions, entered the war on the side of the Allies. The terms of her alliance with Germany and Austria did not require her to join those countries in any offensive war in which they might become engaged. She interpreted the existing war as being offensive on their part; and she desired to avail herself of what seemed to be a favorable opportunity to secure the territory of "unredeemed Italy" and to improve her strategic frontier.

**Warring
Nations**

But, even with this augmentation of their strength, things did not go well with the Allies. All the strategic positions on the Italian frontier were in possession of Austria; and so the new ally made little progress at first. Corruption, lack of railways and factories, military inefficiency, and political unrest were be-

coming more and more apparent in Russia. When, therefore, German troops were sent to the aid of Austria, the Russians were quickly compelled to abandon all their conquests and to retreat far within their own territory. This permitted the Germans to send troops to the aid of Austria against the gallant Serbs. Then, on October 14, 1915, Bulgaria, who also had been waiting to see which side was most likely to be the winner, and who hoped to recover from her neighbors some, if not all of the losses she had suffered by the Treaty of Bucharest, declared war upon Serbia. Six weeks later the remnants of the heroic Serbian army sought safety in a terrible retreat over the mountains of Albania from the onset of Austrians, Bulgarians, and Germans. The year closed in gloom for the Allies. They had made only slight headway in the west; they were in retreat in Russia; and they had failed to take the Dardanelles and to relieve Serbia. Things went somewhat better, however, towards the middle of the following year. They began to surpass their enemy in nearly all the fields of military technic,—in artillery, in aviation, and in the supply and effectiveness of munitions; and they gained a great advantage by the invention and rapid improvement of "tanks." Meanwhile the Russians had recovered and made sweeping gains against the Austrians. Then, on August 27, 1916, Rumania, after trembling on the brink of war for nearly two years, entered the contest on the side of the Allies. She did so, however, in a rather headlong fashion, and with only her own strategic conceptions of the great struggle. Soon she was overrun by her enemies and then all the middle and south-eastern parts of the continent were under the control of Germany. The naval war was principally a succession of contests between single vessels or small groups of vessels. It was in 1916 that the only important battle at sea took place. The German high-seas fleet happened upon a detachment of British battle cruisers near the Skagerrak, off the coast of Denmark. The smaller British force held out successfully until the Grand Fleet began to come to its assistance, and then, in the fog and darkness, the Germans withdrew. The Italians suffered a severe defeat in October, 1917, at Caporetto, but were able to halt the invasion of their territory along the line of the Piave. The French, with great courage and skill, defeated the tremendous drive at Verdun; and then, on April 6, 1917, the submarine warfare, carried on against both neutral and enemy ships, brought a declaration of war upon Germany by the United States. "We have no selfish ends to serve," said President Wilson. "We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for

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Entrance
of the
United
States and
Close of
the War

the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind." America's abandonment of her traditional policy of non-interference in the affairs of Europe opened a new chapter in the history of the world.

The Allies greatly needed the military and financial assistance of the United States. Thus far they had been unable to defeat the Central Powers, weariness of the struggle was spreading among their peoples, if not among their soldiers, and in the previous month a revolution in Russia, which, while it destroyed the old autocracy, was destined soon to result in that country's withdrawal from the war. Germany then, beginning in March, 1918, made a supreme effort to win a military decision on land before the arrival of troops in overwhelming numbers from America; and at the same time Austria made a final drive against Italy. But all the Allied forces in the west, growing steadily by the arrival of American soldiers and by new troops despatched by Great Britain and the Dominions, were put under the full control of General Ferdinand Foch and were thus enabled to exert their maximum power. Austria failed completely; while the Germans were checked in their tremendous attack and driven back in the second battle of the Marne. The submarine peril was greatly lessened by the adoption of the "convoy" system, by the improvement and invention of devices for the detection and the destruction of the sub-surface enemy, by the laying of the great chain of mines across the sea from Scotland to Norway, and by the coming in rapidly increasing numbers of destroyers and submarine chasers from America. On September 30, 1918, the swift and unrelenting blows rained upon her by Allied armies advancing from Saloniki resulted in the signing of an unconditional surrender by Bulgaria, the first country to leave the sinking ship and to scuttle it as she went; and one month later, on October 30, the sharp blows of the Allies' forces in Syria and Mesopotamia resulted, after the headlong flight of her troops, in the complete capitulation of Turkey. Four days later Austria-Hungary, her soldiers fleeing eastward in wild disorder, surrendered to Italy; and on November 11 the long and terrible war was brought to a close when, her armies being steadily driven back across the land made desolate by their cruel military methods, the stern armistice proposed by General Foch was signed by Germany.

The
Treaty of
Versailles

More than seven months went by between the signing of the armistice and the conclusion of the treaty of peace, a period as unsettling and almost as ruinous to the continent as the war itself, a time that witnessed the beginning of the collapse of the political

and economic fabric of the central and eastern parts of Europe. Unemployment, hunger, disease, despair, and anarchy increased and spread in many places. It was a difficult task that confronted the Congress of Versailles. Political possessions had to be redistributed, political boundaries had to be redrawn, losses had to be calculated and indemnities assessed, and all possible precautions had to be taken against a recurrence of war. The treaty of peace with Germany and Austria, signed by the representatives of those countries on June 28, 1919, after deliberations that lasted fifteen weeks, and formally ratified on January 11, 1920, by the Allied Powers, is the work of the representatives of thirty nations. It is longer, deals with the affairs of more nations, touches upon more interests, and involves a far greater amount of territory, than any other treaty in the history of the world. What are its main provisions? It brought about the establishment of the League of Nations. It compelled Germany to return Alsace and Lorraine, and to strip herself of military and naval power; it took away from her all her colonial possessions, and it required her to pay a money indemnity as yet unsettled in amount. It brought about the independence of Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugo-Slavia; and it changed the frontiers of many countries, especially those of Rumania and Greece. The treaty was a compromise, and naturally so, for many nations demanded things that never should be granted them; and, when one considers all the difficulties that had to be met, it may rightfully be described, though its opponents declare it to be a patchwork involving many perils, as, on the whole, a successful compromise. It lacks the essence of supreme statesmanship in that it pays too much attention to the past, and looks too little to the future. In order to be secure and real any such treaty must, in the last resort, depend less upon force than upon the mutual good will of all the peoples who are parties to it. "Forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength," not these, said Cromwell, but "reformation will be your best security."

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CHAPTER XXX

HOME AFFAIRS

(1914-1924)

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Formation
of a
Coalition
Ministry

LET us now see what, during the years of the war, had been going on in the British Isles. Great Britain entered upon the World War in a much better spirit, and with a far better equipment, than would have been the case but for the severe experience in South Africa. All internal strife, with the exception of opposition in Ireland, ceased when war was declared upon Germany. The women, who had been engaged in a noisy and militant agitation for the suffrage, turned their attention to the relief of those who were suffering by the war, to the making of munitions, and to the promotion of recruiting. Eventually, however, the ministry which began the war, and which carried it on for twelve months, came to an end, and a new one was formed, the members of which, with a single exception, were taken from the two leading parties. Thus was brought about what should have taken place at the beginning of the war. The diverse talents and opinions of the nation were more fully represented in the government. No longer was the responsibility for the defense of the Empire to rest upon a single party. The change was due principally to the general criticism of two members of the Cabinet,—Lord Kitchener, the Minister of War, and Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty. The former, it was said, though in less than a year and without conscription he had raised an army of more than two million men, had failed to send an adequate supply of high-explosive shells to the army on the continent, and had neglected to do all that might have been done in recruiting men at home; while the latter, it was charged, had interfered unduly with the plans of his expert naval advisers and was, in particular, responsible for the disastrous attempt to force by naval power alone the narrow straits of the Dardanelles.

Lloyd
George as
Minister
of Muni-
tions

In order to meet the crying need for a large increase in the manufacture of guns and ammunition, a new Ministry of Munitions was created, and at its head was placed David Lloyd George.

To him also was committed the task of increasing the voluntary enlistment of men for the army. His volatile genius had evidently accommodated itself to the exigencies of the World War more readily and to a greater extent than that of any other political leader. He threw himself into the new work with great energy and decision. He called business men and men of science to his aid, and made a successful personal appeal to several of the larger towns to devote their energies more fully to the making of munitions. He also persuaded the trade unions to modify for a time such of their rules as interfered with rapid and efficient production. More than a hundred thousand volunteers, many of whom were women, enrolled in his department; he brought about the return of several thousand trained engineers from the ranks to give their skill and knowledge to the manufacture of supplies; and it was under his direction that some thirty national factories were established.

The formation of the new government was made the signal throughout the country for a vigorous campaign in favor of compulsory military service. The large majority of the working men were opposed on principle to such compulsion; but now the country was engaged in war they did not wish to interfere with any project clearly indispensable to victory. The measure, which required equal service from all men of military age and capacity, became law on May 23, 1916, but was not enforced in Ireland. The number of volunteer enlistments in the army and navy between the outbreak of the war and the enactment of this law was more than five million. It was the largest volunteer military force ever levied in the history of the world.

The war dragged on its weary way. The end seemed even further from sight. The conditions of daily life became ever more difficult. Taxes were higher, food was scarcer, and prices continued to soar. Labor naturally demanded better wages, and it sought to secure its need by means of strikes; and rebellion, which found its opportunity in the war, broke out in Ireland and had to be put down by military force. There was much criticism of the conduct of the war, some of which was justified. The machinery for carrying on so great a struggle was still inadequate. There were conflicts between ministers and between departments, and consequently there were delays in arriving at decisions. A good deal of this criticism, rarely definite in its suggestions as to how the resources of the Empire could have been mobilized more effectively, was focused upon the Prime Minister. It was largely a matter of temperament. Asquith was singularly detached and aloof from the popular mind; and

Compul-
sory Mil-
itary Ser-
vice

Lloyd
George
Becomes
Prime
Minister

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he was fitted far better for the conduct of a war that can be won by patient endurance than for one requiring immediate and unremitting action. Most of the critics saw the man for the hour, the embodiment of the fighting soul of the nation, in the ardent and energetic Lloyd George; and clearly there was an imperative need for such a leader. At this moment a crisis was precipitated in the Cabinet. Lloyd George proposed that the conduct of the war be given to the absolute control of a small committee, of which he was to be a member, and in which there was to be no place for the Prime Minister. When this plan was rejected he resigned from the Cabinet, and his resignation was soon followed by that of Asquith. The Premiership was then entrusted to Lloyd George. The momentous change was doubtless greatly assisted by the powerful support of *The Times*; by the tragic death of Lord Kitchener, who was drowned on June 5, 1916, when a cruiser, on which he was going to Russia to confer with the military staff of that country, sank off the western shore of the Orkney Islands; by Germany's renewal of her submarine warfare in an even more energetic manner; and by the failure of the Allies to save Rumania. Thus did this ardent social reformer, this dramatic speaker who knows by instinct the sentiment of a crowd and can at will sweep the chord of deep emotion, assume the leadership, in the hour of its greatest peril, of the world's most powerful Empire.

The New
Cabinet

A Cabinet was then formed of unusually disparate personalities, and of a kind altogether unknown to the constitution. It included none of the Liberal members of the previous Cabinet except Lloyd George himself, though some of the minor offices were filled with unofficial Liberals. The approval of the Labor party was won by large promises of reform, by the creation of a Ministry of Labor, and by the appointment of more representatives of labor to ministerial positions. The new government, by separating those who gave it their support from those who refused to take part in it, threatened to disorganize the Liberal party. For all practical purposes it was a Conservative government presided over by a Radical. All the commanding positions were held by Conservatives.

The Inner
Cabinet

An inner Cabinet, or Council, of five members was then formed to carry on the war. The members were Andrew Bonar Law, Arthur Henderson, Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, and David Lloyd George, and of these by far the more important were the last three. To this triumvirate, then, was entrusted the control of the war. Did this new Council produce better results than the old Cabinet? The question is not easy to answer. The record

of 1917, the first year of the Council's activity, was not very remarkable as far as gaining more soldiers and sailors was concerned; and as regards other things the year was no more notable than was the first year of the war when the nation sprang spontaneously to arms.

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The largest single factor looming on the political horizon at this time was Labor. From the election of 1906, which witnessed the beginning of its history in the House of Commons, to the outbreak of the war the Labor party had suffered a decline in its power in Parliament. Its weakness as a political force lay in its failure to secure the support of all the voters whose interests it could rightfully claim to represent, in the incoherence of its political ideas, and in its lack of real leaders. In March, 1918, an attempt was made to eliminate the first of these faults. The membership of the party had hitherto been confined to members of trade unions. A new constitution was adopted providing for the formation of local associations; and an appeal to join these associations was made to the unorganized workers, to the "brain-workers," and to the women, whose enfranchisement we are soon to note. By additions from these sources, it was hoped, sufficient support would be secured to put a Labor government into power in the near future. This effort to increase the membership of the party met with much success, and so, by sheer weight of numbers, the party became a more formidable factor in the political life of the nation.

Increase
of the
Labor
Party

An attempt was then made to remedy the second shortcoming of the Labor party, to give coherence to its political ideas. In June, 1918, the representatives of the party, as it was newly constituted, met in London and drew up a comprehensive political program. The program is a mature and carefully formulated outline of social reconstruction. It is the result of a thorough study of the entire experience of the kingdom in social legislation for more than a hundred years. It gives voice to the struggles, the experiments, the failures, the successes, and the aspirations of the laboring class throughout the century and a quarter of its conscious development. It has since been published in pamphlet form under the title of *Labor and the New Social Order*.

Program
of the
Labor
Party

In the midst of the arduous and imperious cares and duties of the war the government undertook the solution of three serious problems. It passed a comprehensive bill for the reform of the suffrage. The bill, which became a law on February 6, 1918, reduced the qualifying period of registration as a parliamentary elector from twelve months to six. It substituted for all existing franchises the three simple ones of six months' residence, the

Fourth
Political
Reform
Act

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occupation of business premises, or the holding of a University degree. If a man carries on business in a constituency other than the one in which he lives he is entitled to vote in that constituency as well as in the one where he lives. Certain provincial and municipal Universities were added to the list of educational institutions entitled to special representation in Parliament, and every person with a degree from any one of the Universities on the list is qualified to vote for one representative of his Alma Mater. In no case, however, is any person entitled to more than two votes. Thus while plural voting based upon the ownership of property was abolished, it was kept, and even extended, by being legalized upon the basis of business. The provision for plural voting upon this new basis is to be regarded as a compromise. It was due to the unwillingness of the House of Lords to approve the principle of "one man one vote." It was the chief concession to the Tories by the Liberal and Labor members of the Commons. The act furthermore provides that all polls are to be held on the same day at every general election. The greatest change of all, however, is the enfranchisement of women. Every woman over thirty years of age who occupies a house, or any landed property, of the annual rental value of £5, of which she or her husband is the tenant, has the right to vote in a parliamentary election. There was also a redistribution of seats. Thirty-seven members were added, and thus a total membership of seven hundred and seven was given to the Commons. It was calculated that the act enfranchised eight million new voters, of whom six million were women. Thus it is a more far-reaching measure than were all three of the famous Reform Acts of the nineteenth century combined. What will be the outcome of the act? It is impossible as yet to say. But those who believe in democracy are convinced that only good will eventually result from leaving a great people free to work out their own destiny.

**Educa-
tional
Reform**

In the three years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war the National Board of Education gathered much information regarding the school system. Serious defects were discovered. Only about one in every ten of the pupils who left the elementary schools took advantage of any further opportunity to continue their education. Each year two million children, a steadily growing army, left the elementary schools between the ages of twelve and fourteen to swell the ranks of unskilled labor. Teachers were underpaid; and, therefore, fewer and fewer men remained in the profession. The need of educated men and women was clearly shown in the great emergency of the war. The future of the nation was seen to be primarily dependent upon the schools sup-

ported by taxation. So in 1918 a bill was enacted into law providing for an increase in the pay of teachers, and for a new system of special grants to secondary schools. Every child henceforth must attend school continuously to the end of the term following his fourteenth birthday. Local authorities, if they deem it expedient, may raise the age to fifteen. A more radical part of the act compels attendance at school for at least eight hours a week, between the hours of eight in the morning and seven in the evening, up to the end of the eighteenth year of all those youths whose education is not provided for otherwise. The work of these continuation schools is to be devoted, not to trade and vocational instruction, but to general education and recreation. No child is permitted to be employed at all; and in his remaining school years no youth is allowed to be employed on school days during school hours. The act is one of the most important attempts to solve the social problem created more than a century ago by the Industrial Revolution. From the days when the poor-law children were sent in open carts from the southern counties to the factories of the north the sinister effects of that great change had been specially disastrous to childhood and to youth. That injustice was now to be remedied in part. It is no longer possible so fully to exploit the youth of the land in the industrial world, to put it into "dead-end" occupations, and to leave it so largely without disinterested supervision.

In the years that immediately preceded the war the Liberal government had pledged itself to give Home Rule to Ireland. Upon the strength of that promise the Irish members of the Commons had kept the Liberal party in power and had enabled it to enact important measures, including the one restricting the power of the Lords. But a body of eighty thousand armed and drilled men, supported and led by the Tory aristocracy, had sworn to resist, by force if necessary, the operation of Home Rule in Ulster. In the face of this propaganda of rebellion the government had remained inactive; yet in the past all such arming and drilling on the part of the Nationalists had been sternly suppressed. Then the inhabitants of the island who desired and demanded Home Rule likewise resolved to prepare for war. Thus by the end of 1913 two armed forces had come into existence in Ireland. At last, in 1914, the government put a Home Rule Bill, which would have applied only to three-quarters of the island, on the statute-book; but in doing so it passed a suspensory act in order to delay its operation until a year or longer after the end of the war; and at the same time they declared that under no circumstances would they "coerce Ulster."

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Consideration of a
New Plan
for Home
Rule in
Ireland

Such was the situation when the talk of applying military conscription to Ireland fanned the smoldering embers of discontent into flame. In the spring of 1916 a rebellion broke out in the island attended with loss of life and much destruction of property, especially in Dublin. Then, in 1918, a convention was created by the government for the purpose of making a fresh study of the problems of Ireland. For several months the convention labored with patience, industry, and wisdom at the difficult task of drawing up a constitution that would meet the needs of the situation. Their report, published on April 13, 1918, was not an actual draft of a constitution. It was a statement of the principles which a majority of the members of the convention declared they would like to see used as the basis of an act of Parliament that would have the effect of a written constitution. It aimed at a rational and practical scheme of dominion government within the Empire. An intelligent and generous attempt was made to meet the peculiar difficulties of Ireland. The Unionists of the north-east of the island, though their numbers do not entitle them to any such proportion, were to be guaranteed forty per cent of the membership of the proposed Irish Parliament. The Parliament was not to be permitted to pass any law interfering with religious equality; nor was it to have any power to impair the rights and privileges of the two Protestant institutions of Trinity College and Queen's University. Customs duties were to be laid and paid as before, but the money was to be turned over to the Exchequer of the new Dominion until such time as a joint board could determine what is the "true revenue" of Ireland. Such, in brief, was the report of the body which, though imperfectly constituted, was the most widely representative gathering that had ever sat in the island. Yet despite all these safeguards an adverse minority report was drawn up and presented by the unyielding Ulstermen; and, on the other side, the unrelenting Republicans, who had refused to be represented in the convention, announced that they would be satisfied with nothing less than absolute independence. The claim of their native land to independence, declared the Republicans, was quite as good as that of Belgium, or Poland, or Bohemia. These divisions and dissensions in Ireland tied the hands of Great Britain.

Election
of 1918

We have seen that a sudden and dramatic disruption of the government brought into existence a new Coalition Cabinet, in which the Conservatives held the majority of important positions, and placed in the supreme political position the agile David Lloyd George. The position of this statesman as Premier had never been confirmed by a popular election; and the life of the existing

Parliament had run long beyond its ordinary term. But why precipitate an election at this time? Nearly half the adult manhood was under arms, most of that half was overseas, and the special provision for the voting of soldiers and sailors could not reasonably be expected to record more than, say, fifty per cent of the absentee vote; more than half the industrial workers were engaged in the production of munitions and other war supplies, and so were in the pay of the government; and the new register was hopelessly defective. The truth of the matter seems to be that a master of political tactics had chosen a moment that he believed to be favorable to himself. Lloyd George gave no clear indication as to what his peace policy would be; and the program of domestic reform was so expressed in vague and general promises as to leave it capable of being variously interpreted according to the varying desires of the voters. It seemed evident that he wished to cut off at one end of the coalition the extreme Protectionist faction and at the other the group of Radicals. This new central party which he contemplated would clearly have contained incongruous elements, but it might be made to last for an indefinite period. These electioneering tactics were brilliantly successful in securing control of the Commons. As a result of the election the Lower House was made up as follows:

Coalition	485
Sinn Feiners or Irish Republicans	73
Labor	59
Non-Coalition Conservatives	48
Asquithian Liberals	26
Irish Nationalists	7
Independents and others	9
Total.....	707

Thus the Coalition had a majority of two hundred and sixty-three over all other sections combined. But in endeavoring to learn what was the sentiment of the people of the kingdom we must remember that there were many three-cornered elections, that in many constituencies two Non-Coalition candidates ran against one Coalition candidate, and that thus many constituencies predominantly Anti-Coalition in sentiment elected candidates who represented the Coalition.

What was the history of the mass of the working people in this desperate decade? War lost no time in laying its burdens upon them. Prices at once rose; and for a time, despite the drain of enlistment, unemployment increased. The abrupt ending of the export trade, for instance, brought about at once a large

Condition
of the
Working
People

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increase of unemployment in many manufacturing towns. But industrial disputes virtually disappeared and labor was swept along on the flood tide of militant patriotism. Then the increased manufacture of munitions and the continual enlistment did away with unemployment. Youths and women in large numbers were drawn into the work of producing guns and shells and other war supplies. Every one was at work. But prices continued to rise, numerous wage disputes followed, and the old conditions of production began to prove inadequate to meet the new emergency of war. A new experiment in state control of industry was begun when, on July 2, 1915, a bill for government control of the manufacture of munitions became law. Together with other acts this law gave a large measure of control to the State over all things and persons involved, directly or indirectly, in the production of war supplies. This control continued to the end of the war. It succeeded in putting an end to unemployment, in bringing about maximum production, in supervising health and welfare, in giving a living wage to every worker with whom it had to deal, and in imbuing all the workers it affected with a unity of purpose. It led millions of men and women to wonder whether those conditions might not be perpetuated in times of peace. The end of the war found organized labor in a stronger position than it had ever attained.

Suffering
and Un-
rest of the
Working
People

After the election of 1918 a period of industrial warfare began. More people were affected by industrial disputes in 1919 and 1920 than ever before. What was the significance of this widespread industrial unrest? Some of its more immediate causes were thus stated by the Minister of Labor: "We are emerging from a great conflict which has left to this country, nay, to the whole world, tasks of a magnitude and complexity sufficient to test the whole resources of our civilization. We have got to make a great change from the problems of war to the problems of peace. Hundreds of thousands of people who have been devoting themselves for the past four years to the production of war material have now to find jobs in making articles of commerce. Millions of demobilized sailors and soldiers have got to be reabsorbed into the life of the industrial community. There is less employment, and there is a fear of greater unemployment; there is a higher cost of living, and there is doubt with regard to the dwindling of wages; there is a certain weariness of work after the strain of war, and a desire for rest; there is a lack of enterprise and a hesitation to adventure; and combined with all these factors there are fresh aspirations kindled in men's breasts by the power of war and a new sense of the value of the human spirit which demand for the toilers better conditions of life and more adequate

opportunities of leisure." The government took measures to assist in the difficult transition from war to peace. Yet despite the money grants made to soldiers and sailors and munition workers, and notwithstanding the extension of the Unemployment Insurance Act, the winter of 1920-1921 was one of the most distressful periods for the working people since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The proportion of unemployment rose, indeed, to more than eleven per cent, and thus exceeded every previous record. Still further ameliorative measures, such as special grants of money for roads and houses and other constructive work, were carried out by the government; but the demand for some more fundamental remedy continued to increase.

For nearly half a century national ownership and operation of the coal mines had been an aspiration of the trade unions. The coal miners themselves had for some time been demanding an increase in wages, a six-hour day for those who work below the ground, and nationalization of the mines. A Royal Commission was appointed to consider these demands. "The government is prepared to adopt the report in the spirit as well as in the letter," said Bonar Law, speaking as the leader of the government in the House of Commons, "and to take all the necessary steps to carry out its recommendations without delay." The Commission made a careful and extensive inquiry into the matters with which it had been appointed to deal. In an interim report it recommended that an increase of wages should be granted, that the underground working day should be reduced from eight to seven hours; and it declared "that, even upon the evidence already given, the present system of ownership and working in the coal industry stands condemned, and some other system must be substituted for it, either nationalization or a method of unification by national purchase or by joint control." In its final report it recommended that "Parliament be invited immediately to pass legislation acquiring the coal royalties for the State, paying fair and just compensation to the owners," and that "the principle of state ownership of the coal mines be accepted." The government, however, failed to fulfil the promise made by its leader in the Lower House. Then the Trades-Union Congress passed its forty-third annual resolution in favor of such a change, and pledged itself to help the miners in compelling the government to carry out its promise of nationalization.

Still other causes of discontent in the mining industry arose. In the course of the war the government had assumed direct control of the coal industry. All the profits above a specified proportion had gone into the national Exchequer. Coal had become the most

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Agitation
for Na-
tional
Ownership
and Op-
eration of
the Coal
Mines

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Government
Control of the
Coal In-
dustry and
Its Relin-
quishment

Attempt
of the Coal
Miners to
Bring
About a
Reorgan-
ization of
Their In-
dustry and
Their De-
feat

urgent necessity of the various countries of the neighboring continent. It brought the highest price of any commodity in those markets, and therefore it insured enormous profits to the one country able to export it in large quantities. Economists have estimated that the national control of the coal industry brought an annual revenue of almost £60,000,000 to the treasury of Great Britain. Ten per cent of this profit had been given to the owners of the mines, and the remainder had been devoted to liquidating the national debt. Then a sudden slump came in the export trade, and the price of coal fell more than one-half. The profit received by the Exchequer turned into a loss. So the government wished to return the mines to the owners as soon as possible in order to let them put the industry back into a "normal condition." Suddenly, without any warning to the workmen, it announced that the state control of the mines, which it had promised to continue to the end of August, would cease at the end of March. Thus was all progress towards nationalization to be abandoned.

The mine owners then announced that the existing wage-lists would terminate with the cessation of state control, and that a lower rate of wages would be paid. The miners resented both these things. They realized, however, that it would be impossible at this time to secure nationalization. So they demanded a national pool of the coal mines and the fixing of wages by a national board. They insisted upon a national pooling of mining profits so that the same wages might be paid in the poorer mines as in the collieries in which coal is rich in quality and abundant in quantity. That meant, in effect, the paying of a subsidy by the stronger companies to the weaker ones. Both these demands were refused; and so, on March 31, 1921, work came to an end in all the coal mines of the country. Even the pumps were idle, and that meant the flooding, and therefore the serious injury, of some of the mines. The miners were actuated principally by the question of the control of the industry. The system of private ownership and operation, they contended, is economically discredited and morally bankrupt. The most vital issue of the dispute was the question of the reorganization of the entire industry; and to such a reorganization the government had definitely pledged itself. All the resources of those opposed to the plan, however, were brought to bear against any such change; and, owing to internal dissensions among the leaders of the railway men and the transport workers, these workers failed to lend their promised aid to the miners. The strength of labor, which seemed united and defiant as never before, faded like mist before the massed forces of capital and the government. Sullen and stubborn, greatly in need of money,

and feeling themselves deserted by their nearest allied working fellows, the miners continued the struggle. At the end of three months, however, they were compelled to submit without securing a pool, and with the certainty of reduced wages. It was the heaviest defeat that had befallen labor within the memory of man.

We have seen that the operation of the bill granting Home Rule to Ireland was suspended because of the outbreak of the Great War. There was no improvement in the condition of the island after the enactment of the law; and after the war matters became even worse. Through the latter half of 1920 a widespread series of outrages, of incendiary fires, of ambush, and of murder, was carried on by the malcontents; and reprisals of a similar nature were made by soldiers, some of them undisciplined and others probably permitted by the military authorities. Later on, however, in the course of the following year, a conciliatory spirit began to prevail. Prisoners were released by the government and by the Sinn Feiners. Conferences were then held between leaders of the various groups in London. Full dominion status, with certain military and financial safeguards, was offered Ireland. That country was to have its own military forces and police, and its inhabitants (or rather the two divisions of the island) were to determine whether or no the proposed new powers were to be taken over by the island in two territorial parts or as a whole. The proposal was a liberal offer of self-government as far as it seemed to be consistent with inclusion of the island in the Empire; but it made possible, and indeed probable, the perpetuation of the division between Ulster and the rest of Ireland. It seemed quite evident that, owing to the action of Ulster, the island would remain divided under the proposed settlement,—one part of six counties and the other of twenty-six, one industrial and the other agricultural, one Protestant and the other Catholic, one Anglo-Saxon and the other Celtic. The Republicans resolutely insisted upon the territorial unity and independence of the island, upon government by consent of the majority of the governed, and the proposal was accordingly rejected by them. Outrages continued. But the government made still further advances upon the points of territorial unity and independence. There was to be an Irish Free State. The new State was to have the status of a Dominion within the Empire; and, though it was not to include the north-east corner of the island, it was to have, in matters outside the jurisdiction of the Parliament of that district, the same powers as those it was to exercise in the rest of Ireland, and the oath of allegiance was to be taken not to the King but to the Empire. The settlement was signed by the government and by the representa-

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Enactment
of a New
Home
Rule Bill
and Its
Putting
Into Effect

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tives of the Dail Eireann, the institution regarded by the Irish as their Parliament. The news of the agreement relieved the anxiety prevailing in the Kingdom; but a division of opinion immediately manifested itself among the members of Sinn Fein. Some of the members rejected the agreement, chiefly because of the oath of allegiance to the Empire, and declared it to be contrary to the wishes of a majority of the people of Ireland. We are soon to see that the Coalition government was replaced, in a general election, by one in control of the Conservatives. But that party carried out the promise of the Coalition. The Home Rule Bill, the main features of which we have mentioned, was passed by Parliament; it received the royal assent on December 5, 1922, and thus became law; and on the following day the Irish Free State was formally inaugurated as one of the self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth. Violent opposition to the agreement still continues in the island, now directed against the government established in Dublin; but it is the hope of all who wish for peace in that troubled land that the present plan will be accepted, if not as a permanent settlement at least as a temporary one, and that eventually the two parts of the island will come together in mutual trust for the united promotion of the welfare of the people.

**Breakup
of the
Coalition**

A general election was precipitated in 1922 by the unwillingness of many prominent members of the Conservative party to remain any longer under the leadership of Lloyd George. They had found him convenient during a crisis, but they had never taken him to their hearts. They were imbued deeply with class feeling and interest, and they were fearful that further compromises necessary to the Coalition might be their undoing. So they passed a vote unfavorable to the Prime Minister at a meeting of the Carlton Club. Among the issues discussed in the campaign were those of the foreign policy of the country, the protective tariff, and the levy upon capital to pay the war debt proposed by the Laborites; but the issue of chief interest and importance was the leadership of Lloyd George. It was obvious several months before the campaign began that the Prime Minister had lost the great ascendancy he had acquired during the war. He still loomed large in the public view, but the regard in which he was held had greatly changed. For a long time confidence in him had been steadily declining. No doubt he suffered from the swing of the pendulum, but for the loss of public esteem he was himself largely to blame. There was increasing irritation with his methods, and growing anxiety as to what he would do next. He had accomplished the remarkable feat of antagonizing two important political groups, each profoundly hostile to the other. The Laborites were as

strongly opposed to him, though for different reasons, as were the most reactionary of the Conservatives. The result of the election was as follows:

Conservatives	347
Labor	142
Asquithian Liberals	59
Lloyd Georgian Liberals	56
Independents	8
National and Sinn Fein.....	3
Total.....	615

This seems a great victory for the Conservatives. They had a majority of seventy-nine over all the others. But it should be noticed that there were no longer any representatives at Westminster from the greater part of Ireland; and it should be remembered that in many districts the progressive vote was split between the Liberal and the Labor candidates, while the opposing vote was concentrated upon the Conservative candidate. The truth of the matter is that Conservative members represented about five million votes, while all the members in opposition represented about eight millions. It is the first election in the islands in which the winners were in an actual and large minority of the votes.

To outward seeming the revolt of those Conservatives who were unwilling to continue under the leadership of Lloyd George was justified. They got rid of that versatile politician; by repealing the compulsory registration of the value of land or property whenever a sale or a transfer takes place, they destroyed the last vestige of his famous taxation of the unearned increment of land; they were led by a chief of their own party, Stanley Baldwin, who became Prime Minister in 1923 when ill-health compelled the retirement of Bonar Law; and they had a substantial majority in Parliament. What was the program of the Conservative Party? The main plea put forth in the campaign by Bonar Law was for "a régime of tranquillity and rest." Did that mean negation and inaction? How was it possible to speak of "tranquillity and rest" in view of the terrible unemployment at home during the preceding two and a half years and of the deplorable, even dangerous, state of the neighboring continent? That would have been too negative a policy. It seemed quite certain that under the careful and practical leadership of Stanley Baldwin, who quickly created a very favorable impression, the Conservatives would do much to put things right at home and abroad.

Policy
of the
Conserva-
tives

And what of the Liberals? For eight years their party had

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XXX****Policy
of the
Liberals**

been paralyzed. It had been shattered by the blind unreason of war from without, and it had been broken by betrayal from within. Yet it would be premature to speak of it as dead. It was then much perturbed as to leadership. It had to find some way to unite its two groups. Then it had to put forth policies, acceptable to a large body of voters, essentially different from those of the Conservatives, on the one hand, and, on the other, from those of the Laborites. Unless it did these things it would have lost its reason for being and would be doomed to disappear.

**Program
of the
Labor
Party**

There remains the Labor party. It entered the election fresh from a severe struggle with low wages and desolating strikes. Yet, for the first time, the working people acquired something like adequate power in the Mother of Parliaments. Some fifty or sixty more seats might have been gained by a slight accommodation with the Liberals. An agreement might have been entered into for the withdrawal of the Labor candidate in every district in which Liberal voters were evidently more numerous than the Laborites, and for the retirement of the Liberal candidate in every district in which the supporters of Labor clearly outnumbered those of the Liberals. A coalition government could then have been secured consisting of Laborites and Liberals. A platform could have been adopted consisting of policies upon which both parties were agreed. But this plan was definitely rejected. A Conservative government was preferred to anything short of a government by Labor. The party, which only twenty-two years ago was able to command only two members, emerged from the election with one hundred and forty-two members. This represents the continuous growth of a new force. There was a change of atmosphere in the Commons. A new presence had arrived. It could be seen, and heard, and felt. The parliamentary representatives of the new party were not, with the exception of about a dozen extremists, revolutionaries. The electoral program of the party was a moderate one. Emphasis was placed upon foreign policy, because the existing policy was deemed to be the chief cause of the immediate domestic difficulties. Its graduated levy upon all fortunes above £5,000 was the proposal that drew most fire from the opponents of the party. But, it was argued, in view of the fact that the working people had filled the armies, how can it be considered unjust to ask that capital pay its proportionate share of the huge debt created by the war? Two other items in the program that gave rise to sharp discussion and bitter opposition were those for the immediate nationalization of mines and railways, to be followed grad-

ually by the nationalization of other public services. The program, written with marked literary skill, was doubtless drawn up in large part by the intelligentsia who are to be found in greater numbers than before in the ranks of the party.

Suddenly at the end of 1923 a new election was precipitated by Premier Baldwin's decision to appeal to the country on the question of "Tariff Reform." Bonar Law, his predecessor, had promised before the previous election that no fundamental change would be made in the fiscal policy of the government in the coming Parliament if his party were placed in power. Baldwin's party was firmly established in Parliament with a good working majority, ready to support him for another three years. Why did he appeal to the country on the question of protection? He declared that the imposition of duties upon certain manufactures was the best way to relieve the widespread unemployment, and as his party had pledged itself not to do this without explicit approval of the people, another election was necessary. His opponents alleged that the Conservatives expected to gain a chance to begin the policy of "Tariff Reform" by profiting by the meagerly filled party chest and unreadiness of Labor, by the division in the ranks of the Liberals, by the long-continued and widespread public distress that, so it was believed, would lead the sufferers to snatch at any remedy, and by the brevity of time allowed for discussion of the proposed tariff. In a few days, however, the Liberals laid aside their acute internal quarrels, put forth a common policy, both foreign and domestic, and presented a united front against protection. Labor again refused an alliance with the Liberals. A large section of that party regards the elimination of Liberalism as one of its primary objects, because it believes the continued existence of Liberalism is the chief obstacle in the way of a Labor majority in the Commons. Both Liberals and Laborites made as much as possible of the cry of "dear food," and in this they misrepresented more or less the rather modest scheme of protection put forth by the Conservatives. Labor had a great asset in the prestige and high reputation of its leader, Ramsay MacDonald; and in the course of the campaign the capital levy was relegated to the background by the wiser members of the party who seemed to recognize that the opportunity for such a levy had then passed away. The Conservatives were not united. Some of them favored Protection, while others were opposed to it; some wished to support France in forcing ruin and starvation upon Germany, while others favored a foreign policy dictated alike by self-interest and humanity. The election was held on December 6, with the following result:

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The First
Labor
Govern-
ment

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Conservative	257
Laborites	192
Combined Liberals	159
Independents	7
Total.....	615

In three general elections, held within a period of five years, Labor trebled its membership in the Commons. When Parliament met in January, 1924, the Laborites moved a vote of "no confidence" in the speech from the Throne, and in this they were supported by the Liberals. Premier Baldwin thereupon resigned, and the King sent for Ramsay MacDonald who consented to assume office and quickly chose a Cabinet of unusual intellectual power.

**Present
Situation
in Parlia-
ment**

What is the resulting situation in Parliament? The situation created by the existence of three parties, any two of which are strong enough to defeat the third, is a condition of uncertainty and instability that has long been familiar in Latin countries, especially in Spain and Italy. It will probably be only a brief stage in the parliamentary history of Great Britain. In all likelihood there will be a resolution of opinion into the two definite camps of Conservatives and Laborites. The idea of a center party seems alien to the national instincts. Shades of opinion and minor groups will continue to exist within each of the two leading parties, but it seems certain there will be a fundamental division between those who favor the main features of the existing state of affairs and those who desire radical change. Such a readjustment would offer to the voter real and definite alternatives. Possibly two or three general elections will be needed to make the great cleavage clear; questions of the moment may arise to dim the main issue; but sooner or later such a new alignment seems bound to take place.

**The Task
Confront-
ing Labor**

Labor will retain power only on the sufferance of a majority opposed to all its leading domestic policies; but it will probably proceed cautiously, and by so doing win for itself a wider support. It has a definite foreign policy. It is opposed to French imperialism, and is distinctly in favor of doing all that is reasonable to assist the economic recovery of Germany. Now that it is a power in Parliament, it will have to make good like other parties. Its business must be to persuade, to explain, to prepare the intelligence of the country to do all that can be done in our time for the mass of the people. It is no easy task that confronts any government today, for facing it are grave problems called

into being, in the brief space of two human lives, by the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the Great War.

CHAP.
XXX

LIST OF MINISTRIES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Prime Minister</i>
1908-1915.....	Liberal.....	Herbert Asquith.
1915-1916.....	Liberal-Conservative.....	Herbert Asquith.
1916-1922.....	Liberal-Conservative.....	Lloyd George.
1922-1923.....	Conservative.....	Bonar Law.
1923-1924.....	Conservative.....	Stanley Baldwin.
1924-.....	Labor.....	Ramsay MacDonald

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